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PREFACE

I very much regret that as in the previous year the publication of the proceedings of the Indian History Congress held in Allahabad in December 1945 has been unduly delayed. It has been so largely owing to the difficulties of printing. In spite of our best efforts it had not been possible to get the volume printed before the meeting of the session of 1946.

ALLAHABAD:
February 15, 1947.

RISHESHWAR PRASAD,
General Secretary.

OFFICE-BEARERS FOR 1945

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Section VI	... Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, M.A., B.A., M.O.L.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

DR. TARA CHAND, M.A., D. PHIL (OXON),
Allahabad University.

In electing me to the high and honoured office of the President of the Indian History Congress you have placed me under a deep obligation. Conscious as I am of my own unworthiness for this exalted position, and knowing as I do that there are many among you who by virtue of their profound learning and brilliant contributions to the advancement of knowledge deserve it far more richly than I do, I cannot help feeling that your decision is actuated by the affection and regard which you entertain for one whose chief claim to this office is the service which he has rendered in promoting the realization of the great project which you have undertaken. But since it is your wish that during the next year I should bear the responsibility of steering the affairs of our great organization, I have no option but to bow before your command. I do so in the hope that I will receive the fullest cooperation from you in the fulfilment of the tasks that lie ahead. I may say that I am fortified in my confidence by my experience of your continuous and unfailing support during the past years in my capacity as your General Secretary.

The Indian History Congress meets today in circumstances far different from those that existed in the last six years. The terrible World War is at last over. And what an extraordinary war it has been! It will be difficult to find for it a parallel in human history. Its passage through the years has been most weird. In its first stage it was an unreal, phoney war; then it suddenly burst into a *blitzkrieg*, which with lightning rapidity overwhelmed in the space of weeks Norway and Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France. It scoured the skies spreading its swift, death-scattering wings over Britain for a while; but on being repulsed, it turned eastwards and its flames raced over the enormous distances of Russia at breakneck speed, till there came the miracle of Stalingrad and a turn in the tide; then, slowly at first but with increasing momentum it moved towards its final *denouement*.

It has been a war of nerves and of material. It pressed to service on an unheard-of scale psychology, the sciences

and industry. It has been prodigal of wealth, for it sent up the expenditure of the great nations into truly astronomical figures. It exploited the utmost resources of human ingenuity in inventing weapons of frightful efficacy, and of increasing terror—the magnetic mine; the flying bomb, travelling at 350 miles an hour and emitting horrid sounds, described as “a vulgar, roaring noise rather like the rapid flapping vibration of giant obscene lips”; the long range rocket carrying two thousand pounds of explosive, ascending 60 miles into the sky and hurtling through space at a speed of 3,000 miles per hour. And last though not least, as the climax of this vertiginous progress of scientific discovery the atomic bomb, the most wonderful product of the human brain, the most awe-inspiring evidence of the power of human intelligence, made its debut at this vast levee of the Moloch of death and annihilation.

But even more saddening than these occurrences has been the stark realism of this war. When the soldiers of Revolutionary France overran Europe a century and half ago, they carried inscribed on their banners the inspiring message of liberty and equality, and in any case they spread enlightenment and removed clerical obscurantism, stimulated unity and nationality and combated particularism. The wars of the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century were fought for national emancipation and unification, and the first World War of the twentieth century roused the enthusiasm of countless millions because the leaders of the Allied Powers proclaimed that it was a war to end war, a war to establish democracy and to vindicate the principle of self-determination. During the war which has just ended none of the statesmen who were at the helm of affairs uttered a single memorable word or phrase which could stir the hearts of men or give them an ideal to strive after. There were declarations indeed. But the Atlantic Charter of President Roosevelt fell dead as soon as it was born, for all governments ignored it, and Great Britain repudiated its application to India. The declarations of Moscow, Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam were insipid generalities without life-giving virtue in them. And it was at Potsdam that the decision was taken to unleash the elemental energy which engulfed Hiroshima and Nagasaki in dire ruin and devastation. What verdict will history pronounce upon this? Of utter moral bankruptcy or of the temporary aberration of a people whose conscience fear and hatred had paralysed?

Is it surprising that the termination of the war has

not ushered in peace, that gnawing anxiety and apprehension haunt the world, that behind the dark cloud of suspicion gleam flashes of fear and hatred and peal thunders of unsatiated ambition and lust for power? Well may a modern St. Augustine, standing on the brink of disaster compared with which the fall of Rome before the onslaught of the barbarians would pale into insignificance, long for a vision of the *civitas dei*, the city of God where the weariness, the fever and the fret which have hitherto been the portion of mankind will be no more and where peace and tranquillity will dwell for ever.

But in order that such a vision may be transformed into reality, the historian must endeavour to understand the "sorry scheme of things entire." For knowledge alone may give us the power to transmute humanity's past failures into its future success. History more than any other discipline promises that understanding of man which explains man to himself. It reveals not only the ardent dreams of the prophets of peace which, like the many-hued rainbow, arch over the tumult of the river of humanity rushing headlong from the mountainside into the dreadful abysses beneath, but also the majestic spectacle of its even flow through smiling valleys and fertile plains of progress and achievement.

The lesson of history is "know thyself", and the challenge of this imperative has always stimulated thoughtful minds to devote their energies to the attainment of this knowledge. History is thus the perennial quest of man, for it is rooted in race memory. The cave man of the Pleistocene age engraving figures on fragments of schist and ivory and incising polychrome frescoes in the caverns of Dordogne and Altamira, and his Indian counterpart depicting scenes of dancing and hunting at Ghatsila and Srinagar in Singhbhum and Raigarh districts, the Naga head-hunter making notches on a stick to keep the tale of his exploits and the magician priest pronouncing a doom or performing a rite, recall memories of human exploits and of sacred traditions which constitute the subtle spiritual thread of tribal solidarity.

But although coeval with human consciousness, history receives special stimulus whenever the self-consciousness of a people awakens. Herodotus and Thucydides became the trumpeters of the era ushered in by the victorious end of the struggle between the Greeks and the Persians, a struggle which made the Hellenes conscious of the uni-

queness of their culture as distinguished from the cultures of the surrounding barbarians. The end of the Punic wars, which for over 60 years threatened the existence of the growing city state on the seven hills, stimulated the mind of the Romans and began their great era of literature and history. Their triumphs in the Mediterranean regions led to the foundation of a school of poetic historians who sang in stately Latin prose the paean of Roman glory. Among them the most noted were Sallust, Livy and Tacitus.

Within a hundred years of the foundation of the Islamic Millat the Arabs had overrun an enormous tract from the pillars of Hercules in the west to the banks of the Oxus and the Indus in the east. History offers no parallel to this amazing adventure of Arab conquest and expansion, and it found permanent record in the annals compiled by a succession of worthy historians.

The Renaissance in Italy was the result of the quickening of the modern spirit. Through humanism Europe began to recognise itself as the spiritual heir of the antique world, and inspired by classic ideals the Italians began to study the past with a passion. Machiavelli in his *Florentine History* (*Istorie Fiorentine*) and Guicciardini in his *History of Italy* (*Istorie d'Italia*) gave form to the rising enthusiasm for the nation-state. The impulse passed from Italy to France and to other countries.

The upheaval in France in the last quarter of the eighteenth century gave a tremendous impetus to European nationalism. The flood of Napoleonic conquest which passed over Germany fertilised the spiritual soil, and out of it grew the mighty tree of German historiography, which dominated the 19th Century. A conscious desire to glorify and exalt their fatherland and "to discover in the past a discipline for character and a guide for public opinion" impelled the German historians. Thus "for Niebuhr the true interest of the history of Latium was that, presenting as it did a model of national development, it served as an example to his adopted country of the methods by which a small people may achieve greatness. Even as Rome had gathered all Italy under her sway by a resolute exercise of prudence and courage so might Prussia, shaking off the foreign tyrant and incarnating all that was valiant and manly in the German spirit, unite the scattered fragments of the German confederation under her rule." Other writers carried forward the work of Niebuhr and became the academic prophets of German unity and Prussian power. Among them

was Von Ranke, the exemplar of historical impartiality. But even he did not quite escape the stirring of national sentiment, for in emphasizing the idea of the individuality of peoples and in defining the distinctive characteristics of each national group, he sharpened the consciousness of Germany of its own ethos and its special destiny. But Ranke's pupils were more ardent, and the historical studies of Waitz, the author of the Constitutional History of Germany, Giesebrecht, the panegyrist of the medieval German Empire, and Von Sybel, who wrote on the French Revolution "to unmask the baseness and cruelty of the French, the cowardice of Austria, and loyal courses of the Prussian monarchy in a distracted age", and on the foundation of the German Empire to eulogize the "blood and iron" chancellor who was the architect of the fortunes of a new Germany, brought history into intimate relations with German politics.

The Prussian school whose most distinctive star was Von Treitschke played an important role in the building of the German empire. Their lectures and books "preached the gospel of nationality and glorified the achievements of the Hohenzollerns". Treitschke expounded "the ethics of German imperialism to a generation steadily becoming more and more conscious of its inner unity, its military strength, and its great future in the world".

Even the great Mommsen, whose vigorous eloquence and massive knowledge have few equals among historians of antiquity, "was a convinced and passionate imperialist". Charged with bias against the old idols of Republicanism and in favour of Caesar, he wrote, "those who have lived through historical events, as I have, begin to see that history is neither written nor made without love or hate."

The wave of national awakening travelling over Italy, Spain and Portugal, Hungary, Greece and other lands stirred into activity historians who powerfully contributed to the advance of the national movements.

In India the rise of a national sentiment is a recent growth, hardly more than a hundred years old. For up to the middle of the nineteenth century the consciousness of nationality was absent from the make-up of our minds. But while the medieval social and economic organisation of India was crushed under the steam-roller of foreign conquest, and the upheaval of 1857 marked the end of

the medieval era, the operation of new forces nourished the seeds of a new life. The Indian National Congress came into existence in the nineties of the last century, and it began to gather into a centre the nascent feelings of patriotism in the different parts of the country.

Indian historiography, which had been practically the monopoly of the Europeans, then began to attract Indian scholars. Rama Krishna, G. Bhandarkar, Mahadeva Govind Ranade, Romesh Chandra Dutt, laid the foundations of the Indian School of history. Since their time an increasing band of Indian researchers and students have laboured devotedly and assiduously to uncover new materials, to critically examine new evidence—archaeological, numismatic, documentary and otherwise—to garner and collate facts, and to construct treatises dealing with the history of periods, dynasties, individuals, movements, and special aspects of the people's life and culture.

It is not possible in this address to undertake even a brief retrospect of the work done during the last 50 years. Such publications as the annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, the Bibliography of Indian History published by the Bombay Historical Society, bibliographies of pre-historic Indian antiquities, of terracotta figurines, of Indian numismatics, the report on the progress of Indic Studies (1917-42) presented to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and edited by Dr. Dandekar, and the admirable Bibliography of Indological Studies (1942) prepared by Prof. G. M. Moraes of Bombay, cover part of the ground. A part of it is surveyed in the addresses of the Presidents of the previous Congresses and of their sections.

It will be sufficient for my purpose to note that the Universities, other learned bodies, and individual scholars have gradually built up a considerable store of historical material, which reflects no little credit upon the workers in this field.

The war undoubtedly slowed down the progress of research, more specially during the last three years, because the libraries and museums were shifted from the Presidency towns, and increased costs of printing and control of paper reduced the size of journals and the publication of books. Thus, although scholars continued to devote their energies to the study of their problems, the period does not mark a signal advance toward their solution.

Thus, we are still far from the discovery of the key to

the Mohenjodaro script, or the understanding of the relations between the Indus, the prehistoric Indian, the Aryan and the Dravidian cultures. Nor have the old problems of the chronology of the ancient period advanced very much towards a solution. When did the Aryans appear in India, when was the Bharata war fought, what is the exact date of Buddha's birth, in what year did Kanishka call the Council of the Buddhist monks, what is the date of the first use of the Vikrama and the Saka eras? Who were the authors of these eras? By whom, how and when was the Satavahana dynasty started? Why are they called Andhras? What is the true interpretation of the Hathigumpha cave inscription and Kharavela's mysterious personality? What exactly happened between the death of the last Gupta king and the accession to the throne of Harsha?

These and numerous other questions await a final answer. Similar difficulties of chronology beset the history of Southern India. The Sangam age is still a matter of controversy, for scholars have assigned to it dates ranging from 500 B. C. to 500 A. D. Controversy has raged long round Sankara's date: has it been finally settled as a result of the discovery and publication of the inscription at Prasat, Kandol Dom, in Cambodia? What about the Ganga era? When exactly did the Alvars and the Adiyars live?

All these questions have a bearing on political and cultural history, and naturally much uncertainty concerning the development of our society and civilization remains.

But this does not mean that a great deal has not been done towards the elucidation of history. We have now fairly comprehensive treatises dealing with the entire ancient period in its political and culture aspects. The Mauryas have received the especial attention of numerous scholars. But in the post-Mauryan period till the rise of the Guptas the progress is not so satisfactory. The Guptas, however, have found many exponents of their achievements. The interval between their decline and the rise of the Vardhans, nevertheless remains obscure.

The history of the principal and even the minor dynasties ruling in the Deccan has received much attention. The Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas, Silharas, Yadavas, Kakatiyas, Hoysalas, Kadambas, Gangas, Abhiras etc., have either full monographs devoted to them or many articles in the journals. The Vijayanagar empire has been studied in great detail and with much thoroughness, and this is also

true of the Pallavas and the Cholas, and to a lesser extent of the Cheras and the Pandyas.

The enterprise of Indians in founding kingdoms in the South-eastern region of Asia has naturally excited the curiosity of the scholar and much valuable work has been done in unravelling the story of the foundation and growth of Greater India, which contains among its ruins some of the finest achievements of Indian art.

The period of transition from the ninth century to the twelfth offers difficulties of its own. At its threshold we meet the unsolved mystery of the origin of the Rajputs, and we cannot yet say with assurance how and when their clans migrated and settled in various tracts of northern and Central India. Almost every aspect of culture during this period needs further investigation—changes in religious cults, the development of the modern Indian languages, the proliferation and petrification of caste, the modification of social customs, the rise of new styles of art and architecture, and many others.

It is true ancient India has drawn the attention of a larger number of scholars than any other period of history, and many valuable studies have been produced: yet the fact remains that the state of our knowledge of this period is still far from satisfactory.

As to the Middle Ages, work has largely been directed to the production of monographs on the medieval rulers. This began with the life of Mahmud of Ghazni by Prof. Habib. Alauddin Khilji, Muhammad Tughlaq, Babar, Humayun, Sher Shah, Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan, and Aurangzeb, all have their biographers. The ruler of Oudh, the kings of the Deccan, the Sultanate of Jaunpore, Shivaji, Baji Rao, Madho Rao, Hyder Ali, Mir Qasim have had their historians. Medieval culture has been receiving more and more attention. Histories of Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Panjabi, Marathi, Gujarati and a number of other Indian languages and of their literatures have been written. Government, administration, institutions, economic conditions, religious movements and mystical orders have been analysed and described.

The modern period, which began with the establishment of British rule in Bengal, has not attracted the scholars in the same degree as the other periods, but since my friend Dr. S. N. Sen took over charge of the Imperial records, research in the Imperial and Provincial archives

has been greatly stimulated. Indian historians have started interpreting the history of India under British rule in a more objective spirit than that displayed by the British eulogists of the raj. Monographs on Verelst, Hardinge and Amherst have been written. Education, the Press, social and economic life, religious reforms, the services, administration, annexations, have claimed the attention of researchers. A well-planned scheme for the publication of records has been drawn up.

Much has been accomplished, but more remains to be done. The most serious gap is the absence of a synoptic view of the social and cultural development of India. Indian history has so far been presented in fragments; the only serious attempts at a total survey have been made by foreign writers. These have a value, but the history of a people must be written by the people themselves. Differences of culture create in all minds, except the most catholic, biases which are not easy to overcome, and without sympathy the intellect cannot attain that understanding of the innermost soul of a people which is the real object of history.

Let me make my meaning clear by an illustration. There is an unbroken continuity between the India of the Vedic age and the India of the twentieth century, yet the structure of society revealed in that remote age is profoundly different from what it is today. By what slow or rapid degrees has the change been brought about? We read the names of numerous tribes in the Vedas—Anga, Aja, Anu, Andhra, Alina, Ambushthya, Udicya, Usinara, Kamboja, and others. They were autonomous and sovereign. We hear of wars among them. We find them settling in different parts of the country, some of which have for ages borne the names given to them by the tribes inhabiting them. The Pali literature of the Buddhists bears witness to their existence in their original tribal organisation, but their number appears to have been reduced either by peaceful assimilation or by war; or it may just be that the writers have lost sight of them because of their lack of importance from their point of view. We thus get a picture in which 16 Mahajanpadas fill the scene. From this list are absent numerous names that are to be found in the Vedic list; on the other hand there are some new names, *e.g.*, Kosala, Vajji, Malla, Assaka, Avanti. If we compare these with the tribes which appear on the side of either the Kauravas or the Pandavas in the

Bharata war, we find that the Vajjis, Mollas and Assakas are not among the latter. But whether the Mahabharata list or the list of the Vinaya texts represents an earlier state of affairs it is difficult to determine.

The Puranas record a state of things greatly different from that depicted in the Mahabharata and the Jatakas. Many old tribes have apparently disappeared and many new ones have risen into prominence. How long did the Puranik tribes maintain their separate and independent existence? For with the rise of the Rajputs the whole structure of the peoples undergoes a revolutionary change. The Rajput clans spread over the north and the Deccan and the names of the old tribes are obliterated. The list of the Rajput families in the Prithivi Raja Rasa contains 36 names divided under three races—Suryavansh, Chandravansh and Yaduvansh. A comparison of this list, which represents the situation of the 12th century, with that given by Abul Fazl in the Ayeen-i-Akbari in the 16th century shows remarkable differences.

But the appearance of Rajput principalities coincides not only with the submergence of ancient tribes, it marks the establishment of the modern caste system. Up to the times of Harsha the number of castes appears to have been small; for, besides the four main Varnas, only a few names of occupational castes occur. But by the twelfth century castes and sub-castes have multiplied. Instead of one Brahmin, one Kshatriya and one Vaishya caste, we have ten main divisions of Brahmins alone—five Gauda and five Dravidas—besides numerous subdivisions based on regional and other factors. The old Kashatriya caste has disappeared, but Abul Fazl states that there were five hundred tribes of Kshatriyas, of whom fifty-two were prominent and twelve important; and that the Rajputs were divided into thousands of sects.

Since the establishment of British dominion the tribal organization of both the Hindus and the Muslims has disappeared, but the system of castes and subcastes has continued to flourish, with the result that communal consciousness usurps the place of tribal consciousness, leaving the consciousness of caste to adjust itself within the larger pattern.

The vicissitudes of tribalism, then, need investigation, for with them is intimately related much in our political and ethical history and in the changing mental attitudes,

manners and customs of our people. But the social structure is an organic whole and requires for its comprehension an integrated insight. It is necessary that the historian should understand the nature of the task upon which he embarks.

Now it is a truism that "all true history is contemporary history". Taine said, "let us make the past present; in order to judge of a thing, it must be before us; there is no experience in respect of what is absent". The step was taken in Europe by Lessing, who affirmed, "nobody ever writes the history of any age but his own". History is contemporary not merely because its study is governed by the dominant sentiments of time and place, but because the very concept of history differs from culture to culture and epoch to epoch.

For the ancient Indian mind history was Purana and Itihasa, and the two indicated more or less an identical substance, namely the knowledge which is characterised by five attributes—creation, dissolution, genealogy, ages of the world, and biography.

History for the Hindu thinker had a universal content, in which the traditions relating to the gods and the genealogies and deeds of famous rishis and kings were only a part of a larger whole. Where the subject-matter dealt with was the entire drama of creation and its whole course through the great ages to its appointed end, the reckoning of time on the basis of human chronology was scarcely relevant. History therefore was identical with cosmology, mythic lore, religion and tradition. The past was an illusion, for death was not annihilation: the body wore out but the reincarnated soul always found a fresh one, and the cycle of creation and dissolution, as that of the four yugas, repeated itself endlessly.

The Egyptian mind throughout its history continued to wrestle with the idea of death; it refused to acknowledge the final dissolution of man. The Egyptians endeavoured to make the body of the dead man everlasting. They immortalized his "ka" through portraits and statues, and his corpse by mummification. They provided the tomb with all that a living man might need—food and drink, ornaments and utensils, raiment and furniture, and even lavatories. For such a mind history as a narrative of that past which cannot be recalled has no meaning, for its world is a continuum between which was and that which will be.

The Greeks are supposed to be the first exponents of scientific history. But Spengler has pointed out that "in the world consciousness of the Hellenes all experience not merely the personal but the common past, was immediately transmuted into a timeless, immobile, mythically fashioned background for the particular momentary present." Take Herodotus, the father of history. "Istoria" for Herodotus was enquiry and investigation, largely a collection of tales heard in the course of travels, of legends heard from priests and old men, of reminiscences of participants in historical events. And he was aware of this for he said "this is the tale as I have heard it, of its truth I say nothing". Summing up his estimate of this history Macan says, "Taking the work of Herodotus as a whole, reading it through as we find it, the double key to history might seem to have been in his gnology, *Cherches la femme et n'oubliez pas le Dieu*".

Concerning Thucydides, who is justly praised as the narrator of the events of the Peloponnesian War, Collingwood remarks, "Great certainly, one of the greatest writers of all time. But to call him great as an historian is to misdescribe his greatness. What every one admires and rightly admires in him, is the quality not of a great historian, but of a great tragedian". Spengler says about him, "The mastery of this man lies in his truly classical power of making alive and self-explanatory the events of the *present*, and also in his possession of the magnificently *practical outlook* of the born statesman, who has himself been both general and administrator....His lack of historical feeling is conclusively demonstrated on the very first page of his book by the astounding statement that before his time no events of importance had occurred in the world."

Lack of historical perspective and an incapacity to think of the past as a living element of concrete thought, characterised the mythologising historiography of the Greeks and the Romans, Polybius, Tacitus, Livy, Sallust and others looked upon history as merely a handmaid to political art or a means of moral exhortation. And in the words of Croce, "When such ends had been assigned to history, its intrinsic quality of truth and the line of demarcation which it drew between real and imaginary could not but vacillate to some extent, since the imaginary sometimes served excellently well and even better than the real for those ends."

In the Middle Ages the humanism of the Classic age is replaced by a transcendentalism of faith, in which "ecclesiastical history overrules and oppresses profane history", in which natural law, blind fact, inscrutable chance, give place to the rationality of providence, in which the *Civitas terrena*—a synonym for *civitas diaboli*—is superseded by the *Civitas Dei*, in which human values are reduced to the single value of loyalty to the Christian faith and service of the Church, in which asceticism and self-mortification replace interest in the things of the world, and the consciousness of the real is so dimmed that the imaginary and the false pass for truth. The medieval mind was in the highest degree credulous and uncritical, and hence incapable of truthful observation.

The Arabs were the first to employ criticism in historical research. The science of evaluating the sayings of the Prophet and determining the credibility of the persons who communicated them laid the foundations of this scholarship, Ibn Ishaq, Ibn Hisham, Mamar-bin-al-Muthanna, Wakidi, Tabari were pioneers of a long and meritorious procession of historians, the most noted among whom was Ibn Khaldun, who "as a theorist on history had no equal in any age or country until Vico appeared, more than three hundred years later." (Flint). But with the exception of Ibn Khaldun and a few others the main defects of Muslim historians were a desire to exalt the achievements of the faithful even at the expense of truth, an incapacity to understand the viewpoint of non-muslims, and a personalistic politicistic outlook upon history, which unduly narrowed the horizon of thought and prevented the appreciation of complex and multiple causation of events. It is of such writers that a historian of early Muslim rule in India says "Reference has been made to the writer's habit of straining after effect. Hasan Nizami is merely poetic; so is also Amir Khusrau. But Barani deliberately inflicts his own fanaticism on the reigns he describes....It is a singular misfortune from which the history of Islam has suffered in all ages and in many countries that the historians almost always belonged to the small reactionary group of men who, being the only lettered class, were in a position to inflict their own prejudices on posterity."

The period of the Renaissance, the Reformation and Illumination in Europe was a period during which medieval supernaturalism was giving place to naturalism, and thinkers were beginning to realise that

the proper study of mankind is man. Machiavelli and Guicciardini are interested in the characters of men, in the actions of statesmen, in the causes of the greatness and the decline of nations; they have no use for the medieval scheme of four Danielic monarchies ending in the advent of Antichrist. Bodin occupied himself not only with the problems of government and legislation and the nature of the state, but also with the methods of studying and understanding human history. Montesquien, Turgot and Voltaire believed in history as an instrument for enlarging the limits and increasing the contents of experience and for broadening the sympathy of man for his fellow men. Voltaire observed: "The advantage (of history) consists above all in the comparison which a statesman and citizen may make of the laws and customs of aliens with one's own; that is what excites the emulation of modern nations in the arts, in agriculture and in commerce. The great faults of the past render services of all kinds. To pass the crimes and the misfortunes before one's eyes is to prevent them both."

These writers discarded the theological interpretation of history and the Christian values, and burst the bonds between the State and the Church. They endeavoured to write universal history embracing all phases of social life. They introduced the idea of the march of humanity towards the victory of human reason. Yet into their study they carried their passions and prejudices, and few of them examined history in a strictly historical or truly scientific spirit. Their conception of progress was one-sided, for it lacked the idea of development and their rationalistic concept of causality as represented in their catastrophic theory of history simplified their interpretation in an illegitimate manner."

But it is since Kant propounded the principles of critical philosophy that "mankind has acquired a new habit of thinking historically". History "in entering upon the *Sichere Gang einer Wissenschaft* (the assured pursuit of a science) has taken a place in human life from which its influence has permeated and to some extent transformed every department of thought and action". It is of this history that we ought to understand the meaning and significance, for in embarking upon the compilation of a comprehensive history of India we are undertaking a task which the academic world will judge in accordance with the criteria of the modern age.

Now as our survey of historiography has shown, history has only recently acquired the status of an independent genre of thought, as "a self-dependent, self-determining and self-justifying form of thought". In the past history was assigned a subordinate role. It was treated either as a means of religious edification and therefore identified with mythological cosmogonies, or as a means of inciting to virtuous conduct or of securing some other practical end—if, indeed, it was not considered merely a form of art serving but to move and delight. It is only now that history has come to be regarded as the pursuit and the expression of truth.

But if history is an end unto itself, how does it differ from science and philosophy? Science deals with facts, so does history; but the facts of science are spatial and they belong to an everlasting present. Take geology, which appears to be an exception, for it seems embedded in a past reckoned in thousands and millions of years. But the truth is that the geologist deals directly with the perceptible, the evidence of the strata of rocks which his eyes can see and his hands touch. Science abstracts from the fact all that is qualitative and individual and from experience all that is absolutely determined by universal laws. Its method therefore is quantitative and its quest the search of the immanent. Science takes for its basis the category of causation, the notion of an eternal, immutable, universal law which binds all particulars together in a chain of reciprocity and transformation. The world of science is physical, natural.

Philosophy deals with the idea, with the reasoned knowledge of concepts, of abstract entities. Its mode is transcendental, it considers things *sub specie eternitatis*, it fixes its gaze upon total reality. Mind as such is the object of its knowing: "the theory of philosophy is itself a problem for philosophy." For Plato philosophy is thought (*noesis*), thought unhampered by limiting assumptions and preconceptions; Hegel called it the pilgrimage of the spirit from the spirit to the spirit. The philosophical judgment according to Callingwood "must be an organic whole in which affirmation and negation, universality, particularly, and singularity are all present."

History is the study of fact. But the fact with which the historian deals is not directly perceived by him, it is not like the data of science, that which is given in his

senses. He deals only with the records of such data-monumental, documentary, vestigial. They constitute his authority, his evidence. He has to prove them, and their proof does not lie in experimentation or validating them through experience. The process of history differs from science for its facts unlike those of science are bound together in an irreversible order. By their very nature these facts are restless, empirical, elastic, like "a bacchanalian revel where not a soul is sober." History is therefore reconstructive thought, it is insatiable and omnivorous in its hunger for facts, but it proves them on the touchstone of its own idea. It is therefore through and through critical. But facts are fragmentary, discontinuous, shrouded in thick veils of oblivion. History has to recreate them, it summons to its aid *a priori* imagination, which by interpolation restores the continuity of fact and by its activity raises the dead to life and makes them the object of thought.

The fact of history is concrete and individual. It is charged with mind, though it is founded in space and time, and is a moment immersed in the unbroken stream of duration. Our intellect, however, has been evolved as an instrument to operate on the material universe, as Bergson has pointed out. It transforms what is qualitative into the quantitative and spatialises and serialises the succession of events and represents them as simultaneous points in juxtaposition.

History is development, it is a reaching and surpassing. It is not merely a cyclic repetition. Croce has well said, "Nothing of what has been returns, nothing of what has been can be abolished." There would be no history if there was only continuous change—the Heraclitian flux, nor would there be history if there was universal immobile fixity. The possibility of history arises because of progress. And because development is dialectic reality, history is dialectic thought. Polarization is therefore inherent in it, but it cannot rest in this act of diremption, it must supersede the duality of both fact and concept, of individual and idea, of determinism and teleology, of good and evil.

Historical consciousness is dialectical; it explicates, elucidates, justifies, but it does not judge. *Tout comprendre est tout pardonner* (to understand all is to forgive all), for the evaluations of history cannot be based upon subjective judgments concerning good and evil. Its judgment is the

judgment of thought itself. History is therefore "unable to discriminate between facts that are good and facts that are evil, and between epochs that are progressive and those that are regressive;" its aim is to seek and understand what function a particular fact, a particular individual or a particular epoch has fulfilled, what each has produced of goodness, truth and beauty.

History is synthetic thought, which has attained through the ages the status of an autonomous, self-legislating activity. It has developed the apprehension of the concrete by including in its consciousness larger and larger sectors of experience—religious, moral, social, political, economic and cultural—so that "history becomes now the knowledge of the infinite world of facts, an infinite whole of thought." But the claim to universality carries within it its own limitation. The infinite must ever elude the grasp of human intellect, the intellect which is the faculty of history.

Life poses ever-new problems and thought has to solve them. But "like the dyer's hand, subdued to what it works in," thought is moulded in the shape of the life for which it acts. Therefore there can be no finality about history and each generation has to rewrite the narrative of the past from its own point of view. This is not to say that all history-writing is valueless or that there is no growth in history. For history is continuously joining the end of a process with the beginning of a new one; like memory it preserves all that is significant about the past in the present moment. Thus it is that "every thinking of history is always adequate to the moment at which it appears and always inadequate to the moment that follows."

History is an eternal search for truth, but the most exciting part of this hunt is the pursuit and not the kill. Let those who desire to engage upon this high adventure, then, be of stout heart and of good cheer; for they will need for the fulfilment of their great endeavour all the qualities of mind, all the resources of knowledge: the creative imagination, the sense of beauty, and the sincerity of expression of the artist; the vision and faith of the man of religion, who believes that somehow this seemingly erratic blundering world is a harmony and that the warp of evil is shot through with the weft of rationality; the firm and steady gaze of science, which unwearyingly puts questions to nature and transforms the chaos of sen-

suous experience into the cosmos of the intelligible; the calm and serene temper of philosophy, which contemplates each fact in the context of totality and integrates partial experiences into a concrete whole, the pure act of the self-conscious mind.

SECTION I

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Ancient India Section of the Indian
History Congress held under the auspices of
the Annamalai University in
December, 1945.

BY

BENI MADHAB BARUA

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

When, just after finishing my comprehensive work on Aśoka and his Inscriptions, I am keenly interested to see a vivid historical picture drawn of India as seen through the Ages, it is no mean privilege to have this opportunity of briefly reviewing the progress so far made in historical researches in Ancient India and giving such guidance as I can to future researches in the field. Although I am conscious of my incompetence for this arduous task, I must convey my grateful thanks to conveners of the present session of the Indian History Congress for the honour they have done me by inviting me to preside over this section which I consider the most important of all as being concerned with the prehistoric, formative and most glorious period of our history. Here we are to make a broad survey of a vast field for research and patient investigation from the earliest times to the close of the reign of king Harshvardhana of Kanauj and that of the Pulakeśins of the Deccan.

If we take a bird's-eye view of the course of the political history of Ancient India, the chief event to be noticed and contemplated is certainly the rise and fall of the Magadhan empire. If we take a similar view of the course of the cultural history, the main facts to be noted and contemplated consist of the Digvijaya of Agni, the Dharmavijaya of the Buddha and Aśoka, and the Dharmavijaya of the *Great Epic* and Imperial Guptas. Just one *Vijaya* is to be left out of account, namely, the Trailok-yavijaya accomplished in the time of the Palas. It is

very interesting indeed to watch how the successive military campaigns (*digvijayas*) of a political character were great factors behind the establishment and expansion of the Indo-Aryan culture and civilization. The establishment of India's trade-relations and the gradual widening of the scope of India's commerce were equally important factors behind the same. However remote may be the beginning of the history of India, all the earlier processes of her political history converged towards the steady rise of Magadha into an Imperial State. It is equally true that all the powerful States that arose after the fall of the Imperial Guptas bore in their salient features the character and impress of the Gupta sovereignty. Similarly, however remote may be the beginning of our religious and cultural history, all the earlier processes tended towards the steady growth and spread of a vigorous type of ethical and spiritual culture which goes by the name of Indo-Aryanism.

The wavy course of the Magadhan history appears to have formed three prominent peaks, the first in the time of the first three Maurya emperors, the second in that of the Sunga-Mitras, and the third in that of the first three or four Gupta emperors, the elevation of the first and the third being by far the higher than that of the second or middle one. If in forming the first it saw Pali or the Monumental Prakrit as the standard official language, the Classical Sanskrit with its *Kāvya* style took the place of Pali when it formed the third, while in forming the second the official language was passing through a transitional stage. It may be pertinent to observe: "The India-wide *digvijaya* and *tirthayātrā* on the part of the Pandavas as described in the extant Sauti version of the *Great Epic*, and finally the great battle fought and won by them resulted in the founding of a grand Holy Hindu Empire of the feudal type. On this very model was built up the powerful Gupta empire under the aegis of which we reach the Augustan Age of Sanskrit language and literature, Indian arts and crafts, religions and philosophies, dramas and *kāvyas*, opulence and enjoyment. All the earlier currents and cross-currents of linguistic development met at last to make Sanskrit the *lingua franca* of the cultured laity. The *prabastis* or royal panegyrics composed by the court-poets or Pandits in terms of hyperboles, mythological fancies and allegorical equivoques came to extol the later *digvijayas* as unprecedented achievements in the annals of human history and culture. These are conspicuously lacking in the

homely Prakrit diction and simplicity, the direct appeal and sincerity of the edicts of Aśoka."¹

If we agree to understand by the history of a country its collective life-movement shaping the course and determining the character of a distinct form of culture and type of civilization within certain territorial limits and a definite period of time, it becomes incumbent on the historian as much to define spatially the territorial limits as to make a clear chronological setting of events in terms of time. In other words, the knowledge of geography in the widest possible sense of the term is to be used as an indispensable aid to the historian's duty of conceiving the collective life-movement in its manifold bearing on the different branches of culture and the divers aspects of civilization and representing it in terms of facts and sequence. The facts collected from all the available sources of information are to be tested, classified and interpreted in the workshop of history before these are sent to the next department for preparing a workable framework or structure. It is only when such a framework is ready that the master historian with his constructive imagination and proceeding in the light of problems can sit to his work clothing it with flesh, making it function as a living organism, and having a clear vision of the collective life-movement passing through the various stages, junctures and phases.

In drawing the broad chronological outlines of the history of Ancient India we have got, first of all, to take note of a remote pre-historic region, the knowledge of which depends almost entirely on the data derived from pre-historic archaeology. Here we are to witness the succession of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic types of civilization followed by those of the Copper, Bronze and Iron Ages. Thereafter we are to be confronted with the magnificent Chalcolithic civilization of the Indus Valley. The data hitherto collected are to be chronologically set, as far as practicable, so as to indicate the three successive phases of emergence, persistence and disappearance in the history of each type in relation to a place. We are also to note the transitional stage signifying a juncture or connecting link in the chain of continuity where there appears to be an overlapping for a time, however short or long, between the closing stage of the preceding phase and the coming stage of the succeed-

1. Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*. Part I, Ch. VIII.

ing one,—where, in other words, the old and the new seem to commingle before the second emerges as a distinct phase.

Whether the Chalcolithic stage is in any sense Vedic or it is chronologically pre-Vedic,—or, for the matter of that, Aryan or pre-Aryan—is a knotty problem which is yet to be solved.

Assuming that there is no abrupt beginning in history, we are required even to extend the horizon of our historical vision behind the Palaeolithic stage to have a peep into the misty region where the line of biological evolution just branched off from that of the anthropidae in general to enable man to appear on earth with his erect posture and the consequent specialisation of his limbs and the progressive development of his brain. In the nearer prehistoric region which may, for want of a better term, be called Protohistoric or Pre-Buddhistic and the knowledge of which depends almost entirely on literary and linguistic evidence, we are to witness the succession of the Vedic, Brahmanic and Upanishadic phases of the Indo-Aryan culture and civilization. Here, too, we are to demarcate the three successive aspects in the time-scale or duration of each stage as well as the juncture. In terms of the dynastic or political history this protohistoric region may provisionally be divided into three periods, *viz.*, Pre-Kuru, Pre-Parikshit and Pre-Haryanka.

Within the historical region we are mainly to watch the succession of the Sophistic, Buddhistic, Bhagavatic and Hindu phases of our culture and civilization. In terms of dynastic succession this region may be divided into as many as nine periods, *viz.*, Pre-Sisunaga, Pre-Nanda, Pre-Maurya, Pre-Sunga-Kanva, Pre-Neo-Mitra, Pre-Kushan Pre-Gupta and Pre-Pala, some of them admitting of further divisions. Here, too, we are to demarcate the three stages in the duration of each phase as well as the juncture.

Even within the historical region the knowledge of the Pre-Aśokan period is dependent mainly on a reliable collective literary evidence including foreign accounts and epigraphic records. As for the subsequent history, we can safely place our reliance to a great extent on the archaeological data and to some extent on the authentic literary evidence including foreign accounts.

In connection with the Pre-Palaeolithic region of our history two important questions are apt to arise, the

first concerning the probable time and place of the origin of man or evolution of humanity, and the second concerning the traces of the artifacts of men in the Eolithic stage of their existence. As to the first, the expert opinion of a veteran anthropologist of the eminence of Haddon tended to find the evolution of man "somewhere in Southern Asia, possibly during Pliocene or Miocene time."¹ This inspired Dubois to undertake his expedition to Java which resulted in the discovery of the *Pithecanthropus* with its high-bone distinctly human and standing midway between ape and man as regards the capacity of its skull. The discovery of the new Sivalik Primates has led Pilgrim to make out a strong case for the evolution of the Miocene ancestor of man from them.² The *pithecanthropus* of Java, a Pacific island which was originally connected with the mainland, has led Osborn to surmise that a Trinil race of men was living in India at that time.³

It is more probable and would be more scientific to think that when men evolved in Southern Central Asia including India, they did so at the same time at various centres, although no historical traces or scientific proofs thereof have as yet been found. It should be noted that Wright's theory of the sudden appearance of man in Central Asia by the intervention of God⁴ remains unconfirmed for want of proofs⁵.

As to the second question, it may pertinently be observed that the position of Eoliths as human beings is still uncertain. For the oldest traces of human existence attention is generally drawn to Noetling's Yenangyoung find of the three types of chipped flints in the Upper Irrawaddy region, to Wynne's find of a quartzite flake in the Upper Godāvari region, and for comparison to Blackmore's Dorset find of the rectangular flake, all in a similar conglomerate deposit of the remains of animals belonging to the Pliocene period. The quartzite-users have come to be regarded as the most ancient prehistoric men in India who appear, in Logan's opinion, to have inhabited the coast from Orissa to South Arcot and inland as far as Karnul before a colony

2. *The Wanderings of Peoples*, p. 15.

3. Pilgrim's article on New Siwalik Primates in the *Records of the Geological Survey*, 1915.

4. The Peking Man is considered the first man by some.

5. See his book on *The Origin and Antiquity of Man*.

detached itself to Tanjore and Madura to use quartzose in lieu of quartzite and another branch went across the Tungabhadra to colonise the Southern Maratha country.

It is almost exclusively in the Peninsular India including a portion of the Vindhya region and within the Gondwanaland of the biologists that the Palaeoliths and the early Neoliths lived, moved and had their being. As the main centre of culture, the Bellary district was to the Deccan Neoliths what Cuddapah was to the Palaeoliths of the early and middle periods and Chingleput to the Acheullean and Mousterian Indians. The Palaeoliths who were previously lake-dwellers at Heera and Chik Mulungi ended their career as cave-dwellers in the district of Karnul. The Neolithic settlements were founded afterwards all over Northern India from Assam and Bengal to the Indus Valley, nay, even in Further India.

The civilization of the Copper Age developed almost exclusively in Northern India and the primitive handicrafts in Copper, have abundantly been collected by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray from various places in Chhota Nagpur.

The Copper Age artifacts are still conspicuous by their absence in South India where the Iron Age seems to have succeeded the Neolithic stage. Numerous are the Iron Age pottery-bearing sites from Nagpur downwards, the Palni Hills being located as the main resort of the Iron Age people. This people, composed of two or three, even may be of four or five races of men, were evidently the builders of the megalithic structures and dolmens with which the ancient burial sites from the Narmada to Cape Comorin abound. The dolmens and other rude stone monuments found over an extensive area from Sweden to Japan with striking similarities existing between them suggest a problem of race movements and affinities which is not easy to solve.

The specimens of prehistoric pottery, the use of which goes back to the Neolithic times, show two main varieties, *viz.*, plain and decorated. Some of them bear a close resemblance to those obtained from Egypt and Eastern Mediterranean. The pottery marks and those found on rocks are now taken by Dr. Yazdani to be ideograms or prehistoric alphabets awaiting decipherment. But to say these is just to repeat what previously Dr. Panchanan Mitra wrote by way of reviewing the results of the prehistoric archaeological finds and palaeontological researches.

Now, far excelling these prehistoric stages and rude types of our civilization in its magnificence, high degree of excellence and technical perfection stands the Chalcolithic civilization which sprang up in the Indus Valley and the remains of which are but partially exposed to view in the two buried cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. The Buddha was extremely fond of comparing the romance in the discovery of the old forgotten truth to that in the chance discovery by a traveller of a magnificent old buried city.⁶ One such city known to him is Kuśavati,⁷ the capital of king Mahāsudarśana, 12 leagues in length from east to west and 7 leagues in breadth from north to south. The vivid description given of this city in the Pali *Mahāsudassana Suttanta* is in no way a poetic exaggeration if it be applied to the two Indus cities of old.

After all that has been written by Dr. Vats on Harappa, by Sir John Marshall on Mohenjo-daro and by Nanigopal Majumdar on the explorations in Sind, there prevails but a 'counsel of despair' for want of a sure key to unlock the secrets of the Indus Script. Many conjectures have since been made and theories hazarded. The Proto-Dravidian bias has led Rev. Heras, the Aryan bias Professor Sarup and the Tantric bias Dr. Pran Nath in their attempts to decipher it. Dr. Langdon offers us just a scientifically prepared table of the letters and signs with such comments as are deemed necessary for a comparative study of the ancient scripts, and his commitment, if any, does not go beyond stating that so far as their general forms go, some at least of the Brahmi letters have their prototypes in the Indus alphabet.

In the midst of despair about the decipherment of the Indus script there is now a ray of hope. In this connexion I consider the suggestion offered by Swami Sankarananda of the Ramkrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta, in his *Rgveda Culture of the Prehistoric Indus*, Vol. II, highly significant. All that is of supreme worth in his book is a clear indication of the way in which the Tantric Code, *Varnabijakosha*, might be used for a key in unlocking the secrets not only

6. *Nagara Sutta* in *Sainyutta*, ii, p. 104.

7. *Digha*, ii, p. 123. According to tradition, Kusavati reminding us of the West Asian city of Kush lies buried under the site of Kusinara. The *Ramayana* vii. 1207 and *Vayu Purana*, 88. 209 mention Kusavati as the capital of South Kosala and locate it at the foot of the Vindhya, as pointed out by B. C. Law.

of the Indus script but those of the pictograms in the Indian punch-marked coins, the cuneiform script and the Egyptian hieroglyphs as well. The study of the Tantric code has led him to opine that the Indus script stands for a syllabic system of writing.

I had all along thought that probably in a few Indus seals, particularly those of a religious character, the clue was given in the picture itself to the solving of the riddle of the inscription. Two of them are reproduced in the accompanying Plate. Happily our attention was concentrated on one and the same seal, which is popularly known as the 'Paśupati Seal'. My reading of the details of the picture in this seal has differed from those of Sir John Marshall and Swami Sankarananda in certain vital points. Here the inscription consists of six letters, and not of seven. The seventh letter to be seen above the tiger is just a repetition of the first, and its purpose is to indicate that the inscription is to be read from right to left. The first letter is a bare outline of the human figure in the middle. The seated man as a *Mahāyogin* in a Siddhāsana posture is lion-faced; his face is masked. Here he shows three faces, whereas in another seal (not reproduced in the plate) he has one face. The face of the second letter represents the space enclosed by the horned head of the buffalo worn as a crown by the man, the buffalo itself figuring on his proper left. The face of the third letter represents the space enclosed by the head and two ears of the rhinoceros figuring just above the buffalo. The fourth letter represents the space enclosed by the two forelegs of the tiger on the man's proper right, the fifth letter the fish figuring on the front edge of the seat and the sixth one the space enclosed by the two forelegs of the elephant shown above the tiger. The Yogin wears a tiger's skin as his upper garment, and his upper limbs, too, are covered by the same. Scanning it more closely, one may detect that all the details of the picture are sought to be combined in the single seated figurine of the man. The six letters are to be named and represented as follows, according to the Tantric code:

1. *Simhāsya*—*a* or *Narasimha*—*a* or *u*.
2. *Mahishaghnah*—*ja* or *Mahishaghnī*—*cha*.
3. *Khadgi*—*la*, *gha* or *va*.
4. *Vyaghrapadaḥ*—*u* or *ḍa*.
5. *Matsyaḥ*—*pa*.
6. *Hastī*—*śa*.

Read in the light of the above Tantric Code, the inscription yields the sensible word :

ajala-upaśśa or achala-upaśśa.⁸ The mountain-worshipped one"

This appears as the Indian equivalent of *Girisah*, a Sanskrit epithet of the god Siva. The language made out is a North-Western form of Prakrit which does away with the long vowels. The above reading not only yields an intelligible word but also explains the significance of the central figure.

The *Lalitavistara* mentions the Brahmi, Kharoshthi and Pushkarasari as the three parent scripts of India, the third one being evidently the name of a pictogram. The figures of scorpion (*vriśchikah*), bowman (*dhanurdharah*), balance (*tulā*), thief (*taskarah*), hen (*kukkutī*), crab (*karkatakah*) and the like may easily be detected in the Indus script and read in the light of the Tantric code: To be scientifically accurate, a single letter from the code must always be used for a letter or symbol in the inscriptions. If thereby sensible words can be consistently made out, then, and then only, the problem may be taken as solved. In the absence of a Rosetta Stone furnishing a key to the hieroglyphs or a four-faced Pagan pillar furnishing a key to the Pyu record, it will be worth our while, I think, to carefully and cautiously use the key from the Tantric code. The same key may also be tried in deciphering the pictographic inscriptions in the punch-marked coins which are expected to contain, as Buddhaghosa suggests, either the name of the locality—a village, town or city—from which they were issued or that of the maker.⁹

The question of continuity of the Indus culture through the *Rigveda* and the *Upanishads* may be approached from the subject-matter of the religious seal in which two prominently beaked, hook-nosed and dragon bodied creatures remain poised in the air from the trunk of an *Aśvattha* tree, being face to face from two sides, with their tails coiled round and inter-twined on the treetrunk so as to form a circular

8. *Upassa* might be read also as *upasa*. Cf. *patinina ajala*, *achala* in Asoka's S. R. E. II (Dh J). Failing to read the details of the picture accurately, Swami Sankaranand reads the inscription as *jalā patha tatam sakune*.

9. C. D. Chatterjee's paper—*Numismatic Data in Pali Literature* in C. B. Law's *Buddhistic Studies*, I, p. 132.

receptacle for four *pippalas* or *Āśvattha* fruits (Pl., Fig. 3). Here one cannot fail to see an old-world sculptural illustration of the famous Vedic allegory of two suparnas (birds?) inseparably connected as comrades and living on the same tree of life—the *Āśvattha* or *Ficus Religiosa*, one of them eating *pippalas*, the other not eating but simply looking on and reflecting¹⁰. This allegory contained the germ or trend of the Indo-Aryan religious thought. The peculiar representation of the Suparnas as Nāga-Suparnas need not astonish us because in the ancient popular mythology as preserved in the *Nikāyas* and the like they are often associated together. (cf. *Samyutta*, iii, p. 246ff.)

Barring this, the religion of the *Rigveda*, as we now have it, has nothing but contempt for the śiśnadevas or worshippers of the Phallic emblem. The worship of the Mother Earth might be singled out as another connecting link, but this, too, is only an unimportant phase. The Siva and Sakti cults as well as the Yogic method of mental concentration are completely ignored. It is very strange indeed that Manu places the Brahmavarta, Brahmaland or first settlement of the Brahmans, the worshippers of Aksharabrahma¹¹ or Sabdabrahma,¹² between the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī, i. e., in the easternmost part of the Punjab, and the land of the Brahmarshis in the land of the Kurus, Panchalas, Matsyas and Surasenas, whereas the bearing of the bulk of the Rigvedic hymns is on the Central and Western Punjab,—the land of the Sapta Sindhu including the Kubha or Kahul region. Even in historical times the Brahmans,—the Atreyas and Bharadvajas, originally a race composed of several tribes,¹³ are placed in Mūshika or the tract between the Sarasvatī and the Drishadvatī, while the Sivis and Charmakhandikas who wore skins,—lion's skin and the like like their deity—Herakles or Siva.¹⁴ The main

10. *Rigveda*. I 164; *Nirukta*, XIV. 30; *Katha Up.*, III., 1 *Mundaka*, III, 1, 1.;

10a. For friendliness between the two, see *Jataka*, I, pp. 10, 75. Their later separation as two classes of mythical beings may be seen from their representation as such on the stone libation vases from Babylonia and Assyria (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, II, p. 859)

11. The word *Akkhara* signified a word in the Buddha's time, cf. *Digha*, iii, p. 93: 'raja, raja' tveva akkharam. Cf. *Dhammapada*, 352.

12. *Bhagavadgita*, vi. 44.

13. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 133f.

14. *Ibid*, pp. 37, 112, 206.

fauna and flora of the Indus Valley are on the whole the fauna and flora of the Rigveda.¹⁵ There is every reason, therefore, to suspect that the extant *Rigveda* is just a later Kuru redaction in the sense this was made by the Brahmarshis working and thriving under the patronage of the Kuru monarchs and seeking to superimpose their own culture, the Kuru ascendancy as a political power meaning the ascendancy of Brahmanism.

From this point it is easy to consider the question of extension of the pre-Haryanka and pre-Parikshit periods of the political history of Ancient India. Here the credit is greatly due to Professor Raychaudhuri for having shown us the way of pushing back the beginning of the political history of our country to the days of Parikshit, which is to say, to the end of the earlier history of the Kurus and the Andhaka-Vrishnis or Satvats.

Here the Buddha is a great milestone for the reason that on the date of his demise depends the date of the beginning of the reign of the Haryankas with Bhattiya as the first king and his son Bimbisara as the second. We get here Chanda Pradyota, the first powerful ruler of the Pradyota line, Udayana, the last great monarch of the Paurava line, and Prasenajit, the last noteworthy king of the Ikshvaku line to appear as men of the same age with the Buddha and his great contemporaries. The date of the Buddha's demise can now be pretty well fixed and so also that of his birth and Buddhahood. The date of his demise as current in Ceylon up till the close of the fifteenth century was 483 B. C. The date which can be fixed on the strength of the Chinese "dotted record" kept up till A. D. 489 is 486 B. C. If the date of Asoka's first coronation be fixed as 268 B. C. on the strength of the dates of his five Greek contemporaries as known from the Greek records, the date of the Buddha's demise (268+218) is exactly found to be 486 B. C. This enables us to place the beginning of the Haryanka history somewhere in 566 A. D., making the

15. Dr. G. P. Majumdar, Professor of Botany, Presidency College Calcutta, writes to me to say: "The plants and plant-products in Mohenjodaro finds consist of wheat, barley, millet, date palm, cotton, pippal (*Ficus Religiosa*), Babul (*Acacia arabica*) and Jhāndi (*Prosopis spicigera*)—the last one conventional and unrecognizable—all being common in the neighbourhood of Mohenjo-daro. They grow in the Punjab as well. From a study of the Vedic Flora we can tentatively fix its locale to the Indus Plain proper."

Haryankas Sisunagas and Nandas the contemporaries of the Achaemenians of Persia or Iran having a dated history of their own. The *Purāṇās* offer us the dynastic lists of rulers of just four royal lines, namely, the Brihadrathas of Magadha, the Aikshvakus of Kośala, the Pauravas of Vatsa and Pradyotas of Avantī, all practically ending with the demise of the Buddha and finally a century after that and during the reign of the Sisunāgas.

In the dynastic lists drawn up in the *Purāṇās* from the end of the Bharata or Kurukshetra Battle we have mention of twenty-four Paurava kings as predecessors of Udayana, the ruler of Vatsa, and of twenty-three¹⁶ kings as predecessors of the Saiśunāgas (better Haryankas) of Magadha. The *Purāṇās* give these Brihadrathas full 1,000 year as the total length of their reigns. But allowing them each an average reign of twenty years we get about 500 years to denote the period which elapsed since the Bharata Battle and prior to the rise of Buddhism. But the date of the Bharata Battle is still a wild goose chase, Among the Indian astronomers, Āryabhaṭṭa (A. D. 499) places it in 3102 B. C., which is reckoned also as the starting point of the Kali Yuga, Vṛiddha Garga and Varāhamihira together with the Kāśmīra chronicler Kalhaṇa brings it down to 2449 B. C., placing it 653 years after the beginning of the Kali-yuga, while the historical *Purāṇas* bring it still further down as well as the beginning of the Kṛita or Kali Age to 1414, 1379 or 1343 B. C., in other words, to the fifteenth or fourteenth century before Christ. There is even reason to think with Raychaudhuri that the date may be placed in the ninth century B. C.

As a descendant of Tilak and Jacobi, Mr. P. C. Sen-gupta is raking up the old snake which we took to be dead once for all by going to fix the dates of the beginning of the Vedic Age and the Bharata Battle on the clear astronomical data afforded by the *Rigveda* and the *Mahābhārata*, the first of which is, according to his computation, 4000 B. C., and the second, 2449 B. C., the latter being the same date as offered by Vṛiddha Garga. He seeks to maintain that the Bharata Battle is a prehistoric event which is contemporary with the Indus Valley civilization, the description of the destruction of the Saubhapurī by Kṛishṇa in the

16. The number is made up of 16 plus 7. The number is wrongly given as 16 plus 16=32 in place of 23,

Vanaparva of the *Great Epic* referring just to the destruction of a city like Mohenjo-daro¹⁷.

Mr. Sengupta has, however, in Dr. Megh Nath Saha a critic to suspect that the astronomical references, in 'the striking consistency' of which he believes, might well have been introduced by the *Great Epic* compiler of about 400 B.C.¹⁸ precisely as Āryabhatta and Garga had in *Fleet* a similar critic to suspect that their reckonings were purely invented ones for the purpose of their calculations.

To my mind, without being unduly sceptical like that, we should better, as working basis, take and treat 3102, 2449, 1414 or 1379, and 1000 or 900 B. C. as chronological landmarks of the four epochs of our ancient history within the prehistoric and protohistoric regions. The fiteenth or fourteenth century landmark connected with one Parikshit may be provisionally regarded as the closing date of an earlier recension of the *Rigveda* tallying with the date of the trilingual Hittite inscriptions in the state archives of Boghazkeui in Asia Minor, recording the name of such Vedic divinities as Indra (Indro), Arunash (Varuna) and Agnish (Agni). Taking the first date to mark the beginning of the Indus Valley civilization, the spaces between the four dates may conveniently be treated respectively as the Pre-Parikshit I and the Pre-Parikshit II period.

The fact about the *Mahābhārata* is that it is in its latest Sauti Pauraniki form a typical Gupta epic, while in its pre-Paninian and pre-Buddhistic form just a vast storehouse of ancient chronicles, anecdotes and wise sayings in verse serving as a Brahmanical prototype of the Buddhist *Jātakas* in verse pre-supposed by the edicts of Aśoka. This earlier work of Vaiśampayana presupposes a lesser work, the *Bhārata* ascribed to jaimini; which in its turn presupposes a Kuru chronicle by Dvaipayana. There was a *Bhārata* Battle fought between the Satvats and the Bharatas, a second between the Kurus and the Purus,—both in the Punjab proper, and probably a third fought by the Parikshita Kurus for political supremacy in Northern India. There is an extra-Indian or West-Asian phase of the tribal and racial conflicts which must not be kept out of view.

17. *Ancient Indian Chronology*, p. 24.

18. *Science and Culture*, 1939, p. 482ff,

The pre-Bharata history of the Punjab proper or Udrichya-Uttarapatha including Beluchistan and Eastern Afghanistan is in the main the history of the Indus civilization with horse-necked bull as a domesticated riding animal used also as a beast of burden and extinct since, but definitely without the horse. The advent of the Bharatas in the upper Punjab from Uttarakuru to the north of the Pamir Knot (Sumeru) means the first appearance of horses there. Bhadrāśavarsha is the most ancient land of horse in Central Asia to the east of the Pamir Knot to which our attentions is drawn in the *Great Epic* and *Purānas*. Even the Pali Nikayas describe Kammāsadamma (Karmāsva-damya) as a Kuru town in the northern region of the Eastern Punjab. All the territories like Gandhara-Gandharva, Aśvagana (Greek Assakenoi), Ashtagana (Astagenoi), Panchagana, Kambhoja and Suvāstu (lit. "The fine abode of horse"), situated in the Upper Indus and Kabul region, derived their names from the different varieties of horse¹⁹, and this is precisely the tract noted in Ancient India for horse-breeding, horse-training and horse-trade. The Bhadrāśvavarsha of the *Great Epic* in the close neighbourhood is precisely also the region which is taken by the modern Zoologist as the place of origin of the 'modern horse.'

The geographical vision of the Vaiśampayana *Mahā-bhārata* was confined within the limits of the Aryandom to the west of Bengal and to the north of the Vindhyas and Godavari, but it extended over the whole of the Haimavata region. It portrayed the picture of an Age when all the powerful nations, tribes or races, accepting or not accepting the Brahmanic culture, were concentrated in the Punjab proper, even those including the Angas, Suhmas, Pandyas, Cholas, Andras and Keralas. In this connection I must not omit to mention the excellent work done on the *Great Epic* geography by Professor Jayachandra Vidyalankara²⁰ and Dr. Moti Chandra²¹.

19. Cf. *Mahabharata*, ii. 27. 27-28 :-

sukodarasamams tatra hayan ashtau samanayat ||
mayurasadrīsan anyan uttaran aparan api |
javanan asugams chaiva karartham samupanayat ||
Cf. also *ibid* ii. 28. 19.

20. *Bharatbhumi aur uske nivas*.

21. *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahabharata*, in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. XVI, Pt. II,

For the archæological material of the Haryanka and pre-Haryanka history of Magadha we must wait for the results of excavation. The Mani Nāga sculpture from the Maniyar Math confirms the existence of a shrine of Manikāra Nāga in Girivraja as mentioned in the Great Epic, but it cannot be dated earlier than the Christian era.

At the time of the rise of the Haryankas the cuneiform records of Persepolis set out a vast Achæmenian empire between the Indus and the Mediterranean, and between the Hindukush (Malyavat) and the Arabian sea, which also included Egypt and Ethiopia, while in earlier times the Books of Moses opened the history of the 'chosen people' and their monotheistic faith, laying the first scene of action in the adjacent lands of Havilash, Ethiopia, Assyria and the Euphrates Valley and offering certain striking points of similarity between the Israel beliefs, legends and practices and those of the ancient Brahmans.

The coming of Megasthenes as a Groek ambassador was a happy event for the account of India which he wrote. His critics are unduly hard upon him. His fabulous races were the races described in the Great Epic. But his 'Gold-digging Ants' were not at all fabulous: they were historical and no other than the Paipilika-svarṇas or Pipilikas of the *Great Epic* (ii. 52. 4),—a race of gold-miners. The historicity of the other races, too, can now be ascertained from the evidence of this work (ii. 51. 51). He had not exaggerated the fact at all when he stated that no Indian was held as a slave in the eye of the law or that both the philosophic view of life and law of the land favoured the treatment of all as freemen, the intended distinction having been between *de jure* and *de facto*.

With regard to Bindusara, it may, I think be taken for granted that Ptolemy's ambassador was sent to his court, and not to that of his son and successor. The representation of his name as *Amitrachates* by Athenaios and *Allitrochades* by Strabo was not unexpected. This was evidently based upon the Gandhara Prakrit form of Amṛit-asvadaḥ or Atriṭasvadaḥ, the first being the same word as *Amṛitakhādāḥ* or *Amṛitadaḥ* meaning a 'Nectar-taster' or 'Nectar-eater', and there is every reason to suspect that, like *Bimbisāra* or *Bhimbasāva* (*Lalitavistara*, *Ardhamagadhī*

*Bhimbasāra*²²) resulted from a wrong transformation in Pali and Sanskrit. His name in Old Magadhi appears to have been *Bindusāla*, Sk. *Bindusvāda*, here *bindu* being a synonym of *amrita*.

As far as we can judge from the Pali *Chronicles*, Bindusara was a lucky man between his great father and great son—a 'nectar-eater' and feeder of Brahmins. It is risky to place with Jayaswal any reliance on Taranatha when he attributes to Bindusara 'large conquest between the Eastern and Western Seas, etc.' The legends, especially those of later invention, are often misleading, and I would not give any credence to them if they are not supported either by contemporary accounts, preferably epigraphic.

As regards Aśoka, some of the patriotic historians have indulged in speculations beyond their province while making his *Dharmavijaya* policy responsible for the dwindling of the Maurya empire and the national decline of the Hindus. It is not the business of the historian as historian to speculate as to what might or might not have happened, for anything might or might not have happened in the world, if things were such and not otherwise. The most regrettable part was played by Jayaswal when he based his strong verdict on the strength of certain *ślokas* from the *Garga Samhitā* without understanding their purport. A Sanskritist like Kern found no reference in them to Aśoka's *Dharmavijaya*, here Vijaya being just a brother of Salisūka. Professor Nilakanta Sastri committed no sin in pointing out that the *ślokas* had nothing to do with Aśoka. But younger scholars would still fight a battle over it, carrying it even from place to place. Those who know Sanskrit will easily interpret the *ślokas* as meaning:

"In that delightful city of Pushpapura teeming with hundreds and hundreds of men Ribhuksha (Indra) will be reborn as Salisūka, springing from his *Karma*. He will (indeed) be the king as a result of his past deed,—a wicked soul in an attractive bodily form. (He will) terribly oppress his own territory,—a vicious man though swearing by the name of piety. He, the deluded man, will establish (in the throne) his virtuous elder brother, Vijaya by name, who was popularly known as 'The Illustrious One' for his qualities".

*Sa jyeshtha-bhrataram sadhum 'keti' ti prathitam gunaih |
sthapayishyati mohatma Vijayam nama dharmikam ||*

22. Here *Bhimba*=*Bhishma*, and the Old Magadhi *Sala* was probably=*Salya*, Pali *Salla*. Cf. the Old Magadhi name *Mathava Videgha* for *Madhava Vaideha* or *Mahadeva Vaideha* in the *Satapatha Br.*, and *Makhadeva* or *Maghadeva* for *Mahadeva* in the *Nikayas*.

Regarding the Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman I, I must point out that Kielhorn and Bhau Daji have misled us, one by suggesting a *kri* before *te* and after *Aśokasya*, *Maurasya*, and the other by suggesting a *na* after *te* in order to make out the word *krite* or *tena*, and both by imagining a slip on the part of the scribe. They ought not to have done that when *Aśokasya Maurasyamte*, with its vanishing Prakrit legacy, is a correct expression which means that the Yavana king Tushaspha came into power in Western India and caused the recorded good work to be done on his own initiative.

None need be surprised if in ancient sites near about Conjeeveram one gets traces of a trade-relation of South India with Rome and Persia going back to the first two centuries before or after the beginning of the Christian era. Buddhaghosa, the Pali scholiast, who resided in Kancipura (Conjeeveram), Mayurasuttapattana (Mayaveram), and other places in Chola or Dravide, noticed there the prevalence of the Yavana and Parasika (Persian) languages along with Tamil (Damilabhāsa), Telugu (Andhabhāsa), Oriya (Oddabhāsa), and the like, all of which appeared to have been deficient in certain consonants ²³.

The origin and inaugurating authority of the Vikrama (better, Malava-vikrama) Era are still a vexed question. It was obviously an era of local origin in Western India. The initial date of the Gupta Era, A. D. 319-20, has been fixed by Fleet and others primarily on Alberuni's methods of computing it by adding 241 years to the initial date, A. D. 78, of the Saka Era. Professor Dharendra Nath Mukherji is one of those who maintain that the Vikrama is identical with the Gupta Era. It is not the place to examine their arguments and proofs. I may simply point out that to push the initial date of the Gupta Era to 57 B. C. would be to court insuperable difficulties in harmonizing it with the historical process of palæographic, linguistic, literary, religious, philosophical and artistic changes. The accepted initial date of the Era is a workable one and it must not be disturbed, especially when the contemporaneity of Samudragupta and king Kitti-Siri-Meghavanna of Ceylon, established on an independent Chinese account, accords perfectly with Fleet's date of the former and Ceylon's date of the latter.

23. *Papanchasudani*, i. pp. 45-51; its *Tika* adds the name of Parasika (wrongly, Pahasika) bhāsa.

The problem of Vainyagupta's connection with the Imperial Guptas still remains, and this is increased by the discovery of another copper-plate grant²⁴ issued by his *Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa*, called Śrīdharata-rama. Its seal contains the representation of what Dr. J. N. Banerjea identifies with the Padminīvidya with the Gajalakshmi as its presiding deity, of which there are other examples among the Basarh seals of the Gupta period bearing the authority of the *Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇas*.

Here I must invite your attention also to the progress made in fixing the date of the Acyuta king Acyuta-vikrama of the country of Choḷa with whose reign the well-known Pali scholiast Buddhadatta connects his literary career. The traditional contemporaneity of this Buddhādatta and the great Pali scholiast Buddhaghosa is recently placed on a solid foundation by Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta of Ceylon on the strength of their identical compliments paid to a contemporary leading religious personality, called Thera Saṅghapala.²⁵ This very Saṅghapāla happened to be the head of the Mahāvihāra in Buddhaghosa's time. He was, according to the Mahāvamsa,²⁷ the leading Thera of the Mahāvihāra also in the time of king Goṭṭabhya-Meghavappa (A. D. 302-15), and very likely also in the time of his successor, king Jetṭhatissa (A. D. 323-33). Thus the Acyuta king Acyuta-vikrama unmistakably appears as a contemporary of Goṭṭabhya and Jetṭhatissa, of at least one of them, if not of both. Buddhadatta describes the contemporary Choḷa king as a scion of the *Kalamba-kula* or *Kalabbha-kula*, which is to say, of the Kadamba or Kalabhra family. Professor Nilakanta Sastri in his book on the Choḷas connects him preferably with the Kalabhras who were defeated and driven out of the field by the valiant Pallava king Simhavishṇu in the 6th century A. D. But Buddhadatta's description of the Choḷa ruler definitely as an Acyuta king suggests his connection rather with the Kadambas of Mysore and Karpāṭa who maintained all along the tradition of the Acyutarājas. There existed, moreover, a land-route along

24. Recently procured by Mr. Pulin Behari Chakravarti, M. A., from the village of Kailan in the Sadar Subdivision of the district of Tippera, East Bengal, in continuation of his brilliant work for the collection of materials for an authentic history of the Greater Chittagong.

25. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 209-11.

26. See his article in *The University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. III, No. 1.

27. *Mahāvamsa*, xxxxi, 114-15.

the banks of the Kaveri connecting Dravida with Aparanta, as proved by the joint evidence of the *Great Epic*, the *Rāmāyana* and Hwen Thsang. I believe the Kadambas were the forerunners of the Kalabhras in Dravida. The contemporaneity of the two Pali scholiasts, combined with the synchronism between Acyutavikrama and Goṭhabhaya, has led to great results also in other respects.²⁸

It was my duty as Sectional President to place before you a systematic list of important contributions made by competent scholars in different parts of India and the world since the last session of the Congress.* Unable that I am to supply you with any accurate information in the matter, I refrain from discharging this duty, and I may be readily excused for that in view of the terrible war situation through which we all have passed. The comments I have ventured to make on some salient points will not I hope, be considered either irrelevant or unworthy.

28. Barua, article on *Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa* in the *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. III.

* Here mention might be made of Radha Kumud Mookerji's book on Chandragupta, a Madras University publication, from which we may learn at least that the name *Maurya* cannot grammatically be derived from *Mura*. Stella Kramrisch's *Survey of Painting in South India* is a work of outstanding merit after Coomaraswamy's *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. B. C. Law's *India as described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism* is a notable work on the lines of the *Buddhist India* by Rhys Davids, which, together with the *Arthashastra* made known to the world by Shama Sastri, has inspired fruitful researches in different lines. D. C. Sircar's first volume of *Select Inscriptions*, a Calcutta University publication, is useful to all students of Indian epigraphy. The "*Amaravati*" published from the Archaeological section of the Madras Museum, is a remarkable monograph on art and history after Marshall and Majumdar's *Sanchi* and my *Barhut*. I wish T. N. Ramachandran's historical survey of Jainism, mostly based upon archaeological evidence were published as a sequel to Chimanlal Shah's *History of Jainism in Northern India*.

The publication of the first volume of the *History of Bengal* stands permanently to the credit of the Dacca University, precisely as the archaeological memoirs do to the Baroda State and its Department of Archaeology. Hirananda Sastri's *Nalanda and its Epigraphical Material*, G. P. Majumdar's *Some Aspects of Indian Civilization*, U. N. Ghoshal's *Beginnings of Indian Historiography* and B. C. Law's *Ujjayini in Ancient India* deserve special mention. Nihar Ranyan Ray's Bagiswari Readership lectures on the *Mourya and Sunga Art* indicate a new historical approach to the subject. C. S. Srinivasachari's *History of the Poligars* and Nilkanta Sastri's *The Cholas* add much to our knowledge of South India after S. K. Aiyangar's *Beginnings of South Indian History* and R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*.

A NEW PRE-MAURYAN STATUE

DISCOVERED AT
BHILSA, GWALIOR STATE

BY

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I am taking this opportunity to bring into light a new and important piece of statue, very recently discovered at Bhilsa, near the site of the ancient city of Vidisha.

Our stock of pre-Mauryan, or as some scholars hold, Pre-Asokan statues is very scanty. For sake of convenience they may be re-enumerated here :—

1. The Yaksha found at Parkham,¹ now in the Mathura museum.
2. The Yaksha found at Barodā, now in the Mathura museum.
3. The female statue worshipped as Mansā Devi near Mathura.
4. Another female statue of Mathura.
5. The Yaksha found near Patna.
6. Another male statue at Patna.
7. Kosam Yaksha Statue.

All these seven statues are discovered outside the Gwalior State. The Gwalior State too had already contributed to this stock and the colossal female statue discovered by General Alexandar Cunningham in 1874 is one of these rare sculptures and is a proud possession of the Indian Museum. Calcutta, being a princely donation of His Late Highness Maharaja Sir Madhorao Scindia of Gwalior. This made the total number eight.

Various photographs² and descriptions of this Statue are to be found in all the histories of fine Arts of India. Its date and subject have also aroused an acute controversy among the scholars. Some hold that this and the other seven statues are as old as 600 B. C. being the statues of the Devakulas of the Saiśunaka Kings while others hold them to be the statues of Yaksha and Yakshinis. I do not want to enter into the details of this controversy and satisfy myself by the mere statement that Devakula theory may

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1. Fig. 1.
 2. Fig. 2.

now be safely abandoned. Though the Saisunaka kings had political connections with Vidisha and Ujjain, it cannot be reasonably said that while the statues of the kings were raised near Patna and Mathura, the effigies of their queen-consorts were thrown at Besnagar.

It is also mysterious that no colossal male figure of such an antiquity is discovered near Bhilsa. Though my learned friend Dr. R. K. Mukerji has in his book "Hindu Civilisation" placed the Manibhadra Yaksha Statue of Pawaya in this early period,¹ its inscription definitely puts it in the 1st Century A. D. Thus we had only the Besnagar colossal statue which is 6 ft. 7 inches high and is in the round. This new image, with its partial treatment of frontality, boldness of features, remarkable dress and ugly execution of feet, has immensely attracted the attention of historians of art and art critics.

An exactly similar piece of statue is found near the old fort of Bhilsa. It seems that the piece was not in situ and it belonged to the site of the Besnagar female statue referred to above. It shall not be out of place to describe this piece and point out the minor differences it has with the Besnagar statue.

It is not a complete statue, but a fragment of a standing figure.² Both the hands are broken and only the upper part of the body just above the stomach has survived. The heavy necklace is intact. The left breast is also intact but the right one is a bit mutilated. The head and the two plaits are also intact, but on the face, the right eye and nose are mutilated. But the broad forehead and beautiful eyes are yet visible. The heavy earrings are also gone. This part of the statue is exactly 2 ft. high.

A comparison of this piece with the Besnagar statue reveals that the original height of this statue must also have been 6 ft. 7 inches, because up to the point of the lowermost end of the necklace the Besnagar statue is also 2 ft. high. Though the head-dress and the ornaments bear striking resemblance they differ in minor details. In the Besnagar statue the head is completely covered with embroidered cloth or ribbons. The head-dress of this Bhilsa statue is a bit different. The hind upper-part of the skull is covered with a plain cloth and over this cloth an embroidered ribbon of a width of almost three inches is arranged in two-folds crossing above the forehead and at the back, thus forming a beautiful broder around the plain cloth. The lower lines of the curls of hair are clearly seen on the forehead below the embroidered cloth. A butterfly shaped knot on the back, just above the hind crossing of the ribbon is very beautiful and reminds of modern decorations.

The two plaits of the hair on the back are just similar to the two plaits of the Besnagar Statue .

The earrings are mutilated, but it seems they were similar to the Besnagar statue.

The neck of this statue is decorated with two sets of necklaces. The outer one is a broad necklace of eight metal chains which are fastened at two places by square solid pieces. Though it differs in form from the outer necklace of the Besnagar statue, it is worn in a similar manner, covering the inner halves of the breasts and going a little above the naval. The inner necklace seems to be one ornament of beads having twelve chains. These have covered all of the space left between the outer necklace, except that at the lower most end a triangular space is left vacant, forming a cavity of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " breadth.

The Besnagar statue was found to be broken into two parts. The hands are also broken. The upper part broke in a slanting manner just above the waist, the Bhilsa statue also broke above the waist, but instead of slanting manner it broke in a straight cut and hence the stomach below the necklace is all gone. Unfortunately the lower part of this new Bhilsa statue is not yet found.

The similarity in size, formation and style go to prove that the statues belong to the same period, *i. e.*, before the Mauryas. I shall now state that both the statues belong to the same place also. The find-spot of the Besnagar statue is within a mile of the find-spot of this statue. The building material of ancient Vidisha is greatly disturbed by the builders of Mediaeval and even modern Bhilsa. May be that some one took this piece of statue from its original site. The similarity in the way in which both pieces are mutilated raises a strong presumption that both the statues were placed at one place and suffered from the hands of the spoiler at the same moment.

I am inclined to think that these two statues once decorated the royal hall of some Pre-Mauryan king of Vidisha. But the humble purpose of this paper is only to bring this new find to the notice of this august audience, therefore I reserve this theory for some future occasion, when supplimented by some more discoveries at Bhilsa, I shall try to throw more light on the subject of these statues.

NOTES ON SOME SĀTAVĀHANA COINS

BY

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1. *A coin of Siri-Sadavahana—*

The coin under reference was bought by Mr. Joglekar of Poona at Aurangabad which, it is interesting to note, is only 30 miles away from Paithan. It is a potin coin, rectangular, with sloping edges on the sides. It is un-like most of the Sātavāhana coins in an excellent state of preservation; the legends are clear and in bold relief. Like most of the Sātavāhana coins however, it is struck with a bigger die, with the result that we miss a part of the legends and the device.

Rev. Elephant (a favourite device on the Sātavāhana coins) with the leg portion cut out of the picture and very much resembling in pose the walking elephant in Rapsons's Catalogue Pl. I, Nos. 5, 6 & 7. Above the elephant is the symbol¹ and before it a fragment of a swastika as in Nos. 5, 6 & 7.

Obv. Ujjain symbol with a double pellet and a dot in the centre and in one corner a symbol that approximates to that on the Cuṭukulānanda and Muḍānanda coins.

Ins. *Rano S (i) ri—Sadavaha [nasa.]*

Traces of an initial *ra* and *na* are visible. It is a unique coin, more unique than the silver coins of the later Sātavāhanas. Sātavāhana is mentioned in inserr, twice as a family name and twice as a personal name;² but it never appears on the numerous coins of the Sātavāhanas whereon only the personal name or Satakani or both and sometimes the metronymic occur. It is therefore the first known coin bearing the name Sātavāhana³ which here is a personal name.

Identification :—One is tempted to identify the striker of the coin with the Raya Simuka Sātavāhana of the Nāneghāt *relievos* and the first king of the dynasty. But weighty palaeographical

1. Used only on the coins of a Siri-Satakani the Viliyayakuras, Sivalakura and Sadakana Kalataya Maharathi.

2. El. Vol. VIII Nos. 2 and 22 and El. Vol. X, Nos. 1118 and 1113.

3. Sadavahana is a variation of Satvahana as is clearly proved by the Naneghat epigraphs which use both the forms indiscriminately.

considerations stand in the way. In the Nasik ins. of the time of the second king Kaṇha as also in the Nāṇeghāṭ relievo and sacrificial inserr. of the third king *da* is invariably open to the left and *ha* has a rounded bottom much like the Aśokan ones. On the coin under mention *da* is open to the left like the leter *das* and *ha* has a pronounced angular bottom which clearly stamp it as later than the time of the third king. However it cannot be much later as *va* with the rounded bottom stamps it as earlier than that of the Āpilaka coin (eighth in the Puranic list). Moreover the first king bears the tittle of *Raya* and not *Raja*. A son of Sātakani I bears the name Sātavāhana. But we do not know whether he came to the throne. If so the coin can be attributed to him, though one generation is too short a period for the development of the alphabet. But against this may be advanced the plea that a Nāsik ins. removed by only two generations from the third king exhibits a greatly developed alphabet. All that we can at present assert is that the coin under mention belongs not to the first king but to one of the kings between Nos. 3 and 8.

2. Coins of Gotamiputa.

In Rapson's Catalogue certain potin and round coins with the elephant standing right and with the trunk upraised and tree with large leaves within railing (*No. 59 to 86*) have been conjecturally attributed to Gautamiputra (24th in the Puranic List) on the ground that one of them contains indistinct traces of *ga* and *ta*. (*No. 77*). The coin under reference resembles that type. Only the tree within the railing is enclosed in a circle, and there is a swastika above the elephant's head. The legends read as *Gotami-putasa*, and the type and letters are so unlike those of the Gotamiputa Siri-Yana Satakani coins that this coin belongs to the 24th king, and so some of Nos. 59 to 86 certainly belong to this king. Rapson would ascribe both the *Siri-Satakanisa* and the *Gotami-putasa* coins of this type to the same king (24th in the List). It would be safer for us to ascribe them to two different kings. Support is lent to this argument by another coin of a different device and type—elephant with the trunk let down and on the reverse a small ujain symbol with the swastika and a caitya of three tires surmounted by a crescent. The legend reads as [*ra*] *no Gotamiputasa*.

3. Siri-Satakanisa—

This type is so far unknown; the reverse bears an elephant walking freely with the trunk upraised a swastika above, tree with small leaves in front and two wavy lines at the bottom and behind to represent a river. On the obverse is a small ujain symbol and around it the legends *rāno Siri-Satakanisa*. The legends are small and the alphabet is later than that of Nos. 24's time.

THE PRE-UJJAIN CENTRE OF ASTRONOMICAL LEARNING AND THE FIRST CAPITAL OF THE MOURYAS

BY

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For the Hindu Astronomer, the City of Ujjain has been playing the part of Greenwich for well over a millenium and half.

However, the prominence of Ujjain can be traced only after the introduction of the Rashis into the Hindu Astronomy. The works on astronomy of the pre-rashi period and astronomical references from other works of the same period point out another city and not Ujjain as the place of their origin.

To sum up, the astronomical works of the Pre-Rashi period and the Arthashashtra suggest that they were produced at a place in or in the vicinity of Kashmir. The place was not only a centre of astronomical learning for well over a period of five hundred years but it was at the same time the first capital of Mauryas where Chandra Gupta and Kautilya flourished. Perhaps it might have been the capital of Nandas also.

The Late Mr. S. B. Dixit in his masterly History of the Hindu astronomy (in Marathi) has worked out (Page 90) the latitude $34^{\circ}/46'$ or $34^{\circ}/55'$ North where the phenomenon mentioned in this paper can be witnessed. Most probably Taxila can be the capital if no better evidence is discovered in favour of some other place in Kashmir.

KALIDASA AND THE MALIYA COPPERPLATE INSCRIPTION OF DHARASENA II.

BY

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In this paper we shall point out the resemblance between a passage taken from Kalidasa's Raghuvamśa and another taken from the Maliya copperplate inscription of Dharasena II. It seems scholars have not observed this resemblance hitherto. But it is

unquestionable and as the composer of the inscription imitated Kālidāsa, the latter must have lived before 575-576 A. D. which is the date of the inscription.

The Māliyā copperplate inscription belongs to 575-76 A. D. As we have shown above, its composer borrowed from Kālidāsa some of his ideas. So undoubtedly Kālidāsa must have flourished before 575 A. D. He must have lived long before that date, say a century, before it, for only in the course of long time his works could have been read and imitated in distant places in those days of birch-bark and palm-leaf manuscripts when there were no quick and easy means of bringing the writings of poets, etc. to the notice of all people.

The lowest limit for the date of Kālidāsa supplied by the Māliyā copperplate inscription, next only perhaps to that furnished by the Nagarjuni hill—cave inscription of the Maukhari Anantavarman,¹ is valuable for we cannot be sure, for the following reasons, about the limit supplied by the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman composed by Vatsabhāṭṭi. The so-called resemblance between v. 31 of the Mandasor inscription and vv. 2 and 3 of the Rtusamhāra accepted by Drs. Buhler and Kielhorn, does not help us much in determining the date of Kālidāsa, for the authorship of the Rtusamhāra itself is controversial. Even if one accepts that the Rtusamhāra is written by Kālidāsa himself, we are in no better position. The resemblance between the verses in the Rtusamhāra and the one in the Mandasor inscription is not so indisputable and substantial as to help us much². As for the resemblance between v. 65 of the Meghadūta and vv. 10 and 11 of the Mandasor inscription, here also we cannot be very sure, at least as sure as in the case of the influence of Kālidāsa on the composer of the Māliyā copperplate inscription.

HISTORICAL DATA IN DANDIN'S DASAKUMARACHARITA

BY

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Nearly forty years ago Mark Collins drew attention to the narrative in the eighth Uchchhvāsa of the *Dasakumaracharita* which pointed to the existence of a large southern power ruling

1. Fleet, *Gupta inscriptions*—pp. 227-28.

2. Cf. M. Chakravarti, *Kālidāsa and the Guptas*, J. R. A. 1904, pp. 158-161.

over Vidarbha, with no fewer than six feudatory kingdoms owing allegiance to it¹. Collins saw in this a reflex of the actual conditions existing in the days of Daṇḍin himself and therefore investigated the matter for fixing the date of that Sanskrit author. Since then there has been considerable progress in our knowledge of the ancient history of India in general and of the Deccan in particular, which makes it necessary that the problem should be rediscussed in the light of recent researches.

As is well known, the *Dasakumaracharita* describes the adventures of ten Kumāras who were followers of Rajavahana, the son of the dethroned king Rajahansa of Magadha. One of them was Viśruta whose adventures are narrated in the eighth and last Uchchhvāsa of the original work of Daṇḍin. The story of that chapter may be summarised as follows :—

'In the country of Vidarbha there ruled a king named Puṇyavarman who belonged to the ancient Bhoja race. He was a very just and righteous king who protected his subjects, chastised his foes and gave liberal patronage to learned men. He was succeeded by his young son Anantavarman. This prince though intelligent and accomplished in all arts neglected the science of politics. Vasurakshita, the old minister who had been highly respected by his father, counselled him again and again to apply himself to the study of *dandaniti*, but Anantavarman, coming under the influence of his courtier Vihārabhadra, treated the advice with contempt and gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures and indulged in all kinds of vices, neglecting the affairs of State. His subjects imitated him and led a vicious and dissolute life. As a consequence, disorder and lawlessness became rampant in the kingdom. Finding this a suitable opportunity. Vasantabhānu, the king of the neighbouring Āsmaka country, sent his minister's son to the court of Vidarbha. The latter ingratiated himself with the king and egged him on in his dissolute life. Ultimately, when the country was thoroughly disorganised Vasantabhānu instigated the king of Vanavāsi to invade the kingdom of Vidarbha. Anantavarman then mobilised his forces and called his feudatories to his help. Among those who rallied under his banner were, besides Vasantabhānu of Āsmaka, Avantideva of Kuntala, Virasena of Murala, Ekavira of Rishika, Kumāragupta of Koṅkaṇa and Nāgapāla of Nāsikya. Followed by these feudatories, Anantavarman marched against the king of Vanavāsi and encamped on the bank of the Varadā.² Vasantabhānu, however,

1. Mark Collins—*Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa and Dasakumaracharita* (1907), p. 21.

2. The Bombay Sanskrit Series edition of the *Dasakumaracharita* (p. 148) states that the army was encamped on the Narmada which is evidently incorrect. As shown below, Vanavāsi, the well-known capital of the Kadambas, was situated in the North Kanara District of the

secretly conspired with the king of Kuntala and caused disaffection among other feudatories also. They treacherously attacked Anantavarman in the rear while he was fighting with the invading forces of the king of Vanavāsi. The king of Vidarbha was killed in the fight. Vasantabhānu then contrived to cause dissension among the feudatories also. They fought among themselves for the spoils of the war and destroyed one another. He then appropriated the whole booty and giving some part of it to the king of Vanavāsi, induced him to return to his country and himself annexed the whole kingdom of Vidarbha.

In the meanwhile the old minister Vasurakshita, who was true to his salt, safely escorted Vasundharā, the queen of Anantavarman and her two children Bhaskaravarman and Mañjuvādini to the court of Mitravarman, the half-brother of Anantavarman who was ruling at Māhishmatī. The latter, finding that his advances were rejected by the queen suspected that she wanted her son to inherit the kingdom of Māhishmatī. He therefore desired to kill the young prince. The latter, however, escaped with the help of a trusted old servant and while roaming through a Vindhya forest chanced to meet Viśruta who turned out to be his relative. Viśruta then vowed that he would exterminate the king of Āsmaka and place Bhaskaravarman on his ancestral throne. He then disguised himself and Bhaskaravarman as Kāpālikas and repaired to Māhishmatī. There he killed Prachandavarman, the brother of Chandavarman, the king of Mālava, who had come there to marry Mañjuvādini. Viśruta also contrived to cause Mitravarman's death by means of a poisonous garland. He then married Mañjuvādini and looked after the affairs of State in the kingdom of Māhishmatī on behalf of Bhaskaravarman.

Dandin's narrative ends here abruptly. So we do not know whether Viśruta succeeded in fulfilling his vow by destroying Vasantabhānu and reinstating Bhaskaravarman on the throne of Vidarbha.⁸

The narrative sketched above points to the existence of a large southern Empire. The Emperor belonged to the ancient lineage of Bhoja. He ruled directly over Vidarbha which comprised

Bombay Presidency. The ruler of Vanavasi could not have penetrated to the Narmada, without overrunning the entire Vidarbha which he had not evidently done. I therefore accept the reading *Vatada-rodhasi* (in place of *Narmada-rodhasi*) given by an old Ms., which is evidently a mistake for *Varada-rodhasi* 'on the bank of the Wardha'. (See Agashes ed, p. 138, n.) Since this was written my friend Mr. P. K. Gode informs me that the heading *Varada rodhasi* is actually given by an old Ms. of the work, dated V. S. 1816, now deposited in the Bhandarkar Institute.

3. The *Uttarapithika* which completes the story states that Viśruta succeeded in fulfilling his vow, but this work is very late.

modern Berar, the Marathi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces and the portion of the Nizam's State north of the Godāvari. The kingdom of Anūpa whose capital was Māhishmatī, was incorporated with that of Vidarbha and was ruled by the Emperor's half-brother. Vidarbha had a number of feudatory kingdoms, viz., Murala, Kuntala, Asmaka, Rishika, Nāsikya and Koṅkaṇa. Of these Kuntala comprised the upper valley of the Kṛishṇa and included the modern Southern Maratha country and the Kanarese districts of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Its northern limit was probably the Godāvari.⁴ This seems to have been a powerful kingdom, for Vasantabhanu wanted to enlist its ruler's support to his plot before he approached other feudatories. Aśmaka which figures very prominently in the story comprised, according to the *Suttanipata*, the country along the bank of the Godāvari. Rishika which is mentioned together with Vidarbha, Aśmaka and Anūpa in the Epics and inscriptions,⁵ could have been none other than the modern district of Khandesh as shown by me elsewhere. Aśmaka and Rishika were thus contiguous countries and were separated from each other by the Ajanta or Satmala range. Murala was perhaps the country watered by the Murala which figures in the *Uttararamacharita* as a tributary of the Godāvari. Nāsikya was of course the country round Nasik in the Bombay Presidency. Koṅkaṇa is the well-known name of the strip of land between the western sea and the Sahyadri mountain.

The Empire of Anantavarman therefore extended from the Narmada in the North to the Tungabhadra in the South and from the Arabian sea in the West to the Wainganga in the East. Beyond the frontiers of this kingdom lay the powerful kingdom of Malava in the North, that of Kosala (modern Chhattisgarh) in the East and of Vanavasi (modern Banvasi in North Kanara) in the South. Malava and Kosala appear to have been friendly to Vidarbha; the latter was even matrimonially allied with it. Vanavasi, however, seems to have been hostile.

Mark Collins showed that this state of things existed only in the sixth century A. D. under the rule of the Vakatakas. When he wrote, the chronology of the Vakatakas was very uncertain. Owing to the mistaken identification of Devagupta mentioned in Vakataka land-grants with the homonymous king who belonged to the dynasty of the Later Guptas,⁶ the Vakatakas were believed to have flourished in the eighth century A. D. It redounds to the credit of Collins that he did not subscribe to the prevalent view, but independently evaluated the evidence and showed that the

4. A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXV, p. 40.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 167 ff.

6. This identification was first proposed by Dr. Fleet and was accepted by Dr. Kielhorn. Dr. Buhler, however dissented from it and placed the Vakatakas in the 5th century A. D.

Vākātakas flourished in the Gupta age—a conclusion which has since been incontrovertibly proved by the discovery of the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā; for they show that Devagupta was another name of Chandragupta II. In some other respects, however, Collin's conclusions were erroneous, based as they were on insufficient date.⁷ We shall therefore review the history of the age to see what particular period of the Vākātaka rule is reflected in Daṇḍin's narrative.

We must remember at the outset that we must not expect to find the names of historical personages in this narrative. Like his predecessor Kālidāsa and his successors Rājasekhara and Padmagupta,⁸ Daṇḍin has plainly changed the names of the characters who figure in the story. But in other respects his narrative may be expected to contain a reflex on the historical events.

Let us first take a brief survey of Vākātaka history. Towards the close of the third century A. D. the Vākātakas had a fairly extensive empire in the Deccan. Pravarasena I who was the real founder of Vākātaka power, is said to have performed four Aśvamedhas besides several other Srauta sacrifices. He had four sons among whom, according to the Purāṇas,⁹ his extensive empire was divided after his death. The eldest branch held northern Vidarbha and ruled first from Nandivardhana near Ramtek (ancient Ramagiri) in the Nagpur District and afterwards from Pravarapura which has not yet been identified, but which may be Paunar in the Wardha District. The second branch ruled over southern Vidarbha from Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akola District. The other two branches may have ruled to the south of the Godāvari, but their records have not yet been discovered. They seem to have been crushed out of existence by a Rashtrakūta family which rose in Southern Maharashtra in the last quarter of the 4th century A. D.¹⁰

7. For instance, Collins thought that the Vakatakas rose to power in circa A. D. 400 and flourished till A. D. 600 and that they were connected with the Western Kshatrapas who disappear from history towards the close of the 4th century A. D. He also identified Prithivishena whose feudatory Vyaghradeva's inscription found at Nachna, with the first Vakataka prince of that name. In all these respects his conclusions have been proved to be erroneous.

8. I have shown elsewhere that Kalidasa's play *Malavikāgnimitra* reflects that matrimonial alliance between the Guptas and the Vakatakas. See my Marathi book, Kalidasa, pp. 1446. For the historical data in Rājasekhara's *Viddhasalabhanjika* and Padmagupta's *Navasahasankacharita* see my articles in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XI, pp. 361 ff and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 101 ff.

9. See Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 50.

10. See my article 'The Rashtrakutas of Manapura' in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36 ff.

The eldest branch produced several kings the best known of whom is Pravarasena II, the daughter's son of Chandragupta II-Vikramaditya and the reputed author of the Prakrit *kāvya* *Setubandha*. During the reign of Prithivishena II this branch seems to have extended its sway to the north of the Narmadā as some stone inscriptions of this king's feudatory Vyāghradeva who is plainly identical with the Uchchhakalpa king Vyāghra have been found in the Jaso and Ajayagadh States in Central India. This branch seems to have come to an end soon after Prithivishena II who is the last king of this branch known from inscriptions.

The Vatsagulma branch also produced some great kings whose names are known from an inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta. The last of them known so far was Harishena (Cireā 475—500 A. D.). He was a very powerful and ambitious ruler. He appears to have annexed Northern Vidarbha after the death of Prithivishena II and either raided or exacted tribute from the rulers of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosalā, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa and Andhra.¹² It was during his reign that three of the most beautiful caves at Ajanta, viz., caves XVI, XVII and XIX, as well as the Ghaṭotkacha cave at Gulwāḍa were excavated and decorated.

The description of Harishena's conquests in the Ajanta inscription shows that his empire extended beyond the Narmadā in the North and the Kṛishnā in the South and from the Arabian sea in the West to the Bay of Bengal in the East. The Vākṇṭaka power crumbled soon after Harishena, for no successor of his is known from inscriptions. The circumstances which caused the sudden downfall of such a powerful empire have not been recorded in history. The eighth chapter of the *Dasakumaracharita*, if properly interpreted, may throw welcome light on this question.¹³

The *Dasakumaracharita* names Puṇyavarman and his son Anantavarman as kings of Vidarbha and Mitravarman as the ruler of Mahishmati. All these belonged to the ancient Bhoja race. The ancient history of Vidarbha, known so far, discloses no such dynasty of Varman kings. The Vākṭakas, who alone could have been meant here, and their names ending in *sena*.

11. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 233; Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, pp. 12 ff.

12. The names of these countries occur in a mutilated verse in U. 14-15 in the inscription in cave VI at Ajanta in connection with the description of Harishena.

13. Mark Collison thought that the political condition described in the *Dasakumaracharita* existed before the time of Harishena; for Dandin describes Kuntala as a feudatory kingdom, while in the Ajanta inscription it is said to have been conquered by Harishena, which shows that it was independent. See his *Geographical Data* etc., p. 46. The argument does not appear convincing.

The names of the characters in the *Dasakumaracharita* are therefore purposely changed. Again, the Vākātakas nowhere in their records connect themselves with the ancient Bhoja race. The Chammak plates¹⁴ of the Vākātaka king Pravarasena II no doubt mention *Bhojakatarajya* as a territorial division of Vidarbha, from which Collins has inferred that Vākātakas called themselves Bhojas and ruled from Bhojakaṭa, but the inference does not appear to be justifiable. It is not however unlikely that the Vākātakas who ruled over Vidarbha, the land of the Bhojas may have been popularly supposed to be of the Bhoja race. The commentator of the *Setubandha* has recorded the tradition that Pravarasena, the author of that Kāvya was, according to some, called Bhojadeva.¹⁵

The *Dasakumaracharita* mentions several feudatories of Anantavarman and therefore of his father Punyvarman whom we have identified with Harisheṇa. Let us see if any of them are known from other sources to have acknowledged the supremacy of the king of Vidarbha.

1. Vasantabhanu of Aśmaka—Aśmaka, as already stated, was the name of the country between the Sātmāla range and the Godāvari river. In the recently discovered Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli plates it is mentioned together with Vidarbha as conquered by Mānāka of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty and may have been in subordinate alliance with the former. No records of the ruling family have yet been discovered, but that Aśmaka was ruled as a separate country in the 6th century A. D. is shown by an inscription of that age in Cave XXVI at Ajanta which names two ministers of the rulers of Aśmaka.

2. Avantideva of Kuntala—I have shown elsewhere that contemporary with the Vākātakas there was a dynasty of the Rāshtrakūṭas ruling over the country of Kuntala which comprised the upper valley of the Krishṇā. Their capital was Manapura, modern Mān on the Mān river in the Sātārā District, which was founded by Mānāka, the progenitor of the family. The country of Kuntala was conterminous with Vidarbha and therefore its rulers often came into conflict with the Vākātakas of Vatsagulma.¹⁶ The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta records two victories of the Vākātakas over the kings of Kuntala, the first during the reign of Sarvasena and the second during that of Harisheṇa.¹⁷ The king of Kuntala must have been smarting under the defeat inflicted by Harisheṇa and therefore must have welcomed the

14. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 235 ff.

15. Cf. *Pravaraseno Bhojadeva iti kechit* in the com. on v. 9.

16. See my article the Rashtrakutas of Manapura, *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36 ff.

17. Mirashi, *Vakataka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta* (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 14), pp. 4 ff.

opportunity to throw off the Vakāṭaka yoke during the reign of Harishena's week successor.

3. Ekavira of Rishika—Rishika, as stated above, was the ancient name of the modern Khandesh District. As I have shown elsewhere¹⁸ from some copper-plate grants discovered in Khandesh, there was a feudatory family ruling over this country in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. Its capital was Valkha which I have identified with Vāghli near Chalisgaon. A large, but sadly mutilated, inscription in cave XVII at Ajanta mentions a long line of twelve princes which, from their names, appears to have been connected with the family ruling at Vāghli. The last of these princes, being very much grieved by the death of his younger brother, caused the caves XVII and XIX to be excavated at Ajanta 'while Harishena, the moon among princes, was ruling the earth.' The mention of the Vakāṭaka ruler clearly indicates that this ruler of Rishika was his feudatory.

4. Nāgapāla of Nāsikya—This prince probably belonged to the royal family of the Traikūṭakas who are known from their inscriptions and coins to have held Northern Maharashtra and Southern Gujarat in the fifth century A. D. The Traikūṭakas at first owned the supremacy of the Ābhiras whose era they use in their inscriptions, but later on they became independent, for one of them, Dahrasena, (circa A. D. 450-75) performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. Harishena claims to have defeated the ruler of Triakūṭa who was probably Vyāghrasena, for a copper-plate grant of the latter is dated K. 241 (A. D. 490). Triakūṭa, from which the royal family took its name, was the range of hills which bordered the Nāsik District on the west. The recently discovered Anjaneri plates of Bhogaśakti mention *Purva-Tarikuta-vishaya* or Eastern Triakūṭa District¹⁹ which shows plainly that there was a district named after the mountain which divided it into two parts.

5. Kumāragugta of Koṅkana—The early history of Koṅkana is still uncertain for want of contemporary inscriptions. The country was occupied by the Sakas and the Sātavāhanas in the early centuries of the Christian era, but who succeeded them is not yet definitely known. In K. 245 (A. D. 494) Koṅkana was under the rule of the Traikūṭakas, for copper-plate of that year which was discovered in the Stūpa at Kanheri mentions 'the increasingly victorious rule of the Traikūṭakas. Perhaps the ruler of Koṅkana, whoever he was, at first owned allegiance to the Traikūṭakas, but submitted to the Vakāṭakas when they vanquished the Traikūṭakas.

6. Virasena of Murala—As shown above, the country of Murala may have been situated not far from the bank of the

18. A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXV, pp.

19. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXV, p. 232.

Godāvari, but we have no knowledge of any dynasty ruling there.

We have thus seen that all these feudatories were ruling either to the west or to the south of Vidarbha. Harishēṇa claims to have conquered the eastern kingdoms of Kalinga, Kosalā and Āndhara also, but none of these are mentioned in the story, probably because they did not join Vasantabhanu's conspiracy. Two of these were probably relatives of the Vākātaka king. The *Dasakumāracharita* states that Anantavarman's mother was the daughter of the king of Kosalā, i. e., Dakṣiṇa Kosala or Chhat-tisgarh. That the ruler of Kosalā had submitted to the Vākātakas is known also from the incomplete Bālaghāt plates of Prithivishēṇa II. The contemporary ruler probably belonged to the so-called dynasty of Sarabhapura.²⁰ The Āndhra king who may have belonged to the Vishṇukunḍin family, was also matrimonially connected with the Vākātakas, for Mādhavavarman I who laid the foundation of Vishṇukunḍin power in the Āndhra country, married a Vākātaka princess who was probably a descendant of Harishēṇa himself.

The *Dasakumāracharita* mentions, besides these feudatory states, the kingdoms of Māhishmatī and Mālava in the North and that of Vanavāsī in the South. The country of Anūpa of which Māhishmatī was the capital, comprised the territory corresponding to the Nemād districts of the Central Provinces, and the Indore State. Of this country too we have little information, but from two copper-plate grants discovered in the Barwani and Gwalior States²¹ we learn that a king named Subandhu was ruling at Māhishmatī in the fifth century A. D., for one of the grants is dated in the (Kalachuri) year 167 (A. D. 416-17). He does not appear to have belonged to the Vākātaka family. Afterwards the country may have been annexed to the Vākātaka dominion and placed under a member of the royal family.

Chandavarman of Mālava.—This country was then ruled by a very powerful ruler who may have been Yaśodharman of Mandasore, the famous vanquisher of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula. The Mandasore stone pillar inscription of this king states that his empire extended over a very wide country stretching from

20. I have shown elsewhere that the so-called kings of Sarabhapura flourished in circa 500-530 H. D. See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXV. p. 228.

21. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 261 ff. and *An. Rep.* A. S. of the *Gwalior State* for 1928-29, p. 15. The editor of the Barwani plates refers this date to the Gupta era, but the general resemblance of this grant to those of the kings of Valkha (*A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 f.) leaves no doubt that like the latter it also is dated in the so-called Kalachuri Chedi era of A. D. 249-50. See my article on the age of the Bagh Caves, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f.

the Himalayas and the Brahmaputra in the North to the Arabian Sea and the Mahendra mountain in the South.

Bhānuvarman of Vanavāsi—Vanavāsi, also called Vaijayanti (modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District), was the capital of the Kadambas. The Kadamba chronology is still uncertain, but that there was a powerful kingdom of the Kadambas in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. is undeniable. The last king of the main line was Harivarman whose Sangoli plates seem to have been issued either in A. D. 526 or A. D. 545. His father was Ravivarman who may have been identical with Bhānuvarman²² mentioned in the *Dasakumaracharita*.

The description in the *Dasakumaracharita* is thus corroborated in all important details by what we know about the history of the Deccan in the beginning of the sixth century A. D. It clearly suggests that the central power in the Vākāṭaka Empire became weak and feudatories began to show signs of revolt during the reign of Harishena's weak successor who led a dissolute life. There was chaos and confusion everywhere in the Vākāṭaka kingdom which ultimately led to an invasion by the Kadambas Vanavāsi at the instigation of the ruler of Āsmaka. Owing to the treacherous defection of some other feudatories, the Vākāṭaka king suffered a disastrous defeat and was killed in the fight. The Āsmaka king then annexed Vidarbha to his kingdom. As Daṇḍin's narrative ends abruptly, we do not know whether Bhāskaravarman whom we have identified with Harishena's grandson, regained the ancestral throne with external help. But even if he did, he could not have kept it long. And this is what actually happened; for within about fifty years of Harishena's death, Vidarbha was occupied by the Kalachuris who had, in the meanwhile, established themselves at Mahishmati. Silver coins of Kṛishnaraja (circa A. D. 550—575), the founder of Kalachuri power, have been discovered in the Amraoti District of Berar and the Betul District of the Central Provinces. From some other indications²³ also we can infer that Vidarbha was occupied by the Kalachuris during the time of Kṛishnaraja.

The foregoing discussion must make it plain that Daṇḍin's narrative faithfully reflects the actual political situation in the

22. There was actually a prince named Bhanuvarman of the Kadamba family at this time, but he was not the ruling king as required. He was the brother of the then ruling king Ravivarman. See his Hāsi grant dated in the 11th year of Ravivarman's reign. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 28.

23. As I have shown elsewhere (*A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 48) the records of the Rashtrakutas who later on established themselves at Achalapura (modern Ellichpury) in Berar, copy certain expressions from the description of Kṛishnaraja in the grants of the Kalachuris which plainly shows that Kṛishnaraja had occupied Vidarbha.

Deccan in the beginning of the sixth century A. D. Such detailed knowledge of the different kingdoms flourishing in that age clearly indicates that Daṇḍin must have lived at a time when the events described by him happened or were at least well remembered.

The date of Daṇḍin has long been a matter of keen controversy. Some have placed him in the sixth century A. D., others in the 9th and some others in the 11th century A. D.²⁴ As shown above, the political conditions described in the eighth Uchchhvasa of the *Dasakumaracharita*, obtained in Vidarbha only in the sixth century A. D. In later centuries the centre of imperial power in the Deccan shifted successively to Mahishmati, Badāmi, Manyakheta and Kalyāni, but it was never in Vidarbha. Some of the geographical names also went out of use in later times. One such instance is that of Rishika. This country is named in the *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, *Brihatsamhita* as well as in the Nāsik cave inscription of Puṣumāvi, but it is unknown to later works and inscriptions. All these indications point to the conclusion that Daṇḍin must have flourished not long after A. D. 550.

The recently discovered Sanskrit works *Avantisundarikatha* and *Avantisundarikathasara* contained some interesting information about the ancestry and personal history of Daṇḍin, but both these works are unfortunately fragmentary. The latter work, however, states that Daṇḍin was the great-grandson of the Sanskrit poet Dāmodara who was patronised by the Gaṅga king Durvinita and the Pallava ruler Simhavishṇu. Dāmodara must therefore have lived in the last quarter of the sixth century A. D. His great-grandson Daṇḍin can consequently be referred to the third quarter of the seventh century A. D. It has been doubted whether the author of the *Avantisundarikatha* was identical with Daṇḍin who wrote the *Dasakumaracharita*, but it is conceded even by those who doubt this identity that the biographical details about Daṇḍin given in the aforementioned works may be correct.²⁵ Daṇḍin thus may have flourished nearly a hundred and twenty-five years after the fall of the Vakātakas. It is not therefore unlikely that he had fairly reliable information about the last period of Vakātika rule in Vidarbha.

24. See Agashe's introduction in his edition of the *Dasakumaracharita* (Bom. Sansk. Series).

25. See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. III, p. 403.

ARIKAMEDU EXCAVATION

BY

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Description of the spot.

A village, Kakayaentope by name, five miles and two furlongs by land route South of Pondicherry, lies three miles off sea-side. The place is in the mid-way of Ariankuppam and Veerampatanam. North of the village there is an elevation (Medu) called Arikamedu adjoining the Ariankuppam river. (See Photo 1.)

See "Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde"—Fait par Ordre de Roi—A l'occasion passage de venus sur le disque du Soleil, le 6 Juin 1761 and 3 du meme mois 1769—Par Mr. le Gentil de l'Accademie Royale des Sciences :

Tome I page 542 la riviere d'Ariancoupam passe fort pres de Vilnour travers la plaine and forme, comme je l'ai dit avant que d'arriver la mer, un ilot, connu sous le nom d'ile aux cocotiers.

Un peu au dessus de l'endroit ou la riviere se partage pour former cette ile on trouve sur la rive droite l'aldee ou village d'Ariancoupam, dans une position d'autant plus charmante que les bords de la riviere, en cette endroit, forment une pente douce ; en avançant le long de la meme rive, le terrain monte, en sorte que le bord de la riviere est tres-escarpe and l'escarpement n'a guere moins de 20 pieds de hauteur ; sur le haut de l'escarpement, dans la pleine, on a decouvert en creusant dans ces derniers temps, des fondements qui paroissent avoir appartenu a quelque ville ou village considerable ; les murs qu'on a trouves avoient 10 pieds de profondeur ; j'en ai vu tirer des briques de plus de d'un pied de longueur sur 7 a 8 pouces de largeur, and epaisses a proportion ; on les enlevoient aisement toutes entieres, parcequ'elles n'etoient liees qu'avec une espece de terre argileuse qu'on rencontre partout aux environs de Pondichery, and dont on se sert avec la brique pour batir ; cette terre se nomme dans le pays, caliment. Soit que les Indiens, a cette cote aient perdu l'usage de faire des briques de cette grandeur, soit que l'usage de faire des briques de cette grandeur, soit que l'usage des Europeens de les faire petites ait prevalu, il est certain que les Indiens comme les Francois ne se servent actuellement que des briques tres petites. Cette ville avoit des puits qu'elle s'etoit formes dans la plaine du cote de la riviere, ils avoient au moins 20 pieds de profondeurs pour aller au niveau de l'eau ; on en trouve encore des vestiges aux pieds des l'escarpement, le long du bord de la riviere ; ces

puits a en juger par les restes que j'ai vus, avoient 4 pieds environ de largeur; ils n'etoient point revetus en maconnerie, mais les Indiens, pour revetement, se servoient d'une espece de terrine, en forme de futaille defoncee par les deux bouts, ces especes de larges pots, dont la terre m'a parru pareille a celle de nos pots de gres etoient faits expres pour entrer les uns dans les autres and par ce moyen servoient a soutenir les terres des cotes. Il ne rests dans le pays qu'une tradition tres-confuse de cet etablissement, qui cependant paroît avoir ete considerable. C'etoit, a ce que m'ont dit les Tamouls, un fort d'un Raja ou Seigneur Gentil, qu'ils nomment Vira-Raguen; and la ville, ils la nomment Virapatnam. Il y a bien apparence que la riviere, dans quelque grand debordement a commence la ruine de cette ville; ce qui me fait penser ainsi est la tradition du pays, laquelle porte qu'il y a eu un temps ou l'ile aux cocotiers n'existoit pas, que la riviere n'avoit alors qu'un seul bras, celui de la gauche; qu'elle avoit ete obligee de prendre ce detour a cause du terrain du cote Ariancoupam, qui s'elevant trop au dessus de son niveau, lui barroit le chemin; mais qu'il vint un grand debordement, cause par des pluies considerables qu'alors la riviere rompit sa digue, and s'ouvrit un autre lit. Ce nouveau bras est actuellement le principal bras de cette riviere qui forme, avec l'ancien bras, l'ile aux cocotiers. Cette ile cessera enfin d'etre and se trouvera encore une fois reunie au continent; mais du cote de Pondichery; l'ancien bras de la riviere se comble peu-a-peu, and devient de jour en jour moins profond; il feroit tres facile d'aider a la Nature a achever cet ouvrage. Tout pres des ruines de Virapatnam, entre ce fort and l'aldee d'Ariancoupam, on trouve, dans des sables, la statue d'une ancienne divinite indienne, que l'on nomma, dans le pays, Baouth. (Voyez ci devant Page 146).

The archaeological site was discovered by Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil & Rev. Brother L. Fauchaux (See the Book "Dupleix" by Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil, Page 29). And it was confirmed by Mr. Goloubew, Member of the "Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient", and the site was studied in May, 1939 (See Cahiers de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, No. 191 2 trimestre 1939, Page 11).

The site of Arikamedu was an ancient Roman Town with houses and Factory. The Town was surrounded by strong fortifications of walls. In that factory, the people were employed in manufacturing glass-wares, gem-work, quartz, carnelian, agate, jasper, jasper green false amethyst calcedoine, garnet, etc.

The potters were making the remarkable specimens of pottery which were of a special type and shapes, thick, ordinary, fine, of ornamental designs and grey. The grey pottery dishes were in an unique form (engire-turned pottery). Upto now, these types of pottery have been found nowhere else in India. The glass makers were doing the beads, mosaic beads, (See Blue Print), hour-glasses, amber glass works and lac work,

The carpenter also was doing all sorts of novelties (toys) of wood, ivory, horns, steatite or soap-stone. The site is somewhat elevated, above the adjoining territory, as follows:—metres 7,460, 7,100, 6,297, 5,609, 4,500 and 3,608 above sea-level.

During the excavation. Mr. R. Surleau, Chief Engineer of P. W. D. and Rev. Brother Fauchaux were occupied after the departure of Professor G. Jouveau Dubreil.

In 1944, Dr. Aiyappan, Superintendent of the Madras Government Museum, accompanied by the Director General of Archaeology in India, Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, visited the museum, which is attached to the Government Public Library, Pondicherry. They inspected the site of Arikamedu.

In the year 1945, Mr. Julia, Chief Engineer of Pondicherry, continued the excavation which was done by his predecessor, Mr. R. Surleau.

In March, 1945, the Director General of Archaeology, with the Staff of the Excavation Branch and Students, commenced the scientific excavation in Arikamedu. It was continued for nearly three months. Photographs were taken during the excavation. (See Photos No. 2 and No. 3 respectively).

Excavation.

Excavation was in 7 parts in 2 Sections (See Blue Print).

Note:—The figures shown below are in terms of metres and centimetres.

—Indicates below Sea-level.

× Indicates above Sea level.

SECTION 1.

- (1) $10 \times 4 - 0$ Sea-level. ... (Square II B)
- (2) $10 \times 10 - 1.40$ below Sea-level. (Square III A)
- (3) $10 \times 10 - 1.40$... (Square III B)
- (4) $4 \times 4 - 0.60$... (Square VI A)
- (5) $10 \times 3 + 1.0$ Above Sea-level. (Square II C)
- (6) $10 \times 4 \times 0$ Sea-level. ... [Square II C]

SECTION 2.

- (7) $8 \times 6 - 1.50$ Above Sea-level II A and II B

(See Photo No. 4 and Blue Print).

In the excavation nothing of great interest was found in layers. But we found interesting articles in several pits.

Walls, buildings, peculiar drainage systems and ring wells were found, the measurements of bricks employed in their construction being:

$18.0 \times 8.5 \times 2.7$; $17.5 \times 8.3 \times 3.0$; $16.6 \times 8.0 \times 3.0$;
 $15.5 \times 9.8 \times 2.8$; $15.0 \times 10.0 \times 2.7$; $14.7 \times 8.0 \times 2.6$.

From the surface soil of the site down to 50 cm. above Sea-level there were many layers and pits of hard clay.

From nearly 50 cm. above Sea-level to Sea-level, there was loose sand with spring water. Here several pieces of Arezzo-ware are found. The spring was cleared with the aid of oil engine. (See Photo 5). We found wooden objects, inscribed pottery and many other important things below the Sea-level. From 20 cm. below Sea-level to 80 cm. below Sea-level, we came across hard clay with sand. From 80 cm. below Sea-level to 1'40 below Sea-level slightly looser hard clay.

At this stage, the French Government suspended further work.

The Excavation Branch of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India began their excavation work in different spots. In one place, they dug 3'12 m. below Sea-level. Below this level there were no findings.

Finds.

Amphora—*Big and Small*—Fragments of mouth and neck, handles (double and single), belly, bottom—Fragments with deposit.

Amphora Jug—Fragments of mouth and neck, handles (double and single), belly bottom.

Arezzo Ware—Bottom of an Arretine dish with foot—Foot of an Arretine vessel with "K" mark above and a part of potter's stamp below—Fragment of an Arretine rim—Fragment of an Arretine vessel with the design of leaf—Some Arretine vessel with stamp in Roman language (found by the Excavation Department of Government of India)—Some fragments of Arretine bowl.

Roman Fine Pottery—Fragment of neck, nearly complete water-cooler—Fragments of jugs—Fragment of belly—Fragment with handle—Fragments of bottom (vase).

Imitation of Roman Pottery—Some complete vases, and others nearly complete (See Blue Print)—Fragments of vase—Fragments of dish, plate with decoration—leaf of banian—Plate with designs of spiral and leaf of banian—(See Blue Print)—Plenty of dish fragments and vase fragments were found. Some fragments of bowl with designs of birds in relief; and other with designs of animals in relief.

Enamel Pottery—Fragments of bottom—fragment of dish.

Local Grey Pottery—Plates, Dishes, Jugs, Bowls, Lids.

Perforated Pottery—Bowls with white painting complete, fragment of perforated pottery.

Ordinary Pottery—Plates with white painting complete—fragment of plates. Complete bowl with white painting jugs

nearly complete with white painting—Some fragments painted white outside and black inside. Dishes, vases, lids, water jugs, big jars, crucible fragment of earth, curved tiles, flat tiles, ordinary pottery with handles (many shapes of handle)—Ordinary cover with handle.

Terra-Cotta Human—Female with hair dress, peculiar type, thick nose—early period—(See photo No. 6.) (Now at Madras Government Museum, Madras.)—Mother and Child, Nartaki, Siva Head—Ganesh—Some heads (See photo No. 7.)—Busts—Patrakundalas—some legs.

Miscellaneous Terra-Cotta—Elephant—Tortoise—Swan.

Seals—Seal with many Brahmi letters—Seal inside beaded circular border (See photo No. 8.)—Top centre Sri Vatsa on a legged pedestal—On proper right Banner symbol—On proper left Swastika—Between two parallel borders running across in the Brahmi legend in Script of 3rd. Century A. D. DHA—RA—SA—go ta sa (or) (DHA RA SA TO TA SA)—at bottom a decorative pattern. Messrs. T. N. Ramachandran M. A., Supdt., of Archaeology, Madras, A. Ghose, M. A., Superintendent of Excavation Branch, Simla, C. Sivaramamurti Aiyar, M. A., Curator of Archaeological Section, Madras Government Museum, K. R. Srinivasan, M. A., Curator of Pudukottah State Museum and Krishna Dev, M. A., Excavation Branch, confirmed and deciphered the above inscriptions. Six arms symbols very early type (very common in punch-marked coin. Rings, wheels, nails—many assorted fragments of what appears to be bell.

Inscribed Pot-Shred—Brahmi Lipi.

- (1) On the Amphora fragment like Vikramakkol inscription.
- (2) On the bowl fragment—NA KA (or) KU TAM NJE..... Square III A +1.86 above Sea-level (See Blue Print and pamphlet "Une Vielle cite Indienne pres de Pondichery Virapattain par le Reverend Frere L. Fauchaux, page 15 and Mr. M. M. Nagar, M. A. Curator of Muttra Museum also confirm the above reading.
- (3) On the dish red and black ensign turned grey pottery. (See Blue Print). YA DU VA LA BHU TA YA PA TI (See Journal of the Madras University Vol. XIV No. 1 on Inscribed "Pot-sherd from Arikamedu", by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.
- (4) On the bottom of a dish grey pottery PĀ SA(?) li pu re(?)
- (5) On the bowl bluish chalky slip—(See Blue Print) NĀ(?) te va (or) cha vi (or) chi ta ta tci ko ta ti rā alu.
- (6) On the rim of big jar Ka na ya(?) nā
- (7) Not clear.
- (8) On the grey pottery dish Rim.....A KA LĀ,

(9) On the Bowl PA SĀ (or) CHA VA (or) TA A SE..... Many others two or three letters "Inscription" on the pot-sherds and Swastika. Many pot-sherds with Graphito in sides, outsides (very peculiar drawings).

Lamps in Terra-Cotta—Many varieties of lamps with one, two, three and four Wick—Decorated Pottery (Ornamental Designs). Many varieties of decorated pottery; there are some painted white, red. One of them very important decoration "BUDDHIST". (See Blue Print—Square III A—0.60 m.) Many Italian pottery with decoration. Horn of Rhinoceros (probably) with decoration Buddhist (See Photo No. 9.)

Coins—One copper coin bearing the image of a lion in one side and an elephant and a symbol on the other; very important discovery—See Journal of University Vol. XIV No. 1 by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. The late Dr. C. Meenakshi was inclined to assign a date not earlier than first century B. C. and not later than the second century A. D. (Now in the Hanoi Museum) Another Andhra coin—See the book "Dupleix" by Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil, Page 30.

Many coins of Chola, many coins of Pondicherry—copper and silver—Many Mughul coins—One coin of Ceylon—One coin from China and gold (small) panam generally used for gifts on occasions of Sraddhas—all found in surface.

Bronze—One head with curled hair probably Buddha's head.

Intaglio—One Intaglio oval shape bezel of ring, representative of the head of the Emperor Augustus (Now in the Hanoi Museum) See the same book on the same page. One Intaglio oval shape, bezel or ring, representative Cupid and Eagle very fine small and interesting (See Photo No. 10).

Stones—Quartz, agates, jaspers, onyx, carnalians, rock crystal, chalcedony, false amethysts, Green Jaspers, Corundums (See the book "The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India by E. H. Warmington; M. A., Chapter III, Page 247.....For marble sawing and polishing the Romans often used excellent), garnets, yellow quartz, false topaze, lime stones, granite genesis rough stones were being found.

Instruments for polishing beads (Photos Nos. 11 & 12). Many polishers in quartzes, and burnisher for making beads—Plenty of nucleu beads, unfinished, unpolished, unholed and broken.

Beads are very rich in Excavation—Square, hexagonal, rectangular, heart, trapezium, conical, barrel cone mutilate, oval, round, cask, star, crown, octogon melon like *Mangaliyam*, frog, ear pendants (many shapes), bezel or rings, peculiar types made with the above stones and also with gold, glass of different colours, mosaic glass, amber glass, opaque glass, steatite or soap stone and earthen-ware. (See Blue Print).

Bangles—Bangles were made of conches, glass and terra-cotta (more than five hundred complete conches were found).

Rings—Rings made of bronze and conch. One bronze "Ring" with imitation Roman design.

Wooden Objects were also found—One complete mallet square III B—1.40 m. below Sea-level dated 15-4-1943 is corked and preserved in a bottle with solution. (See Blue Print). One complete stick with a ring 1.80 length square III B—0.80 m. below Sea-level. (See Blue Print); many nails, coconut-shell, palm-tree shells, thick ropes and enormous wooden logs.

Glass Vessels—Cups, hour-glass, cups with silver coating. Plenty of mica sheets were found.

Conclusion.

Undoubtedly, the site of Arikamedu has been the town of Poduke, situated $13^{\circ}0' - 13^{\circ}45'$ mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy (India VII, 1.4) by Mr. Louis Renou, Docteur es lettres, Page 8. The map gives us, not Poduke, "Podoca" (See same book, the map of Cisgangetic India as per the Venetus 516 (R) Plate 1).

In the book, "The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India," by E. H. Warmington, M. A., one also speaks of Poduce, Page 62.

Along the coasts of the Chola Kingdom, Light-Houses were placed for the use of merchants, and one wonders whether the idea was taken from the Greek Residents in the Kingdom, or from the famous Light-House at Alexandria when the Pandyan Embassy visited the Roman Empire in the time of Augustus of the three important Chola marts given by the Periplus Camara which we have described, 'we can find': Poduce (Pondicherry or else Pulicat).....

Page 65—But the largest and most extensive shipping was that of the Coromandel Coast controlled chiefly by the Chola Kingdom. Thus, Camara, Poduce and Sopatma were frequented by ships which coasted to Malabar marts.....!

Page 115—Other Chola marts recorded by Ptolemy are Nicama (Negapatam) places by Pandyas, such as Salur (the Tamil mart Saliyur); Chaberis (Camara in the Periplus), Sabura or Saburas (Cuddalore), Poduce (Pondicherry or else Pulicat).

The book "Dupleix" by Professor Jouveau Dubreuil, page 26 to 32 speaks to us of Poduke and of its factorisation, and also the Bulletin of the French School of the Far East from Hanoi, Book XL 1940, Fas 2 1941—page 448 and 449 under the titles of: The Roman ruins of Pondicherry by Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil. One can also see the Journal of the Madras University Vol. XIV No. 1, an Inscribed pot-sherd from Arikamedu by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

The different things found in the searches of Arikamedu confirm entirely the supposition that it was a Roman factory or 'Yavanar' factory.

Up till now, in South India, some Roman coins of gold and silver have been found but no other traces have been found anywhere else. In the site of Arikamedu (Poduke), Amphora, Roman jugs, Arretine pottery with seals bearing the names of their factories and beads have been abundantly found. They are of very special shapes which belong neither to the pre-historic age nor to the Middle Age.

An indication of the great importance of this site was given by Mr. Ch. Autran, in a letter to Professor Jouveau Dubreuil dated the 22nd June, 1939, and as per the opinion of the former and that of Mr. G. Conteneau, the shapes of beads are exactly those found in great abundance on the Phenician Coast of the Mediterranean from 500 B. C.

Some "intaglio" and carved horns have Roman designs.

How really happy we are to have found back the town of Poduke which had a Roman factory in the territory of Pandicherry!

SIMHAVARMAN—AN UNKNOWN PALLAVA KING.

BY

DR. M. RAMA RAO, M. A., PH. D.

I

Among the recent additions to our knowledge of the early history of the Dekkan and South India the most remarkable is the discovery of a small stone inscription¹ which brings to light a Pallava king named Simhavarmā, hitherto unknown. This record is the first and only available stone inscription of the early Pallavas, who are otherwise known from copper-plate grants.² The value of this inscription is considerably enhanced on account of its being written in the Prakṛt language. It has been discovered near the village of Reṇṭachintala in the Palnāḍ taluk of the Guntur

1. The text of this inscription has been published in the *Journal of Andhra History and Culture* II, pp. 68-69 by Mr. P. Seshadri Sastri.

2. The Mydavolu (E. I. vi, pp. 84-89) Hirahadagalli (*Ibid* I. pp. 1-10) and British Museum (*Ibid* VIII. pp. 143-146) plates.

district in close proximity to places containing inscriptions and antiquities of the Ikṣvāku period.

The record is inscribed on a broken marble pillar and is partly damaged. The legible part of it mentions Simhavarman of the Pallava family and Bhāradvāja gotra and seems to contain a gift for his success. An attempt is made in this paper to identify this Pallava Simhavarman and determine his period.

II

The record under consideration does not contain any date or regnal year. Its characters are less ornamental than those of the Ikṣvākus and bear a close resemblance to the characters of the inscriptions of the latter Sataṅkās on the one side and of the Cuṭus on the other. The opening part of the inscription resembles that of the two charters of Pallava Sivaskandavarman.³ It does not give us any information about the pedigree of the king. Paleography and language indicate that this inscription has to be assigned to some time in the third century A. D.

Was this Simhavarman related to any of the early Pallava kings of the third century A. D. Four generations of these kings are known from the Mydavolu, Hirahadagalli and British Museum plates—*viz.*, an unknown mahārāja, generally called Bappasvāmin, his son Sivaskandavarman, grandson Vijayabuddhavarman and great-grandson Buddhyaṅkura. Of these the first two are known to have reigned⁴ and are generally assigned to the latter half of the third century. One alternative is to assign the Simhavarman of the new inscription to the end of the century to a period after that of these kings. But this will too late a date and paleography does not justify it. The second alternative is to place this Simhavarman earlier than the above group of Pallava kings. It is not certain so far who the father of Sivaskandavarman was though he is taken to be a Bappasvāmin. Bappa is not a personal name. The identity of this Pallava king is still a matter of speculation. Some have identified him with the Virakūrchavarman of the Velūrpaḷaym plates who is said to have married a Nāga princess and obtained the insignia of royalty and a kingdom.⁵ Others have identified Bappa with Kumāraṅga. We do not know for certain who the Nāga king was that gave his daughter in marriage to Virakūrchavarman though there is a general agreement that it must be one of the Cuṭu kings, who ruled over Vanavāsi in the third century A. D. Even if this identification is conceded Virakūrchavarman

3. Cf. Bhāradvāja gottasa.....Palavanam Simhavammēna of the present grant.

4. The Mydavolu grant is dated in the 10th year of Bappa's reign and the Hirahadagalli plates in the 8th year of the rule of Sivaskandavarman.

5. Cf. verses 5 and 6 of the plates.

could have inherited only the Vanavāsi kingdom through his wife. Bappa, however, ruled over the Guntur-Nellore region and over part of south India from Kāncī.⁶ There is no trace of Cuṭu influence over the Guntur-Nellore region and this therefore constitutes a difficulty. The identification of Bappa with Kumāra-*viṣṇu* seems to be based upon two facts—*viz*, Bappa is known to have ruled from Kāncī and Kumāra-*viṣṇu* conquered Kāncī. Bappa and his descendants are known from Prakṛt plates and Kumāra-*viṣṇu* is known from Sanskrit charters and no satisfactory connection has yet been established between these two groups of kings. The identification of Bappa with Kumāra-*viṣṇu* involves an undue straining of the contents of the Sanskrit plates. There seems to be a century's time between these two kings.

All these difficulties can be avoided by identifying Virakūrcā with the Simhavarman of the new inscription. Several arguments may be mentioned in support of this identification. The paleography of the inscription indicates an early date in the third century. The name Simhavarman like Skandavarman was very popular in Pallava geneology and must have been borne by a celebrity. The inscription of Simhavarman was discovered very near places containing Ikṣvāku records. It speaks of the king's victory which in all probability was against the Ikṣvākus, for, the Pallavas could not have obtained Amdhāpatha without supplanting Ikṣvāku rule. Thus the identification of this Simhavarman with the father of Sivaskandavarman, the ruler of Amdhāpatha seems to be reasonable.

Which of the Ikṣvāku kings was defeated by the Pallavas? Many scholars are of the opinion that Cāntamūla II was the victim of Pallava aggression, and that he was the last of the Ikṣvākus. At Gurzāla in the Palnāḍ taluk of the Guntur district, and in the vicinity of places containing records of Ikṣvāku kings, was discovered a Prakṛt stone inscription mentioning a certain Siri-Ruḷu-Puriṣadatta and his fourth regnal year.⁷ The characters of the record resemble closely those of the known Ikṣvāku records. Puriṣadatta as a personal name occurs only in the Ikṣvāku family. This Puriṣadatta cannot be placed before Cāntamūla I, the *asvamedhin*. For these reasons this Puriṣadatta may be taken to have been an Ikṣvāku and placed immediately after Cāntamūla II. He would then be a contemporary of Pallava Simhavarman. There is also another reason for holding that Cāntamūla II could

6. The Mydavolu grant of his son Yuvamaharaja Sivaskandavarman was issued from Kāncī and addressed to the Vyapṛta at Kadaka or Dhanyakataka.

7. This has been edited by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in E. I. XXIV pp. 123-125 and reviewed in the M. E. R. as No. 335 of 1936-37. The Epigraphist reads the king's name as Siri Nathu-puriṣadatta.

not have been vanquished by Simhavarman. Virakūrca, with whom Simhavarman seems to be identical, is said to have married the daughter of a Nāga king. This Nāga king must in all probability be Sivaskanda Nāga Sātakarṇi. A daughter of Ikṣvāku Srivirapurūṣadatta and a sister of Cāntamūla II is known to have married a Mahārāja of Vanavāsi.⁸ If Ikṣvāku Cāntamūla I and Mahārāja Viṇhukaḍa Sātakarṇi came to power simultaneously, Cāntamūla's grand-daughter could have married the grandson of Viṇhukaḍa. It follows then that Simhavarman *alias* Virakūrca married a niece of Cāntamūla II. Pallava aggression into both Vanavāsi and Amdhāpatha seems to be possible and probable after the passing away of both Skanda Nāga Sātakarṇi and Cāntamūla II. This may, therefore, be assigned to the short reign of Puriṣadatta of the Gurzāla inscription.

If the two identifications proposed above are conceded *viz.* that Simhavarman is identical with Virakūrcavarman and that he conquered Amdhāpatha from the Ikṣvāku king Puriṣadatta II, it is easy to reconstruct the history of Simhavarman with the aid of the facts already known. Among the feudatories of the Ikṣvākus there were the Hiranyakas and the Pūgiyas.⁹ At a slightly later date two territorial divisions named Hiranyarāṣṭra and Pūgarāṣṭra or visaya appear. Obviously the names of these divisions were derived from the clan names of the Ikṣvāku subordinates. Pūgiviṣaya extended on either bank of the river Guṇḍlakamma in the southern part of the Guntur district and Hiranyarāṣṭra included parts of the Nellore, Cuddapah and Kurnool districts. Evidently, Ikṣvāku influence must have extended over these parts. Cuṭu coins have been discovered in the Cuddapah and Anantapur districts.¹⁰ Thus the Cutus and the Ikṣvākus were neighbouring powers. After the death of Skanda Nāga Sātakarṇi, Simhavarman Virakūrca must have become the ruler of Vanavāsi. He then turned his attention towards the Ikṣvāku dominion which was then under the rule of Puriṣadatta II, invaded it and conquered Amdhāpatha. Having consolidated his position and power he might have proceeded against the south. In the time of the last Satavāhana king a Nāga officer named Sivaskandanāga governed the Sātahanirāṣṭra which is located in the Bellary district.¹¹ According to Ptolemy there were two Nāga kingdoms in the neighbourhood of Kāncī.¹² Probably, these Nāga people easily recognised the authority of Simhavarman by virtue of his being the husband of the Nāga princess of Vanavāsi. After subjugating this region Simhavarman founded Kāncī, made it his capital and ruled

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8. E. I. XX. Nagarjunakonda ins No. H.
 9. *Ibid* no-L in E. I. XXI and H in *Ibid* XX
 10. Rapson CAC.
 11. The Myakadoni inscription in E. I. XIV pp. 153-155.
 12. Ptolemy's Geography VII. i, paras 89-93.

over a vast dominion having appointed a governor at Dhānyakaṭaka to administer the former Ikṣvāku territory.

It is possible to determine the date of this Simhavarman approximately. It is generally agreed that Sātavāhana rule came to a close by 215 A. D.¹³ This was followed by 55 years of Ikṣvāku rule.¹⁴ Simhavarman's conquest of Amdhāpatha may then be ascribed to about 270 A. D. Allowing a brief period for Simhavarman's succession to and rule over Vanavasi and in view of the fact that his son Sivaskandavarman's Mydavolu grant is dated in the tenth year of his reign, Simhavarman may be assigned to the period 265-280 A. D.

GOTRANTARA OR THE CHANGE OF A WOMAN'S GOTRA.

BY

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The change of a married woman's *gotra* or clan name, which is technically known as the *gotrantara*, is an essential feature of the Hindu marriage of today. With marriage, the bride loses connection with her father's *gotra* and has to adopt that of her husband; she no longer remains a member of her father's family, but comes formally to belong exclusively to the family of her husband. In this connection the authority very often quoted is the *Mahanirvana Tantra* (XII, 75) which says:

vivāh-ānantaram nārī pati-gotreṇa gotriṇī.

When exactly this change of the *gotra* takes place is a point on which authorities differ. Mr. Bijay Bhushan Ghosh Chaudhari in his Bengali work entitled *Asam O Bangadeser Vivaha-paddhati* (The Marriage Rituals in Bengal and Assam), second edition, pp. 311-16, has discussed the above question in some detail. He has quoted several authorities; but his treatment of the subject is entirely based on a discussion on the topic in Raghunandana's

13. According to Krishna Sastri the Myakadoni inscription of Pulomavi should be ascribed to 210 A. D. and this was the second year of the reign which lasted for 7 or 8 years.

14. This is the Puranic figure. Actually inscriptions give 20, 11 and 4 years for Purisadatta, Cantamula II and Purisadatta II. Cantamula I may be taken to have ruled for 20 years thus making a total of 55 years.

Udvaha-tattva (Bangabasi ed., p. 112 ff.) After Raghunandana, Mr. Ghosh Chaudhuri refers to the following authorities.

1. Laghu Hārta as quoted in the *Udvaha-tattva* :
sva-gotrād bhvaśyate nāri vivāhāt saprame pade,
pati-gotreṇa kartavyā tasyāḥ piṇḍodaka-kriyāḥ.
2. Bṛihaspati as quoted in Sūlapāṇis. *Sraddha-viveka* :
pāṇi-grahaṇikā mantrāḥ pitṛi-gotr-āpahārakāḥ,
bhartur-gotreṇa nāriṇām deyaṃ piṇḍodakaṃ tataḥ.
3. Some authors like Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa quote the following verses which they ascribe to Manu :
vivāhe ch-aiva nivṛitte chaturthe-'hani rātrishu,
ekatvaṃ sā gatā bhartuḥ piṇḍe gotre cha sūtake,
chaturthi-homa-mantreṇa tvan-māmsa-hṛiday-endriyaih,
bhartrā saṃyujyate nāri tad-gotrā tena sā bhavet.

It will be seen that in the verses quoted above, the change of the bride's *gotra*, from her father's to her husband's, is admitted. While however some authorities, including Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Raghunandana, believe that the change comes into effect with the *sapta-padi-gamana* (the seven ceremonial steps walked by the bride and bridegroom at marriage), others including Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa and a commentator on the *Gobhila-Grihya Sutra* think that the *gotrantara* takes place with the *chaurthi-karman* (consummation of marriage by sexual intercourse performed in the fourth night of the ceremony). There is however still another group of authorities that give a different verdict on the change of the bride's *gotra*.

4. Kātyāyana referred to by Raghunandana and quoted by his commentator Vāchaspati :

samsthityāṃ tu bhāryāyāṃ sapinḍikaraṇāntakam,
paitrikam bhajate gotram urddhvan-tu pati-paitrikam.

According to this authority, the *gotra* of a married woman from her death to her *sapindi karana* (a particular *Sraddha* to be performed one year after death) is that of her father. It is however, some times believed that the word *bharya* here means only a selected bride and not a married wife.

5. The *Garuda Purāna* (Bangabasi ed., Uttara-Khaṇḍa, XXVI, verses 21-22) :

brāhmādishu vivāheshu yā Vadhūr-ihā saṃskṛitā,
bhartrī-gotreṇa kartavyās-tasyāḥ piṇḍodaka Kriyāḥ,
āsuraḍi-tu vivāheshu yā vyūḍhā kanyaka bhavet,
tasyās-tu pitṛi-gotreṇa kuryāt piṇḍodaka-kriyāṃ.

In the opinion of the *Purana-kara* therefore the change of the bride's *gotra* takes place only if she is married according to the Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha and Prajāpatya forms of matrimony, but not if she is married according to its Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākshasa and Pāisācha varieties. The reason implied seems to be the

absence of the *sampradana* (ceremonial offering of the bride to the bridegroom) in the Āsurādi forms of marriage.

6. The same *Purana* (XXVI. verse 39) gives the following verdict on the *gotrantara* of the *Putrika* (daughter adopted by her sonless father as his son and heir) :

putrikā pati-gotrā syād-adhastāt putra-janmanāḥ,
putrot patteḥ purastāt sā pitṛi-gotrāṃ vrajet punaḥ.

It says that the *putrika* gets back her paternal *gotra* after the birth of her son.

In this connection it may be pointed out that there is a probable reference to one's mother's *gotra* in the *Manu Smṛiti* (III, 5), while Manu's commentators as well as the later *nibandhakaras* refer clearly to the mother's *gotra* of a person desirous of matrimony.

Manu :

a-sapindā cha yā mātur-asagotra cha yā pituḥ,
sā praśastā vivaheshu dāra-karmaṇi maithune.

vyāsa :

sagotrāṃ mātur-apy-eke n-echchhanty-udvāha-karmaṇi,
jamna-nāmnor-avijñāne udvāhed-aviśaṅkitāḥ.

Vaśiṣṭha :

mātulasya sutāṅ-ch-aiva mātṛi-gotrāṃ tath. aiva cha.

Almost all medieval *nibandhakaras*, who did not question the change of a bride's *gotra* at marriage, had to attempt an explanation of the "mother's *gotra*" of the bridegroom. The late Dr. Ganganath Jha discussed in details the views of the different authorities in his *Notes on the Manu Smṛiti* published by the Calcutta University. For our purpose, the views of the *Parasara-madhava* (*Ibid.*, Part II, p. 160) are worthy of note. "It raises the question," says this authority, "that the separate mention of the 'mother' is superfluous, as the wife has no *pinda* or *gotra* apart from the husband, so that the *a-sapinda* and *a-sagotra* of the mother would be the same as those of the father, and it supplies the answer that, in the case of the Gāndharva and other forms of marriage, the bride being not given away by her father, she retains her (*i. e.* her father's) *gotra* and *pinda*, so that her *sapinda* and *sagotra* would not be the same as those of her husband."

The above explanation no doubt reminds one of the verses on the *gotrantara* quoted from the *Garuda Purana*. But we have to see if the simple explanation can be applied to all cases, especially in view of the fact that whenever a woman's *gotra* is mentioned in the early epigraphic records of India, it is almost in all cases found to be different from the *gotra* of her husband. It is well-known that the people of ancient India, especially of the Deccan, mentioned their names usually with metonymics pointing to the

maternal *gotra*. The custom was quite popular with the royal families. To mention just a few of the ancient Indian rulers with metronymics of this type, one may refer to Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi (i. e. Sātakarṇi born of a lady belonging to the Gautama *gotra*) and his son Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi,* Vāsishṭhiputra Sāntamūla and his son Māthariputra Virapurushadatta, Hārītiputra Pravarasena and his son Gautamiputra belonging to the Vishṇu Vṛiddha *gotra*, Kautsiputra Bhāgabhadra probably of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, Pārāsariputra Sarvatāta, Gārgiputra Viśvadeva, Ganptiputra Aṅgoradynt, Vātsyiputra Dhanabhūti, etc. The personal name of the mother of at least one of the Kings is known. She was Mahādevī Gautamī Balasri, mother of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. These metronymics were probably used, because the Kings wanted to distinguish themselves from their numerous step-brothers. Whatever that may be, it is clear from the metronymics that the *gotrantara* was not an essential feature of the popular form of Indian marriage in the centuries about the beginning of the Christian era. Whether that popular form of marriage has to be identified with any of the four varieties, viz. Āsura, Gandharva, Rākshasa and Paisācha is however doubtful. There are also several other instances of the absence of the *gotrantara* in ancient Indian matrimony.

Some inscriptions of 130 A. D., have been found engraved on *sitayashitis* or stone-pillars discovered at a place called Andhan in Cutch, Western India. Three of the pillars were erected by a person named Madana, son of Simhila, in honour of his dead relatives who were Madana's co-uterine sister Jyeshthavīrā of the Aupaśati *gotra*, his co-uterine brother Rishabhadeva of the Aupaśati *gotra* and his wife Yaśodattā of the Sainika *gotra*. These records show that Jyeshthavīrā and Rishabhadeva, who were daughter and son respectively of Simhila belonged to the same *gotra*; but while their brother Madana belonged apparently to the Aupaśati *gotra*, his wife Yaśodattā, daughter of Simhamitra, belonged to the Sainika *gotra*. The ladies Jyeshthavīrā and Yaśodattā therefore claimed their paternal *gotras*.

In the fifth century A. D., Prabhavati Gupta, daughter of Chandra Gupta II (376-414 A. D.) of Magadha and widow of the Vakāṭaka King Rudrasena II of Berar ruled for some years her husbands territories as the guardian of her minor sons. Her husband belonged to the Vishnuvṛiddha *gotra*, but Prabhavati not only claims the Dhārāṇa *gotra*, apparently the *gotra* of the Gupta family to which her father belonged, but also calls herself Gupta. The Vakāṭaka queen, who was the *agra-mahishi* of

*When the father is found to have been born of a girl of the Gautama *gotra* and the son of a lady of the Vasishtha *gotra*, it is evident that Gautama and Vasishtha were the paternal *gotras* of the ladies in question.

Rudrasena II, thus retained both her paternal *gotra* and her paternal cognomen. It may be noted in this connection that, like Prabhavati, her mother Kubera Nāga, who was born in a Nāga family and was one of the queens of Chandra Gupta II, did not lose her paternal family name at marriage. It therefore seems that the loss of neither the paternal *gotra* nor the paternal family name on the part of the bride was an essential feature of the popular form of Hindu marriage as late as the fifth century A. D.

It is evident from works like the *Mahabharata* and the *Manu Smṛiti* that the way of securing a wife and a son in ancient India was rather irregular in comparison with the definite and regular marriage system of today. Many of the marital unions of those days can hardly be reconciled with the social ideals of modern India. The *gotrantara* seems to have become a regular feature of marriage only after the introduction of present day ideas of marriage in the Hindu society. It seems that the regular system was not well established as late as the fifth century A. D.

HĀTHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION

BY

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The Hāthigumpha Inscription of Khāvela is a landmark in the history of Southern India. Khāvela's time was the golden period of Kāṇṇga history when Kāṇṇga ruled vast territories and wielded great influence. Khāvela was a warrior-monarch who constantly waged wars over his neighbours and even went far to conquer Magadha which he actually did. His greatest act was the Inscription more than his conquests.

I draw the attention of the readers to such data that are given about the Sathavāhanas.¹

Four facts emerge from this :—

1. That the name of the Sathavāhana King against whom Kharavela sent army was Sātakarṇi.
2. That Khāvela sent a large army which went westward.
3. That the army crossed Kaṇha-Bēṇṇa.

1. I do not touch upon any controversial point. My task is to remove some misconceptions.

4. That the city of Muṣik was destroyed or ravaged by the army.

In Hyderabad State there is a place called Maski in Raichur district which not only has linguistic parallel with the city mentioned in the inscription, but also satisfies all the statements therein. It is nearly 50 miles from Krishṇa-Veni and was a great city in historical times.¹ It is not difficult to connect Muṣika with Maski especially when the (u) in the name is doubtful. Even as it is, the parallel is distinct and it becomes on all fours if really it is (A), instead of (u). Masika and Maski are so linguistically close to each other, that the identification is obvious. No misreading be postulated, and there is *Laghava* instead of *Gourava* in the interpretation. West is not due west. I have indicated the route from the Kāliṅga capital to Maski by means of the lower red line in the previous map. On the way Krishṇa-Veni has to be necessarily crossed. It exactly corresponds to the description in the inscription that the army went west reached Krishṇa-Veni and destroyed the city of Muṣika.²

It may be asked, why should Khāravela send the armies and destroy Maski leaving the capital Amravati or Dharaṇīkota. Maski as I have already stated is a city of great historical importance, and the capital of the Aśoka Viceroy. It was only 70 or 80 years after the time of Asoka that Khāravela lived.³ The city must have been a coveted one and Khāravela might have thought that its capture would be the capture of a large part of Sātakarṇi's kingdom, because the whole country between Kalinga and Muski was part of Sātavāhana domain. Another question may also arise. Was Sātakarṇi ruling at Amarāvati or Paithan at that time?

By this time the Sātavāhanas who became independent extended their kingdom as far as Paithan or Nāsik though in very recent past.⁴ There is the same gap as above stated of nearly 70 years. This Sātakarṇi is by some believed to be Sata-

1. Historians aver that some battles were fought here.

2. Barua reads the words as "Asoka-nagaram Old Brahmi Inscriptions.

This does not affect my conclusion because "Maski" is in the Asmaka Country and might have been its capital.

For other views on "Musika" and "Kanha-Benna" see Old Brahmi Inscription, Barua P. 209.

3. Asoka died in B. C. 232 Kharavela lived, B. C. 171.

4. The events in the inscription "must have taken place before the formation of Satavahana Empire covering the whole of the Marathi speaking area" E. I. Vol. XX Part V. Pp. 75.

karni 11 in the list. But I am inclined to agree with Rapson and Smith that he is Satakarni 1, the husband of Nāganika.¹

By the time of this monarch there was already a vast empire, and necessity of division into provinces must have arisen. Satakarni should have been at Dhanakataka in the early years, and Paithan might have been presided over by a Vicaroy probably of the Royal family. The correspondence in time also confirms the Satakarni-Khāravela synchronism.² That is the reason why both the kingdoms did not come into actual conflict. Khāravela neither attacked Dhankataka nor Paithan, but took the middle course of sending the army to Krishna river and capturing Maski. We do not know what happened subsequently. Within very few years we see Satakarni helping Khāravela in the Magadha campaign.³ It might be that Khāravela did not think of actually provoking Satakarni for a war, because his other bigger object against Magadha would be frustrated, for which he wanted the help of Satakarni. Now the words "Acitayita and Vitasitaṃ become full of meaning.⁴ First he did not think about Satakarni and sent his armies against his territory only to frighten. But subsequently he thought about it and did not proceed further since he wanted his help in his expedition against Magadha.⁵ He did not capture Magadha in the first campaign, but 4 years later he succeeded against Pushyamitra.

Satakarni might have helped Khāravela in this campaign also. Therefore in spite of this so-called war against Satakarni they remained friends. Khāravela did not virtually attack Satakarni who remained intact.⁶ Afterwards Khāravela turned

1. Simkha	...	23	
Krishna	...	10	
Satakarni	...	10	Probable time
Purnotsang	...	18	
Skandastambi	...	18	

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Cam. History of India Vol. 1, pp. 530, 600, 601. Early history of India p. 209. E. I. Vol. XX, Pt. V. Pp. 71, 83.

2. The interval between Satakarni 1 and 11 is not very great. Therefore taking the probability, there is no contradiction of the synchronism. Satakarni, Pushyamitra, and Kharavela for all purposes appeared to be contemporaries. E. I. Vol. XX Pt. V. Pp. 76 & 77.

3. Transactions of Oriental Conference, 111 p. 174

4. I added the words of Barua, "not bringing Satakarni into thought" Old Brahmi Inscriptions P. 42.

5. Eighth year of his reign.

6. "Such expeditions were undoubtedly in the nature of a challenge to the predominant power of the Deccan but they appear not to have been pursued beyond the limits of safety." *Cam. Hist. of India*, Vol. 1, pp. 536.

his attention to the south and conquered Chola, Pandya, and other dominions. I give opposite a map which shows the Kāṇṇa empire at its zenith under Kharavela. Kharavela's armies must have marched along the east coast to the south without interfering in Satakarni's dominions.¹ We see in the map that Satavahana empire was excluded from it.

DIFFERENT TYPES OF DEPOSITS IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW

BY

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Resume

The *Smrtis* very often use the word "*depositum*" whilst meaning *fiduciā*. We find several sorts of deposits in the *Smrtis*; some of them are in reality specific types of deposits but for the greater number are not deposits from the point of view of the theory of law, but some specific contracts in which *fiducia* plays a prominent role.

In the Sanskrit nomenclature we find three most important synonyms for the word deposit *i. e.*, *niksepa*, *upanidhi* and *nyasa*. In addition there are 12 more which are not so important.

Niksepa is quoted in Mn. (VIII, 4, 179-181, 185, 186, 188, 190-192, 194, 196, 149), N. (16, II 1, 5, 7-10, 13, 1-81 and in Mit. *ad* Y-II-65 as well as VM. 190/10-11), Brh (XI-1, 2, 3, 15), Vi (V-169-171, XXXVI-3, III-4), Y. (II-25, 67 and commented on by Mit, Vir etc.), Katy. (592, 593, 598, 599), K. (177) and also in Pañcatantra (Prath. I-16), Kathāsaritsāgara (Tar. 7/79), Sakuntala (97/1), Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (820), Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamālā (I-82) etc.

In some of the *Smrtis* the *niksepa* is used as the principal word for the designation of a deposit.

Niksepa is a sealed deposit,—in such a deposit the contents are not counted and known. The definition is obscure and even some prominent translators of the *Smrtis* mixed up this expression with the *upanidhi*.

1. Old Brahmi Inscription Barua, P. 205.

Almost identical with the *niksena* is the *upaniksepa* quoted in Y. (II-28), Mn. (VIII-149), N. (I-81), Vas. (XVI-18), K. (191/2) etc.

Upanidhi is quoted in Y. (II-67, 25 and commented on by Mit. Vir. Sūlapāṇi etc.) Kāty (592), K. (177/12 sqq., 180/6, 191/2), Mn. (VIII 196, 185, 149), N. (I-81 and in Mit. and VM.), Vās. (XVI-18), Viv. (26), Sukr. (II-327), Brh. (XI-2), MBh., Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (820), Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamālā (I-82), Amarakośa (II-9-81) etc.

In some of the *Smrtis* the *upanidhi* is used as the principal word for the meaning of deposit.

Upanidhi is an open deposit. Such a contract takes place when a chattel being placed in a box or the like without being described or known is deposited in the hands of another person. *Upanidhi* cannot be used as some of the commentators say.

Nyasa is quoted in Kāty (593, 603), Brh. (XI-9, 19), Y. (II-67 and commented on by Mit., Vir. Sūlapāṇi etc.), N. (II-14, I-241 and by Asahaya *ad* 16), B. (II-1, 2, 3), K. (180/19 sqq.), Sukr. (IV-5, 310), Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (820) etc. *Nyasa* was considered in literature and colloquially as the principal word for the designation of deposits (Mṛcchakaṭīka Act I 69/628 sqq., Act III 155/282 sqq. 161/353 sqq., Rājatarāṅgiṇī VIII, 126, 147, 151, Śakuntala act IV-97, Raghuvamśa XII-18, Kathāsaritsāgara, Tar. 4, Rāmāyaṇa 1, 1, 57, MBh. I-6137, Bhagavata Purāṇa in Viṣṇu Purāṇa V-8, 16, IX-14, 20 etc.

From the legal point of view *nyasa* was a secret deposit *i. e.*, a deposit which was entrusted to a member of the house in the absence of the owner and without being shown to him with the mandate to be handed over to the owner of the house.

Pratinyasa is quoted in N. (II-14 and Asahaya on this *śloka*) and Mit. (*ad* Y-II-67). It is a re-deposit or a mutual deposit. In this case from the legal point of view two different contracts of deposit took place at the same time. The depositaries are depositors as well and vice-versa.

Yacita is mentioned in Kāty. (592, 595 and Vir. and Smṛ. C. commenting on Kāty.), Y. (II-14, 67 and Apararka, Sūlapāṇi etc. on Y.), Brh. (XI-18), G. (XII-42), Asahāya (on N. 16), Sukr. (IV-5, 310, 327, 381), Matsyapurāṇa (in Dh.), Pāṇini (4, 4, 81) etc. Some of the *Smrtis* class *expressis verbis* *yacita* among deposits although from the point of view of the theory of law they are loans for use.

According to the definition found in the *Smrtis* the *yacita* takes place when clothes, ornaments and the like are loaned to a person on the occasion of a marriage or similar festivity for adornment purposes. These articles are given for use free of interest.

Anvahita is quoted in Kāty. (592), Y. (II-67 and commented on by Mit., Vir. etc.), Brh. (XI-18, XII-2), N. (II-14 and Asahaya on N. 16), Sukr. (IV-5, 310), VM. (192/13-14) etc.

The contract of *anvahita i. e.*, of deposit for delivery took place when the owner A. committed to the care of B. an object and this B. lodged it afterwards in the hands of C. with the clear mandate to return it to the owner A. From the point of view of law several separate contracts were performed in this case *i. e.*, a contract of deposit between A. and B., sub-deposit between B. and C. as well as mandate to return the deposited object not to B. but to A. This sub-deposit could not be concluded against the will of A.

In Kāty. (611) is also quoted the *anvadhī* probably not rightly identified with the *anvāhita*.

Silpinyāsa or *Silpe upanidhi* or *Silpihastagata* and the like are quoted in Brh. (XI-18), N. (II-14 and Asahāva on N. 16), Y. (II-67 and commented on by Mit., Vir. etc., although not called by this name), Viv. (25/26), VM. (193/4, 194/8) as well as Kāty. (603), K. (180/9) etc.

Silpinyāsa or the like, *i. e.*, deposits with an artisan, took place when an object was given to an artisan in order to perform a particular piece of work. From the point of view of the theory of law it is not a *depositum* but *fiducia*.

Poganda or *pogandadhana* is quoted in N. (Asahāya on 16). It is a property of a minor and takes place when a man takes a wealthy minor who has no guardians into his house. Then the property of the minor is subject to rules relating to deposits. From the legal point of view it is not a contract of deposit but a *tutela dativa*.

Kāty. (542) quotes among deposits, the *krayaprosita* it is an object sold but still in the hands of the vendor *i. e.*, according to the theory of law a typical example of *constitutum possessorium*, the *bandha i. e.*, the pledge and the *vaisyavrttyarpita* an object lodged in the hands of a trader, *i. e.*, *fiducia* but not *depositum*.

Also other contracts are classed in the *Smrtis* amongst deposits. For that purpose Y. (II-67) and N. (II-14) use the word *ādī i. e.*, etc. Vir. understands under this expression things bought but not paid and others mentioned in G. (XII-42).

These are the different types of deposits from the point of view of civil law. From the point of view of civil procedure the *Smrtis* (N. II-6, Brh. XII-5) distinguish between deposits given before witnesses (*saksimanita* or *sasaksita*) and contracted verbally and in private (*prokta* or *zahodatta*).

SOME ANTIQUITIES FROM THE GUNTUR DISTRICT

BY

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The Guntur district is a rich field for the student of antiquities. Numerous vestiges of the unknown past are coming up day after day and a systematic exploration of the archaeological and epigraphical is still over due. I am mentioning a few stray records of the post—Satavahna period with a view to inviting the attention of scholars.

1. *Label inscription from the Bezwada caves.*

This short label is inscribed on one of the pillars in the second row supporting the maṇṭapa in the Akkanna-Mādanna cave on the Indrakīla hill at Bezwada. The same label is inscribed on the facade of the famous Uṇḍavilli cave on the opposite side of the Krishna about the ground floor. The characters belong to the sixth or seventh century A. D.

Text

Sri Utpatti piḍugu

2. *Another label from the same place.*

This is found inscribed on another pillar in the front row of the maṇṭapa pillars.

Text

Sri Guṇṭu Guṇāditya

3. *Three label inscriptions from Velpur.*

They are inscribed on a sculptured marble pillar in the Rameśvara temple at Velpur in the Sattenapalli taluk of the Guntur district.

Text

Bhadrasena Sri

Prthvi cakra Sri

Sri Bhavya bhīta

Similar label inscriptions mentioning the names of individuals are known to exist in the temple at Mahānandi in the Kurnool district. Were they the names of celebrated religious teachers

that flourished in the Andhra country during the post Śātavāhana period?

4. *Visnukundin inscription from Velpur.*

This record is inscribed originally on two sides of a marble pillar which was subsequently broken into several bits now held together by patches of cement. Hence part of the inscription is illegible. This inscription has been ascribed to the Visnukundin king Mādhavavarman. The following is the legible part of the text.

Text

A

1.
2. ta prabhavasya
3. ...trayas-trimśa samvatsare
4. vijaya-skandhāvāra-gate me
5. vijayaśrī-mārga saha

B

1. mukha mahā
2. (ta) dattva mahārāja

Obviously this record is dated in the 33rd year of the rule of a mahārāja who was at the time in a victorious camp. Since the characters resemble those of the Visnukundin grants and since Mādhavavarman I had a long reign of 48 years, this record may be ascribed to that monarch. He is already known to have made conquests beyond the Godavary in the north. This inscription indicates that the monarch made conquests to the south of the Krishna also evidently at the expense of Pallavas. Thus this record throws new light on Pallava-Visnukundin relationship.

5. *Amaravati inscription of Gautamiputra Yajña Sri.*

This Prakrt record in three lines is inscribed at the base of a sculpture on a marble slab found near the enclosure of the mahacaitya at Amarāvati. This becomes the second record of Yajña Sri to be found in Andhradesa, the first having been found at Chinnaganjām. Both this inscription and the sculpture above it are worn out. The following is the text of the legible part of it.

Text

1. Sidham 11 Rajno Gotamiputasa Siriyāṇa Satakanīsa sayā
.....vejay.....nakena.

2. jaya lena.....

3.Dhajnakaṭa-
patisa.

2. & 3. The records on seven detached pillars at Mahānandi, Kurnool District mention the names of Saivaite teachers of the 8 cent. given as Sarigesampunna Mahāmuni, Ayogavā (ñji) tan, atpattipidugu, Kālmatekan Merupritivi, Sri Vyālabimhagurunāru (*vide* Madras Journ. Vol. XXIII (iii 74).

DIVAKARAMITRA—HIS DATE AND MONASTERY

BY

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Divākaramitra, whom Harṣa saw in the first year of his expedition against the Gauda Śaśāṅka, is to be identified with his namesake mentioned by I-Tsing, then in A. D. 675 he must have been an extremely old man of ninety-four, if he ever lived at all. That he must have been alive in this year is well borne out by I-Tsing who clearly states that Divākaramitra along with the other Buddhist savants, who are named, was alive. If this were so, then it would mean that in A. D. 675 Divākaramitra like Jñāncandra, Ratnasimha and Tathāgatagarbha, was considered one of the most eminent Buddhist scholars of the age. If these dates are consequently to be accepted as the land-marks in the life of Divākaramitra, then we may state that he must have lived between A. D. 581 and 675. Whether Divākaramitra survived the year A. D. 675 is a matter about which little can be said for lack of sufficient evidence.

II

Divākaramitra—the Man

It may be observed that the former must have been originally a student of three Vedas, a Brāhmana teacher and a friend of Grahavarman Maukhari.

Divākaramitra must have been considered a very holy and learned personage. That he must have been a deep scholar is evident not only from the fame which spread far and wide and reached the ears of pilgrims of I-Tsing but even Bāṇa often makes this Buddhist sage utter wise words.

III

His Monastery

The learned Divākaramitra appears to have had a very interesting monestary in the forest regions of the Vindhya, but apart from telling us that it was situated near a mountain stream in that tract, Bāṇa throws no further light on its precise situation.

"From¹ this Bana's fine account of Divākaramitra's monastics we may infer first that this monastery must have been primarily a cosmopolitan one in which representatives of various schools of thought appear to have discussed freely their views and benefited by such a discussion. This practice must have been rather surprising in this age of religious controversies, wild accounts of which have been left to us by devout Buddhist pilgrims like Yuan Chwāng. Considering² the range of scholarship which can be ascertained from the various types of scholars gathered there, it may be presumed that several prominent scholars from various provinces assembled there to discuss the different tenets of their creeds and probably to arrive at the ultimate truth. But one interesting fact which stands out from this description of Divākaramitra's monastics is that they were all gathered there as his disciples who were permitted by this leader to follow their own tenets (*vividhamanyaiscādbhisca*),³ which only reveals his unusual catholicity of mind in this great age of religious conflict.

Not only were there in this monastery these scholars of various creeds, but what is stranger, at least according to Bāṇa, Divākaramitra seems to have maintained quite a menagerie of the denizens of the neighbourhood.

In this account of the pets which inhabited Divākaramitra's monastery there is no doubt considerable exaggeration in the domestication of especially the wild animals like the tiger and the lion. But nevertheless the whole picture cannot be dismissed as being impossible or unreal for it is certainly possible that, like an Indian St. Francis of Assisi, Divākaramitra had harboured a good many birds and beasts, with which he and his disciples must have become very familiar.

In this electric and cosmopolitan monastery where man and beast appear to have flourished in a most exalted atmosphere of tolerance and good-will there lived Divākaramitra as an acknowledged preceptor (*guru*).

1. *Ibid.* pp. 235-236; text, pp. 236-237, (edited by Kashinath Pandurang Parab, second edition, Bombay, 1897). Italics mine.

2. Yuan Chwāng, *op. cit.*, I, p. 344, Shamans Hwui Li and Yena Tsung, *Life*, pp. 165-180.

3. Bana, *op. cit.*, text, p. 237.

PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE KUŠĀNA PERIOD

BY

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Despite the paucity of evidence, a few terms occurring in the inscriptions of the Kušāna Period, help us in reconstructing the administrative machinery of the Kušāna monarchs. A critical examination of these terms on the basis of classical works and later epigraphic records would certainly be useful in presenting just a bare skeleton of the administrative system of that period. The vast Kušāna empire extending from Wardhak in Afghanistan to the borders of modern Bihar in the East and from Kashmir in the north to Srivihar (Sindh) and Baluchistan in the South-West could not have been governed by a centralised Government alone, and it was necessary to parcel it out into a number of Provincial units under certain heads known as Kṣatrapas who owed allegiance to the Kušāna monarch. This device kept the integrity of the state in tact and it seemed to have been based on the model of the Achemenian Satrapies¹ also followed by the Parthians² who preceded the Kušānas. The number of such provincial units can easily be ascertained from the finds pots of the inscriptions where the term Kṣatrapa meaning 'lord' or 'governor' occurs. Besides these Provincial units, local administrative terms are also mentioned in some of the inscriptions. This suggests a further step towards decentralisation. These administrative terms may now be considered.

Ksatrapa and Mahaksatrapa :—These terms appear in the inscriptions of the Kušāna Period. The two Brāhmi records from Sarnāth³ mention Kharapallāna as a Mahakṣatrapa and Vanaspara as a Kṣatrapa. Only the first record is dated in the third year of King Kaṇiska. Another Brāhmi record⁴ from Mathura known as the Anyor Bodhisattva inscription mentions another Kṣatrapa but his name is mutilated. This record is undated. Besides these Brāhmi records, among the Kharoṣṭhi ones, the Zeda⁵ and the Mānikiala⁶ inscriptions mention the names of two Kṣatrapas namely Liaka and Veśpasi respectively. A Kṣatrapa of Kapiśa who was the son of Kṣatrapa Granavhraka is mentioned

1. Herodotus :—Historical III 95.
2. C. I. I. Vol. II pt. I pp. 232 ff.
3. E. I Vol. VIII pp. 1762 ff Nos. III a, and III b.
4. Vogel, Cat. Mat. Mus. No. 466.
5. C. I I Vol. II pt. I p. 142.
6. *Ibid* p. 145.

in the Mānikiala Bronze casket inscription.⁷ These are the only solitary records on the basis of which we may reconstruct the provincial administrative machinery of the Kuṣāṇa Period. Before doing so it would be worth while considering the term Kṣatrapa from a historical standpoint.

In Sanskrit lexicons⁸ this term means a 'dominion' and from the period of Rgveda onwards Kṣatrapa is used in the general sense of dominion, rule and power as exercised by gods and men. It is noticed in the concrete sense of rulers in the Rgveda⁹ Kṣatra was the military or reigning body, the members of which were generally called Rājāṇya, not Kṣatriya in earliest times, but afterwards when the difference between Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya or the priestly and civil authorities became more distinct, it was applied to the second or military class which ruled. According to the Brāhmaṇas¹⁰ Kṣatra indicated the rank or member of the reigning or military order.

In history, the use of the term Kṣatrapa or Satrap dates back from the time of the Achaemenian emperor Darius I who had divided his empire into a number of satrapies.¹¹ Alexander also followed this system and appointed three satraps for his Indian empire.¹² Before the advent of the Kuṣāṇas to power there were the Kṣatrapas of Kapise and Abhisāraprastha,¹³ western Punjab¹⁴ and Mathura.¹⁵ It was therefore natural for the Kuṣāṇas to continue this system which was in existence since a long time. Now the exact number of Satrapies in the Kuṣāṇa empire may be ascertained.

It has already been mentioned that the term Mahaksatrapa occurs only once in the Sarnath inscription.¹⁶ It therefore appears that Kharapallana as a Mahākṣatrapa or chief lord was entrusted with the task of governing the eastern portion of the empire with his headquarters probably at Sarnath. His position as a deputy of the Kuṣāṇa monarch Kaniska cannot be questioned since he did not use the title Rajan and moreover the name of the Emperor appears in that record. His immediate subordinate was Vanaspura who was only a Kṣatrapa or Governor. It therefore appears that one Kṣatrapa was stationed either at Kāśī or at Sarnath and his jurisdiction extended to the east as well as to

7. *Ibid* p. 150.

8. Monier Williams Dictionary, p. 325.

9. V. 626 राजोना क्षत्रमहणीयेमाना सहस्त्रैस्तृण विन्दथाः सह दौ

10. Aitraya VII 5, satapatha XIII 152.

11. Ref. I.

12. C. H. I. Vol. I p. 827.

13. C. I. I. Vol. II pt. I p. 150.

14. *Ibid.* p. 103.

15. *Ibid.* pp. 30 and ff.

16. Ref. 3.

the west of that place and probably comprised Srāvasti, Gaya and some portion to the west of Sarnath possibly as far as Kauśāmbhi, which was another important centre. It is just possible that the headquarters may have been at Kauśāmbhi. The Sarnath inscriptions point to the existence of a Satrap and a Mahākṣatrapa only. The claim of Mathurā having a Kṣatrapa may not be questioned viewing the evidence furnished by the Anyor Bodhisattva inscription.¹⁷

The existence of Kṣatrapas for the western portion of the Kuṣāṇa empire is revealed by the Kharosthi records of that period. As pointed out earlier, the Manikiala inscription¹⁸ dated in the year 18, mention the name of a Kṣatrapa Veśpasi. Manikiala is a village in the Rawalpindi district. It may therefore be presumed that there was a Kṣatrapa for the territory to the east of the Indus. He may have been exercising control over western Punjab. The Manikiala Bronze casket inscription¹⁹ records the gift of the Kṣatrapa of Kāpiśa, who was the son of Kṣatrapa Granavhyraka. Thus there was a Kṣatrapa at Kāpiśa, which too was an important centre. According to Hiuentasang²⁰ the Chinese hostages were kept there in the time of Kaniška. This Kṣatrapa, therefore, lived and exercised control over the territory to the west of the river Indus. There was a third Kṣatrapa for Afghanistan and the extreme north-west frontier region. This fact is brought out by the Zeda inscription²¹ which mentions the name of that Kṣatrapa. The hold of the Kuṣāṇas over Afghanistan is established by the Wardhak inscription²² dated in the year 51 of Huviška.

It has thus been shown that there were at least five Kṣatrapas whose names appear in the records of that period. It is just possible that there might have been two more Kṣatrapas, one for Sindh and Beluchistan and another for Kaśmīra, thus making a total of seven Satrapies or provinces in the Kuṣāṇa empire. The hold of the Kuṣāṇas over these two regions may not be questioned in view of the evidence furnished by the Sinvihar²³ and Tordherai Potsherds²⁴ inscriptions, the find of Kuṣāṇa coins at Saidpur²⁵ in the Hyderabad district and the Kaśmīra chronicle Rajtarāṅgini.²⁶ Here it is also interesting to note that the appointment

17. Ref. 4.

18. Ref. 6.

19. Ref. 7.

20. Beal. Vol. I p. 57.

21. Ref. 5.

22. C. I. I. Vol. II pt. I pp. 165 and ff.

23. *Ibid.* pp. 138 and ff.

24. *Ibid.* p. 173.

25. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1914-15 p. 95.

26. I. 168-72.

of a Kṣatrapa was more or less hereditary. Thus the father of the Kṣatrapa of Kāpisa is also mentioned as a Kṣatrapa in that record. We may now consider the local administrative units.

Gramika, Padra Pala and Gramasvamin—The local administrative terms occurring in the epigraphic records of that period are Grāmika, Padrapāla and Grāmasvāmin. An inscription²⁷ from Mathurā records dedication by the wife of the village headman (Grāmika) Jayanāga, and daughter-in-law of Grāmika Jayadeva. The second term Padrapāla appears in an inscription,²⁸ while the Charsadda Relic Casket inscription²⁹ mentions the term Grāmasvāmin. Now these terms may be examined separately.

The term Grāmika is also noticeable in the Damodarpur Copper Plate inscription³⁰ where it is taken in the sense of 'the head of a village.' According to Manu,³¹ this term indicated the head of a village who had the right to enjoy several privileges, to use for himself the king's dues received from villages. He had also the right to refer cases of criminal offences to the head of ten villages. In Vedic literature,³² 'the headman of a villages is called a Grāmaṇi which term also appears in the later vedic Samhitas³³ and the Brāhmanas.³⁴ Therefore Grāmika and Grāmaṇi may be taken as synonymous terms, meaning 'the head of the village.' In later epigraphic records³⁵ another term Grāmakuṭṭaka seems to have replaced them.

Now the term Grāmakuṭṭaka meaning 'the head of the village' which we consider to be synonymous with Grāmika of the Kuṣāna and Gupta inscriptions, and Grāmaṇi of the vedic literature, has been distinguished in a later inscription with Grāmapati. In the Surat Copper Plate inscription³⁶ edited by Prof. Altekar, Grāmapati and Grāmakuṭṭaka appear as two separate terms. The learned Professor took Grāmapati in the sense of the landlord of the village' and Grāmakuṭṭaka as the 'headman of the village.' It therefore appears that Grāmika, Grāmaṇi and Grāmakuṭṭaka may be taken as synonymous terms, all meaning 'the head of the village,' appointed by the state, while Grāmapati may be taken in the sense of 'a landlord' or zemindar. The office of a Grāmika, like that of a Kṣatrapa, seems to be a hereditary one, as is evident from the

27. E. I. Vol. I. p. 387 No. XI.

28. J. V. P. H. 6 July, 1939 p. 22 No. XXIII.

29. E. I. Vol. XXIV p. 9.

30. E. I. Vol. XV p. 114 No. 3.

31. VII 118 ग्रामि राजप्रेदेयानि प्रत्यहग्रामवासिभिः

अन्नपानेश्चनादीन ग्रामिकस्तान्यवाप्नुयात् ॥

32. Rgveda X 107-5 दक्षिणा वान्ग्रामिशोरग्रमेति

33. Atharwa Veda III 57.

34. Taitreya II 5-4.4.

35. E. I. Vol. VII p. 39 U. 42, E. I. Vol. XII p. 154.

36. E. I. Vol. XXI No. 22.

fact that both Jayanāga and his father Jayadeva are mentioned as Grāmikas in the Kuṣāṇa record.³⁷ This fact is also corroborated by another inscription.³⁸ The other term Grāmapati of the Surat Plate translated as the landlord or zemindar may be taken as synonymous with the Grāmasvāmin of the Charsadda Relic Casket inscription. It seems likely that he may have been granted some land for rendering aid to the State. Possibly Grāmasvāmin may have had nothing to do with day to day administration, nevertheless he was supposed to be an officer of the State because the term appears in the list mentioned in the Surat Plate inscription. It is difficult to suggest the relations between the two, namely Grāmika and Grāmasvāmin, particularly regarding the division of their powers and functions.

Padrapala the other term, literally means³⁹ 'the keeper or protector of a village or a road.' It therefore appears that he might have been either a watchman or some other officer connected with village papers like the modern Patwari. This term does not appear either in Sanskrit literature or in later records.

These few terms do not in any way suggest a detailed system of administration but they certainly help in presenting just a bare sketch of provincial and local administration which existed in that period. It is perfectly natural to assume that such a vast empire could not have been governed by a central government alone without parcelling it out into a number of provincial units. There was nothing new in the local administration which was carried on through the help of the village headman.

TANGANA HORSES MENTIONED BY BĀNA IN HIS HARSACARITA AND THEIR HISTORY.

(Between A. D. 600 and 1854.)

BY

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The poet Bāna in his *Harsacarita* (Chapter VII) refers to तङ्गण horses in the following line :—

37. Ref. 27.

38. Ref. 36.

39. Monier Williams Dictionary, p. 466.

“सरभसचरणनिपतन निश्चलगमनबुलायमान—
खकूट क्षत्रिय नृत्यमानतुङ्गतङ्गणगुणे”

The commentator Sankara in his *Sanketa* commentary on the *Harsacarita* (B. S. S., Bombay, 9109) edited by Dr. Fuhrer explains the word तङ्गण as follows (p. 278):—

“तङ्गणोदेशः तद्दे शजोययश्चस्तंगणः”

The variant for तंगण is तुंगण in Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar's edition of the *Harsacarita* (Poona), p. 160.

Cowell and Thomas in their Translation (R. A. S. London, 1929, p. 201) translate the above extract from the text as follows:—

“Old people sang the praises of tall *Tangana* horses which by the steady motion of their quick foot-falls provided a comfortable seat.”

The question now arises: What are these *Tangana* or *Tungana* horses? In the *Asvavaidyaka* of Jayadatta (*Bib. Indica* Calcutta, 1886) Chapter VI deals with the breeds of horses according to their native countries (*Janma-desa*). In this chapter a breed of horses of the name टङ्कण (*tankana*) is mentioned as follows:—

Page 73—“वर्त्तलश्चापि हस्वश्च टङ्कणः परिकीर्तितः।” I am of opinion that the तङ्कण horses mentioned by Bāṇa in his *Harsacarita* as having been praised by old men of his time are possibly identical with the horses of टङ्कण breed mentioned by Jayadatta. Apte in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* mentions टङ्कणः (नः) as a species of horse but does not record any usages of the word.

The *Hobson-Jobson* by Yule and Burnell (London, 1903) p. 898 records the following information about *TANGUN* or *TANYAN* horses:—

“*Tangun, Tanyan*—Hind, *tanghan, tangen*, apparently from Tibetan *rTanan*, the vernacular name of this kind of horse (*rTa*, ‘horse’). The strong little pony of Bhutan or Tibet.

C. 1590.—“In the confines of Bengal,¹ near Kuch (—Bahar) another kind of horses occurs, which rank between *gut* (see *Goont*) and Turkish horses and are called *tanghan*: they are strong and powerful” (*Ain-i-Akabri*, I, 133).

1. Cf. *Indian Companion* by G. H. Khandekar, Poona, 1894, p. 130—*TANGAN*—River of Northern Bengal. Enters Dinajpur Dist. from Jalpaiguri.....length about 120 miles.”

1774—"2nd. That for the possession of the Chitchanotta Province, the Deb Raja shall pay an annual tribute of five *Tangan* horses to the Honorable Company, which was the acknowledgement paid to the Deb Raja."—*Treaty of Peace between the Hon'ble East India Co. and the Raja of Bootan in Aitchison's Treaties*, i, 144.

1774—"We were provided with two *tangun* ponies of a mean appearance and were prejudiced against them unjustly. On latter acquaintance they turned out patient, sure footed, and could climb the Monument."

—*Bogle's Narrative in Markham*, 17.

1780—".....had purchased 35 Jhawah or young elephants, of 8 or 9 years old, 60 *Tankun* or ponies of Manilla and Pegu."

—*History of Hydur Naik*, 383

1780—".....small horses brought from the mountains on the eastern side of Bengal. These horses are called *tanyans* and are mostly pyebald."

—*Hodges, Travels* 31

1782—"To be sold, a Phaeton in good condition, with a pair of young *Tanyan* horses, well broke."

—*India Gazettee*, October, 26

1793—"As to the *Tanguns* or *Tanyans* so much esteemed in India for their hardiness, they come entirely from the Upper Tibet, and notwithstanding their make, are so sure-footed that the people of Nepaul ride them without fear over very steep mountains and along the brink of the deepest precipices."

—*Kirkpatrick's Nepaul*, 135

1854—"These animals called *Tanghan* are wonderfully strong and enduring. They are never shod and the hoof often cracks.....The Tibetans give the foals of value messes of *pig's blood and raw liver*, which they devour greedily, and it is said to strengthen them wonderfully. The custom² is I believe, general in Central Asia."

—*Hooker, Himalayan Journals*, 1st Ed. ii, 131

2. I propose to deal in a special paper with the Indian Custom of feeding Horses and Elephants on non-vegetarian diet as vouched by many Sanskrit texts; and even corroborated by some foreign observers. I wonder if this custom had its origin in Central Asia, the home of

From the evidence recorded above I am inclined to believe that the *Tangana* horses, mentioned by Bāṇa C. A. D. 630, the *Tankana* horses, mentioned by Jayadatta (between C. A. D. 800 and 1200) and the *Tangun* or *Tanyan* horses described in references from A. D. 1590 to A. D. 1854) in the *Hobson-Jobson* appear to be identical. If this identity is accepted by philologists and historians, the history of this breed of horses for about 1300 years may be taken to have been established on documentary evidence of a reliable character.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* states that the *Tanghan* horses "rank between the *Gut* and Turkish horses." The *Hobson-Jobson* has an article on *Goont* horses as follows :—

P. 387.—"GOONT—Hind. *gunth*, *guth*, a kind of pony of the Northern Himalayas strong but clumsy."

Usages of the word recorded by *Hobson-Jobson* are :—

C. 1590.—(*gut*); 1609 (*Gunts*); 1831 (*ghounte*); 1838 (*gunth*, *gunths*)."

Jayadatta in Chapter VI of his *Asvavaidyaka* (p. 73) refers to गुरठ (*guntha*) horses as follows :—

“दाक्षिणात्यो भवेद् गुरठो योऽधन्यःसर्ववाजिनाम्”

I believe the गुरठ (*guntha*) horses mentioned by Jayadatta are identical with the *gut* horses of *Ain-i-Akbari* and *gunt*, *ghounte*, *gunth* horses referred to by European writers in the references recorded by the *Hobson-Jobson*. Jayadatta calls them दाक्षिणात्यो (southerners) perhaps with reference to other northern breeds from Persia and Central Asia such as पारसीक, ताजिक, तुर्क recorded by him. He condemns the गुरठ horses as “अधन्य” (wretched) perhaps on account of their clumsy appearance, not suited to the royal stable. Jayadatta himself was a king (महाराज) as stated in the colophons of some chapters of his *अश्ववैद्यक*. In connection with my identification of तंगण horses mentioned by Bāṇa I have to record here the following identification of तङ्गण country as given in the *Geographical Dictionary* by Nandlal Dey, Calcutta, 1929, p. 204 :—

“*Tangana*—The country stretching from *Ramganga* river to the upper *Sarayu* (*Brahmanda Purana* Chapter 49; McCrindle's *Ptolemy* p. 210). It has been identified with *Hatak* or *Ladak* (*Barooh's Dictionary* Preface, p. 50’.

horses, from which horses have been exported to India from very ancient times. It often happens that the diet of special breeds of animals migrates to foreign lands along with these breeds, because without this diet these breeds cannot live or thrive.

Page 243.—“*Ladak*—It has been identified with *Hatak*, where *Mansarovara* is situated (*Barooah's Dictionary*, Vol. III, Preface, p. 50.)

The *World Pictorial Gazetteer* (by Hammerton) p. 641 describes *LADAKH* as “Region of the State of Kashmir, India, situated among the Himalayas. It contains the valley of the upper Indus. With *Baltistan* it forms a Province of which the Capital is *LEH*. The inhabitants are Buddhists. Pop. 37241.”

The *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions the *Tanghan* and *Gut* horses in one and the same context. Jayadatta also does likewise and mentions टङ्कण and गुण्ड horses in the following verse:—

“वत्तुलश्चापि ह्रस्वश्च टङ्कणः परिकीर्तितः ।
दक्षिणात्यो भवेद्गुण्डो योऽध्वयः सर्ववाजिनाम् ॥१७॥”

The order in which Jayadatta mentions several breeds of horses is as follows:—

ताजिकाः, पारसिकाः, केकाणाः, तुरौ जाताः (तुर्काः), पार्वताः, सैन्धवाः, सारस्वताः, सम्भलाः, जटदेशोद्भवाः, भारङ्गिकाः, सिंधुदेशोद्भवः, पक्क (or टक्क) देशोद्भवाः, सम्भलः टक्कः, गुण्डः, पूर्वदेश समुद्भवः ।

Almost all these breeds appear to belong to Northern India above the Vindhya. We may, therefore, be justified in presuming that the टङ्कण horses mentioned by Jayadatta are connected with the टङ्कण country identified with *Ladak* as stated in the *Geographical Dictionary*. If this presumption is correct we cannot connect the तङ्कण horses mentioned by Jayadatta with the टङ्कण region mentioned by Varāhamihira (C. A. D. 500) in his *Brhat Samhita* (Chapter 14—*Kurmayibhaga*), Calcutta, 1865, p. 89:—

“अथ दक्षिणेन लङ्का
कालाजिन सौरिकीर्ण तालिकटाः ।
गिरिनगर मलयदर्दर
महेन्द्र मालिन्य भरुकच्छाः ॥११॥
कङ्कट टङ्कण वनवासि—
शिबिक फणिकार कोङ्कणाभीराः ।
आकर वेणावन्तक—
दक्षपुर गोन्द केरलकाः ॥१२॥
कर्णाट महाटविचित्रकूट—
नासिक्य कोरुलगिरि चोलाः
क्रौञ्च द्वीप जटाधर—
कावेर्यो रिष्यमूकश्च ॥१३॥

In the above extract टङ्कण region is included in the names of Southern regions. If the expression “टङ्कण वनवासि” suggests any close geographical proximity of टङ्कण and वनवासि regions we have to presume that टङ्कण horses mentioned by Jayadatta may belong to the टङ्कण region mentioned by Varāhamihira and not to the तङ्कण region (Ladak) mentioned by Nandolal Dey in his *Geographical Dictionary*. Some evidence for this presumption is furnished by the *Asvayurveda* of Vāgbhata, son of Vikram. In this treatise represented by MS. No. 581 of 1899-1915 in the Government MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, there is a Chapter called the कुलाश्याय (folios 43-48) which describes about 50 breeds of horses. Among these breeds the horses of the वनवासि region are mentioned and described as follows :—

Folio 47—“वर्जुला दाक्षिणात्याश्वा वानवासिक संशकाः ।

संहता पूर्वकायेन विकृता परिचमे क्षमाः ॥७६॥

सत्त्वतेजो बलोपेता ह्रस्वोरजधनाः सभाः ।

गत्या मंदा प्रमाणेन मध्यः केचिद्वलोज्झिताः ॥७७॥

In these verses the वनवासिक horses are mentioned with the epithets वर्जुल and ह्रस्व, which are also the epithets by which Jayadatta describes the टङ्कण horses in the following line :—

“वर्जुलश्चापिह्रस्वश्च टङ्कणः परिकीर्तितः”

If the term टङ्कण mentioned by Varāhamihira is the name of a region in the neighbourhood of वनवासि it is possible to suppose that the टङ्कण horses had some common characteristics with the वनवासि horses, expressed by the common epithets viz. वर्जुल and ह्रस्व. If this line of argument is accepted we shall have to regard the टङ्कण horses mentioned by Jayadatta as different from the तङ्कण horses mentioned by Bāṇa. In the present state of my evidence I can only deduce the following conclusions :—

- (1) The तङ्कण horses mentioned by Bāṇa are very probably identical with the *Tanghan* horses of Bhoottan mentioned in the *Hobson-Jobson*.
- (2) The टङ्कण horses mentioned by Jayadatta¹ may belong to the टङ्कण region mentioned by Varāhamihira along with वनवासि or they may be identical with *Tanghan* horses referred to above. In the *Ihole Inscription* of śaka 556 (—A. D. 634) the वनवासि country is said to be bounded by the rivers वरदा and हंसा (see page 43 of *sources of Karnatak History*, Vol. I, by Srikantha Sastri, Mysore, 1940).

1. The editor of Jayadatta's अश्ववेद्यक (*Bib. Indica*, Calcutta), explains the term टङ्कण :—“टङ्कणः टाङ्कण इति यस्य भाषा”

The Chronology of the evidence recorded in this paper will be clear from the following tabular statement :—

Chronology* A. D.	Reference
C. 630	तङ्गण (variant तुङ्गण) horses mentioned by Bāṇa in the <i>Harsacarita</i> .
Between 800 and 1200	टङ्गण and गुण्ड horses mentioned by Jayadatta in his अश्ववैद्यक
C. 1590	<i>Tanghan</i> horses mentioned by <i>Ain-i-Akbari</i> as ranking "between <i>Gut</i> and Turkish horses.
1774	<i>Tangan</i> horses offered as annual tribute to the East India Co. by the Raja of Bhutan.
...	<i>Tangun</i> horses (<i>Hobson-Jobson</i>).
1780	<i>Tankun</i> ponies (<i>Hobson-Jobson</i>).
...	<i>Tanyans</i> (<i>Hobson-Jobson</i>).
1782	<i>Tanyan</i> (<i>Hobson-Jobson</i>).
1793	<i>Tanuns</i> or <i>Tanyans</i> (<i>Hobson-Jobson</i>).
1854	<i>Tanhan</i> horses of Tibet (few on pig's blood and raw liver) see <i>Hobson-Jobson</i> .

SECTION II.

Ancient India.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.

Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the outset I must express my gratitude to the authorities of the Indian History Congress for inviting me to preside over the deliberations of this Section. Since we met last, two important publications have been issued which have enriched our knowledge of the Pallava and Chalukya periods. One is Volume XII of South Indian Inscriptions relating solely to the Pallavas. It contains all the Pallava inscriptions collected by the Department of Epigraphy from 1904 to 1935. A study of these inscriptions has brought to light the existence of two Kopperinjingas, Kopperinjinga Deva I and Kopperinjinga Deva II. These were the Kadava rulers claiming Pallava descent, who flourished in the 13th century. Kopperinjinga I was an officer under Kulottunga Chola III and a devotee of the God Nataraja at Chidambaram where we are meeting today. After Kulottunga Chola's death, he consolidated his territory and became an independent chief. Kopperinjinga II continued to enjoy independent rule and is said to have assisted Rajendra Chola III when he ascended to Chola throne.

The second publication is a Digest of Annual Report on Kannada Research in Bombay province for the year 1940-41, published by Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar in 1945. Among others it contains an interesting inscription of two verses in Sanskrit, copied from a cliff in the north hill at Bādami which once for all settles that it was the Chalukyan monarch Pulakeśin I who constructed the hill fortress of Vatapi. According to this inscription Pulakeśin I converted the whole hill from the top to bottom as an unconquerable fortress.

This Section, as you all know, covers the period from A. D. 711 to 1206. That year A. D. 711 witnessed the establishment of the Arabs in Sind. The break up of political

unity which India enjoyed largely under the Guptas and later under Harsha led to political disintegration and disruption. This resulted in the growth of petty dynasties and the development of independent parties in matters religious. A study of the architecture and literature of this period shows that the growth of political power in the Dekhan and South India synchronised with the rise and spread of the new Saiva sect. In fact, with the collapse of political unity, religious differences became more and more localised. As has been pointed out by E. B. Havell, the Saiva sect of S. India got merged with the Hinayana school of Buddha. The characteristic feature of the southern school was the domed stupa which covered the shrine in which the sacred image was installed. In the north of India both Mahayanism and Vaishnavism predominated. The distinctive symbol which was noticed in Vishnu shrines was the Sikhara. A vigorous revivalist movement set in both in the Dekhan and S. India. It was heralded by a number of saints, belonging to both schools of Saivism and Vaishnavism. This movement was in its full swing for about six centuries untill about 1200 A. D. This led to the reestablishment of Hinduism based on old Vedic and Purānic religion on solid foundations. What we have to note in this connection is that while the earlier religious reformers were all members of the Brahman community, some of the leaders of the new movements Saivism and Vaishnavism of South India of this period were non-Brahmins. These were the great mystic poets of the Tamil land who enriched Tamil poetry with their melodious outbursts in moments of supreme rapture. The Saiva literature goes by the name Tevaram. Saints like Appar Swāmigal, a non-Brahman Bhakta collaborated with Brahman saints like Sambandar and Maṇikkavaśagar. Among the Vaishnava samayachāryas who go by the name of Ālvārs, the authors of the well-known Divyappirabandam, Nammālvar and Tirumangaimannar, were non-Brahman apostles of eminence. The Periyapurāṇam of Sekkiḷar preserves the record of 63 Saiva saints among whom there were more non-Brahmans than Brahmans. Fired by religious impulses all of them worked for one common cause, *viz.* preserving their great religious heritage. Among these saints was one Tirunilakaṇṭha Nayanar who belonged to the community of potters in this ancient city of Chidambaram. His was to serve Siva yogis and Siva devotees. In this hallowed city again Nanda, a Pulaiya by caste, attained communion with God Naṭaraja by sheer devotion

and service. Another Enadi Nāyanar belonged to the caste of Sanar or toddy drawers. Yet another who gained Siva's grace was Tirukkuripputtonḍar, a washerman by caste.

These few instances are enough to show the cosmopolitan character of Saivism. It was no more a creed confined to a small cultured section but a religion of the masses. The Pallava monarchs and the imperial Cholas patronised this religion with fervour and intensity by constructing shrines in honour of Siva throughout the length and breadth of the Tamil land. Even with this they were not satisfied. They sent their men of culture and taste to Indo-China, Indonesia, and China to spread their religion and plant numerous shrines on the model of Pallava and Chola architecture. Though primarily devotees of Saiva creed, they were tolerant enough to promote the cause of sister religion, Vaishnavism. Hence we see in this period in Indonesia though Saivism predominated, temples to Tuimal and the Buddha were found side by side. Not only temple buildings were modelled on the Pallava and Chola plan, not to speak of the Chalukyan and Pandyan, but the actual conduct of daily worship current in S. India was punctiliously followed in Indonesia as could be seen from the temple regulations at Angorthom in Cambodia. Thus the glorification of Siva does not mean and did not mean intolerance of Vishnu or other gods. The casual teaching of the Saiva saints drove home the view that there was only one God. This was known by different names. In applauding Siva, saint Appar says: He is Nārāyaṇa, Brahma, the four Vedas, the Completest Being, the Holiest, the Oldest, etc. (2:2.3). Realisation of this great god is termed Siva mukti by Sambandar and Paramukti by Tirumūlar. In Tirumūlar's time there were six systems of philosophy, Nadāntam, Bodhantam, Yogantam, Kalantam, Vedāntam and Siddhāntam. Tirumūlar rejects the first four and accepts Vedānta-Siddhantam. For he says: Becoming Siva is Vedānta-Siddhanta (St. 2392). In other words, the Vedānta knowledge becomes Siddhanta. This was the central teaching of Saiva philosophy accepted and approved by Tamil saints through the ages. Does not a much later saint like Tayumanavar praise those Siddhanta seers who have drunk deep of the essence of the Vedānta and Siddhanta?

These were the days when the great Sankarāchārya flourished. These were again the days when the Arabs have been frequenting Southern India as carriers of trade.

The Arabs believed in monotheism and Sankara who established the Advaita system of philosophy was a monotheist. To him Siva was Narayana and Narayana was Siva. Sankaracharya travelled all India and firmly rooted the plant of his philosophy in all corners of India. Upto 1200 the religion and philosophy of Sankara and of the mystic poets of Tamil land held the field until Ramanunja, the celebrated Vaishnava reformer introduced the Viśiṣṭadvaita. But this later phase of religious history of India is outside the scope of this section. The efforts of these Tamil saints including Sankara (for he also belonged to the Tamil country) led to the final disappearance of Buddhism in the south and for the matter of that in the Indian horizon. For, the Vaishnavism of the Bhagavad Gītā of which Sankara was an exponent absorbed the Mahāyāna Buddhism of the North India, thus making the extinction of Buddhism complete from all India. But in the case of Jainism though decay set in, it died hard. The Jains are still happily with us. The Jains of our period took zealously to South Indian literatures and Sanskrit, more and more, and produced classics like the Jivakachintamani in Tamil and the Ajita Purāṇa and the Gadāyuddha composed by the poet Ranna in Kannada. But their religious activities become more or less confined to the western parts of India and to a few places in Southern India, then under royal patronage. Some of the fine monuments of theirs are still preserved. For example, we have the India Sabha and the Jayamalla Sabha at Ellora under Chalukya's patronage, the splendid monolithic temple at Kaḷugamalai in the Pandyan kingdom and the Jain temples of Western India. Unity in diversity is the beauty of Indian culture. Hence, we see the two architectonic symbols, stupa dome and Sikhara, prominently in all temple architecture, Buddhist, Brahman or Jain. While the stupa represented the ascetic ideal, the Sikhara was symbolical of the layman's ideal. The Chalukyan contribution was a compromise by which the Sikhara was crowned by the stupa dome instead of the amalaka, and has become common to all schools of faith. While we are at this we can mention on the evidence of inscriptions at Lakkundi the name of Dāna Chintamani Attiyabbe, who was a daughter of Mallapa or Mallapayya, the general of Taila II. She is said to have flooded the Western Chalukya territory with as many as 1500 Jain temples. And the Ajita Purāṇa of Ranna, already referred to, was composed at her instance.

Not only in architecture but also in fine arts like

fresco painting, music and sculpture, the south Indian contribution was something pronounced as we can see from the Pallava painting at Sittannavāsai, and the inscription at Kudimiyāmalai both in Pudukkottai State, or the unparalleled bronze sculpture of the great Chola period. The bronze sculpture, says Havell, from an historical point of view is invaluable for its unique impressions of the ideals of the Saiva cult. The image of gods and the portraits of Saiva saints reveal to us the passionate fervour of these S. Indian bhaktas. Apparsvami in anjali pose, Sundarar with all the glow of youth and beauty, Sambanda, the inspired child, are portraits of inestimable value. Much more of passion and constituting the masterpieces of the Chola craftsmen are the bronze images of Siva as Natarāja, one of which is enshrined in the celebrated temple of this town Chidambaram. The Chola kings beginning with Kochengapān of the Sangam period have lavished over-abundantly this temple of temples. In commemoration of his victories Parantaka replated with gold the Kanaka Sabha of the Chidambaram shrine, one of the five Saiva shrines dedicated to five cosmic elements, earth, water, fire, air and ether. The last *i.e.* ether is in this town symbolised by an empty shrine. The other four temples representing earth, water, fire and air are respectively those at Kanchi, Jambukēśvaram, Tiruvannāmalai and Kalahesti. The Kulottungas have improved the Chidambaram temple by enlarging it, embellishing it and endowing it. Natarāja represents the rhythmic dance of Siva holding the sacrificial fire and heating the cosmic time with an hour-glass drum.

Speaking on the administration of the period, notwithstanding the fact that the political unity of India was at a discount, the different dynasties of the north and south, whether they were in Rajputana or Bengal, Dekhan or S. India, the administration was efficient and something remarkable. Confining ourselves to southern India for the present, we find the Pallava administration was as strong if not stronger than the Chola administration. One notable feature of this administration was complete local autonomy. The village administration of old as represented by *manrams* in the Tamil land was suffered to exist. In fact, the whole of southern India was studded with village republics in the later days of Pallava rule and after. The village was administered by a number of committees. Uttiramerur Caturvedimangalam, Ukkol, Avani-Narayan-Caturvedimangalam and Tiruvoriyur were some of the villages which adopted the committee system of administration

under the Pallavas. The executive authorities to run the actual administration were the Variyams and Gaṇas. Variyam means a committee. There was a Variyam for irrigation and water supply, a Vāriyam in charge of public gardens and parks. There were again the committee of annual supervision, the Alungaṇattār or managing committee besides the village assembly. In the age of the Cholas, however, we have more committees systematically elected. There are elaborate rules regarding the qualification of members eligible for the committees, and the method of election of such members to the committees. Ownership of house and lands are among the qualifications. More interesting is the educational qualification. Those who were proficient in *mantras* and *Brahmanas* were qualified to sit in some of the committees. The electioneering methods savour of a democratic procedure.

It has been often stated about some *brahmadeya* villages that they were Brahman villages. To repeat what I have said elsewhere to render a *brahmadeya* as a Brahman village is misleading. A piece of territory is given as a gift to a Brahman or a group of Brahmans by a king or kings. This forms a nucleus for an agraharam and then other streets for professional people. With the growth of population it develops into a big village or township. This cannot be called a Brahman village or township. For in these villages we have often the mention of the gold committee or tank committee in which it is reasonable to assume that all the members could not have been members of the Brahman community. These committees should have contained members of other communities also. What I want to drive at is that we had all along developed not a communal but a communalistic outlook in general.

Another noteworthy feature of the administration of this period particularly among the prominent Deccan kingdoms is the association of royal ladies in the actual running of Government. The Kesarbhavi inscription of the Rashtrakutas shows that the king's daughter Revakanimmaḍi was in the charge of Eḍedore district under her father, Amoghavarsha I. It is further interesting that according to a western Chalukya inscription dated 1024 Maruṇḍal, a district, was under the administration of Mahadevi, a daughter of Saṭṭiga (Irivabedanga Satyāsriya).

Whether it be a village Government or city administration, the temple played a glorious part both in Pallava

and Chola times. The temple was the pivot of social and cultural life. It ministered to the spiritual life also. Royal patronage and private munificence made the temple grow in size and extent and the temple treasury is an unfailing source of treasure. The endowments were of different forms and variety. The temple had its own establishment and regulations governing the mode of worship. It served as a school and sometime as a bank. It was the common meeting place of some important committees affecting the welfare of the whole village or town. There were stored public documents and records of judgments. It was the citadel of religion. It was the centre of music and dancing. It found vocation for the mason, sculptor and painter and thus encouraged fine arts. Its services to promote corporate life of the people were immense.

Saivism of this period branched off into different sects. Kapalikas, Kalamukhas, Pāsupatas and Vira Saivas. The influence of the first three sects is reflected in the hymns of the Tevāram itself as also the Mattavilāsa. Kapalikas worshipped Siva in the form of Bhairava and Parvatī as Kālī. Siruttōṇḍar was a worshipper of Bhairava Murti. Koḍumbālar became the centre of the Kalamukha sect from the eighth century A. D., as is attested by the inscription of Vikramikesari. The Periyapurāṇam speaks of Bhairava of Siruttōṇḍar as Uttarapatisvara, meaning a God of the north. With the Kalachuri usurpation of the province of Telingana (1162-82) emerged another Saivite sect called Vira Saivism. The leader of this movement was Basava, the minister of Bijjala, the usurper. It started as a fanatic sect aiming at the destruction of all heretics, especially the Jains. Caste and Brahmans were also the target of their attack. The followers of this sect wear small *Lingas*, and hence known as the lingayats. These are still prominent in the Mysore State. Whatever this may be, these sects cannot be indigenous to the Tamil land and were probably importations. The orthodox people did not countenance the activities of these sects with approval. Some of them resorted to blood sacrifices and to licentiousness. Here and there were these sects pursuing their mode of worship and the kings of the age as usual were tolerant and did not interfere in their affairs.

This age again synchronised with the rise of vernacular literatures, what one may designate creative literature and art. This was manifested everywhere among the Eastern

and Western Chalukyas, the Pallavas, Cholas and Rashtrakutas, as well as the dynasties of the north, the Pālas and the Senas, Paramaras and Gashadvalas. In the Tamil land it was mostly religious literature as Tevaram, Tiruvācakam and Nālayiram. Side by side the Jains produced literature not only in Tamil but also in Kannada. It was the efflorescent age of vernacular literature. The princes of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch at Gujarat used in their sign manuals Kannada script in preference to Gujarati or Valabhi script. It has been suggested that Rāṣṭra was a Dravidian expression sanskritised into Rāstrakūṭa. Rāṣṭra was probably the original family name of the kings of Mālkhad. Thus the family of the Rāstrakūṭas was Dravidian in stock and their home was Kannada country. This thesis propounded in the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IX-1 seems to be sound. Kavirājamarga, the earliest work in Kannada on poetics is attributed to Amogavarsha I. During the reign of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyana, as in the epoch of Rāstrakūṭas, a further fillip was given to the Jaina literature.

In this age there was a revival in Prakrit the literature. We may mention, for example, Dhanapāla's Pāiyalacchi, a Prakrit Dictionary (972-3) and Hemachandra's Desinamāla nearly a century later. Hemachandra explains what he means by a *deśi* word. All provincial expressions are not considered *deśi* words but only those which have found entrance into the known Prakrit literature. There is a coincidence between the Dravidian grammarians and Prakrit grammarians in the classification of the words in their languages. Three classes, *viz.* tatsama, tadbhāva and deśya are distinguished. Hemachandra does not identify Apabhramśa with the vernaculars, though it had become popular through the efforts of the Abhira and Gurjara princes. Prof. A. B. Keith remarks: 'There is no reason to suppose that Apabhramśa formed a necessary step towards composition in vernaculars, and in Mahārāṣṭra and Kashmir Apabhramśa appears to have been unknown, while in the latter region vernacular poetry appears to have been practised in the eleventh century.' In addition to these various local literatures we must add Hindi literature which took a definite shape in the twelfth century and continued to grow from strength to strength to the present day. In our period we cannot fail to mention Chand's Hindi epic, Prithiraj-Raisa of much literary value. In this period again Sanskrit was in no way neglected. It was affluent. The great works of Sankara, of Vāchaspa-

timisra, of Rajaśekhara at the court of Gurjara-Pratiharas, of Somadeva Suri, of Ksemendra, of Vijnaneśvara, of Jayadeva, of Kalhana and of Bhaskaracharya, to mention only a few of the numerous authors of this period, testify to the progress of Sanskrit literature in different spheres. It was in this period the great university of Kanchi and the famous university of Vikramaśila flourished. The latter was founded by Dharmapala towards the close of the 8th century and patronised by Nayapala in the eleventh century. In several ways it was a replica of Nalanda. Buddhist tantrism was a special course of study here.

Politically it was an age of imperialism. Every prominent ruler of a dynasty was imbued with far-reaching ambitions to become all-India ruler. The attempts of the Pallavas and Chalukyas may not be significant. But really significant is the imperialism of the Rashtrakutas. Dhruva Dharavarsha who ascended the throne in 780 A. D. planned elaborately on a scheme of conquest. He annexed the Ganga territory, and humbled the Pallava ruler. He even launched an expedition to North India and gave a crushing blow to Vatsaraja, the Gurjara-Pratihara ruler in the Ganges-Jumna Doab and subsequently attacked Dharmapala of Bengal with success. This expedition was in the nature of a digvijaya and considerably enhanced the military renown of the Rashtrakuta empire. For the first time after the Andhra occupation of North India, the Rashtrakuta army crossed the Vindhya and occupied the vital part of Madhyadesa. But with his death, every subdued country declared independence. It was Govinda III who broke the South Indian confederacy of kings, annexed Malva and Gangavadi, overthrew Nagabhata II of the Pratihara line who was extending his imperial supremacy in northern India and humbled Dharmapala of Bengal. Under him the Rashtrakutas became all India power.

Dharmapala of the Pala dynasty was no less ambitious. He was actuated also by imperialistic motives. He carried his arms to the Ganges-Jumna Doab and became a serious rival of Vatsaraja. He captured Kanauj and put his own deputy Chakrayudha on its throne. But his efforts were nothing against the Rashtrakuta arms. Traditions of the Rashtrakuta imperialism were realised later on by the imperial Cholas who advanced into the north-eastern India, and by Karnatak association with the Senas and the Nepal country. The military genius of Rajaraja I and of Rajendra resulted in the establishment of an empire. The

Uhera fleet was destroyed and the Chalukya kingdom acknowledged their supremacy. Ceylon and Kalinga became parts of the empire. The Chola fleet was prominently seen in the Arabian sea and the Bay of Bengal. Matripāla of Bengal was forced to pay homage to Chola Suzerainty. Thus the Chola empire extended over a large portion of Eastern India and the Dekhan and the whole of Southern India and Ceylon. The ages covering this period mark an epoch in the growth of greater India, to wit, Chola expansion to Ceylon and across the Bay to Kadaram, Pala expansion culturally to Tibet, Bhutan and Burma, Hindu revival in Indo-China and Indonesia. There was brisk trade with both sides of the Indian Ocean. Toleration was extended to foreign travellers and foreign settlers like the Arabs and the Chinese.

I mentioned above of the Karnāṭaka associations with the Senas. Sāmantasena, the founder of the Sena dynasty, is described as a Karnāṭa-Kṣatriya. There was a Karnāṭa invasion of northern India in the eleventh century or earlier. It is also believed that Karnāṭa Jains took part in the northern expedition of the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi during the reign of Vigrahapala III. The Sena dynasty in Bengal can be claimed as a Karnāṭa dynasty founded in Tirhut (Northern Bihar) by Nanyadeva. It claimed sovereignty in Nepal also. At this time the Mahayana form of Buddhism was prevalent in Nepal. It became merged in the new Saivite movement inaugurated by the Senas there. Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty is said to have expelled Madanapāla from northern Bengal and conquered Nepal and Assam. He was a Saiva and patronised Umāpati. From a large number of Sadāsiva images discovered from different parts of Bengal it has been suggested that the Senas brought the cult of Sadāsiva from the south. But R. C. Majumdar believes that the cult belongs to Agmānta saivism and was of North India origin.

We shall now pass on to the Rajputs. With the final disappearance of the later Guptas and with the emergence of a number of dynasties in different parts of the land, the defunct Rajputs once more revived their power and status. They were Rajaputras, princes of the old royal families from the time of the epic age of India. They were the descendents of the ancient Kshatriya heroes as they legitimately and proudly claimed. They were waiting for an opportunity to revive their past glories. The break-up of India's political unity after Harsha and the favourable situa-

tion created thereby made it possible for these Kshatriya princes to assert their power. It is difficult to subscribe to the view of some scholars that these Rajputs were of foreign extraction who entered India with Huns and others and who later on embraced Hinduism by styling themselves Kshatriyas. I agree with Mr. C. V. Vaidya and the eminent Mahamahopadhyaya Gaurisankar Ojha that the Rajputs were indigenous people, the lineal descendents of the Kshatriyas of ancient India.

Unfortunately there is a tendency among orientalists to attribute most of our royal dynasties and even most of our people Dravidians and Aryans as coming from outside India. Strange theories either from similarity of names based on doubtful philological data or of customs or of physical traits equally elusive have been propounded and promulgated. What if, I ask, the Gujars find mention with Hunas in the Harsha Charita and what if Gujars equate with Khazars. The question of colour of skin, and of measurements is more of environment and heredity. The Jewish nose, for example, has passed into fable. In the recent world war, in several fronts Indian soldiers were mentioned with British and American soldiers. From this account Indian soldiers cannot become British or American soldiers or vice versa. This is how we have to interpret the reference in the Harsha Charita. Granting for the moment that the Rajputs were foreigners and then they embraced the Indian faith I ask why should they become Ksatriyas and acknowledge the ascendancy of the Brahmans and become their firm supporters. Why should not they become straight away Brahmans. Or again why should they not join the rank and file of the industrial and trading classes and get themselves freed from onerous military service? They would have done all this if they were really foreigners. But being Kahatriyas they were proud of their heritage as descendants and successors of the noble Kshatriya heroes and of demi-gods of the epics and Purāṇas. They did their duty by performing Vedic sacrifices, by adopting the *svayamvara* form of marriage and by detesting mined marriages, in order to preserve their old virility. As heroes, the Rajput chiefs vied with one another for supremacy and glory in love and war. Their valour, loyalty and magnanimity have earned them the first rank in the history of Indian chivalry. No non-Ksatriya would be fired with such noble ideals and impulses. Again let us take the case of their womenfolk. If the Rajputs were a foreign tribe it is natural that their

ladies must be of the same tribe. If it were so, how could Rajput princesses imbibe pucca Indian ideals of womanhood during their short stay and elect glory in sati, self-immolation, and take a stern vow not to survive their departed heroes, and prefer sacrificing their lives to losing honour, ideals which are in the very blood of our Kshatriya women. These ideals of Rajput men and women are enough to show that their claim to belong to the old Kshatriya stock is perfectly just and sound. Above all why should we brush aside the authority of Yuan Chwang who speaks of the Gurjara king as a Kshatriya. After all, the interval between the Harsha Charita where the contemporary appearance of Hunas and Gujars occurs, and Yuan Chwang was not much. He should have been better informed of the Gurjara king if he had been really a foreigner, notwithstanding the fact that he was there in the robes of a Kshatriya. I beg to be excused for digressing a little on the vexed question of the origin of the Rajputs. I have done so because I feel strongly that the foreign origin of the Rajputs is positively unacceptable. The sooner we drop this in our text-books the better.

This neo-Rajput age was marked by heroic poetry as befits the Kshatriya heroes. There were bards and bardic poetry. Every court had its own minstrels eulogising the King's heroic deeds and valour. This age was again marked by militant chivalry and desperate courage, as could be seen from the valourous exploits of Prthiviraj in hard-contested battles. This age was also marked by clan organisation which was at once the element of weakness and strength. The various clans were far from being united. They were engaged in petty quarrels ever and on, being smitten by jealousy and rivalry. Continuous internecine feuds among these clans sapped their vitality so much so that they could not vigorously resist the foreign invader. These feuds further prevented them in presenting a united front even in the face of a common danger. As has been well said these finally led to their conquest *in detail* by Muhammadans. Such were the elements of weakness which centred round the Rajput clan organisation. Against this it may be argued that such strife enabled them to cultivate virtues like heroism and fidelity and chivalry. To earn these at the cost of their hearth and home is to earn none at all. During the Muslim conquest some of the clans were destroyed, others fled for safety to regions unaccessible to the pursuer. For example, the Gaharwar clan emigrated to the deserts of Rajputana and established the State of

Marwar (Jodhpur). By 1203 the whole of Hindustan lay under the feet of the new conquerors.

Ladies and Gentlement, I have glanced over the distinctive features which marked the period from the commencement of the 8th century to the beginning of the 13th century. These features, though politically centrifugal, show a constructive record of output in art, religion, social organisation and even in military equipment.

AN UNKNOWN INCIDENT IN THE HISTORY OF THE RĀSTRAKUTAS OF MALKHED

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Govinda II and Indrayudha of Kanauj :—

It is now generally recognised that Govinda II succeeded his father Kṛṣṇa I and ruled the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kingdom for about a period of eight years from A. D. 772 to 780. Excepting the rebellion of his younger brother, Dhruva, and his ultimate overthrow in the struggle very little is known about the events of his reign. The Daulatabad plates of Sankaragana, dated A. D. 793, allude perhaps to a victory which Govinda II won over a chief called Parijata, while rescuing Govardhana.¹ Though the fort Govardhana which Govinda II rescued is situated, as pointed out by Dr. Altekar, in the Nasik district of the Bombay Presidency,² the identity of Parijata who assailed it is still shrouded in obscurity. It is not unlikely that this event was connected with the rebellion of Dhruva even as suggested by Dr. Altekar. The Rameswaram inscription of Kṛṣṇa III alludes to an expedition which Govinda II led against Indra, a northern King, who ruled over the Jumna-Gangetic doab. In verse 6, it is stated that "from him (Kṛṣṇa I) was born Prabhūtavārṣa (*i. e.*, Govinda II) of exalted fame, who ruled the earth and as a result of the destruction of Indra's place (capital) by whose forces, the waters of the Ganges

1. E. I. IX No. 26. V. 10., Tat-sunur-abava-rucih prathito babuva Sri Parijata-vibhav-aharana-pratitah Govardhan-Oddharana-laksita-bahu-viryo Govinda-raja-nrpatir-Harina samanah.

2. Rashtrakutas and their times. Pp. 49-50.

appear (black) like those of Yamunā."³ This passage makes it quite clear that, during the course of his reign, Govinda II invaded the Jumnā-Gangetic doab, and sacked the capital of a King called Indra. The identity of this king is not difficult to discover. It is stated in Jinasena's *Harivaṃśa* that in Saka 705 there were ruling Indrāyudha in the north; Sri Vallabha, the son of Kṛṣṇanṛpa in the South; Vatsarāja, king of Avanti in the East; and Varāha, in the country of the Sauryas, in the West.⁴ Indrāyudha, king of the north, mentioned in this passage is accepted on all hands as the king of Kanyākubja of that name, a successor of Vajrāyudha. As he is said to have been a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja's son Sri Vallabha, there can be no doubt that he was identical with Indra, the ruler of Jumnā-Gangetic doab whose capital Govinda II had sacked.

The date of the expedition:—When exactly Govinda II invaded the Jumnā-Gangetic doab, it is not easy to determine. The invasion was probably undertaken in connection with the suppression of the rebellion of Dhruva who took up arms against him and attempted to assert independence. Dhruva was not uniformly successful against Govinda II. He suffered reverses, and as a consequence, was compelled for sometime to acknowledge his brother's supremacy. This becomes evident by a study of the inscriptions of Dhruva and his sons. In the Pimpri Plates dated A. D. 775 Dhruva is spoken of as the ruling sovereign to whom all the imperial titles are attributed. As it mentions Dhruva after describing the greatness of Govinda II, it leaves on the mind the impression that he had already overthrown his brother and ascended the throne.⁵ This, however, was not really the case. A few facts which have a bearing on this point may be taken up here for consideration. The Pimpri plates differ

3. S. I. I. IX-1 68, A. R. E. 383 of 1904.

Tasmad-abhut-sunur-udarkirtih Prabhutavarso bhuvani-asasasa
Yat senan-Indra-mada-mardanad-Gango yo Yamunavad-Vibhati
The second half of the verse is very corrupt; and it has been restored at my request by Dr. V. Raghavan, M. A., Ph. D., Junior Lecturer in Sanskrit, Madras University thus:—

Yat-sainikair-Indra-padasya-mardanad-Ganga-payo Yamunavad-Vibhati.

and (2) Sri M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M. A., Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati, thus:—

Yat-senaya-h-Indra mad-avamardad-Ganga payo Yamunavad-vibhati.

4. Bom. Gaz. 1896, Vol. I, Part II p. 197 Fn. 2.

Sakesv-abda-satesu-saptasu disam Panc-Ottares Uttaram
Pat-Indrayudha-namni Kṛṣṇa-nṛpaje Sri Vallabhe daksinani
Purvam Srimad-Avanti-bhubhrti-nṛpe Vats-adiraje Param
Sauryanam-adhimandale jayayute Vire Varahe—vati.

5. E. I. X No. 19, pp. 81-83.

in one important respect from Dhruva's later Copper-Plate charters. Whereas he is referred to twice in the Pimpri Plates simply as Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Prthvivallabha Sri or Srimad-Dhruvarājadeva, in the Bhor Museum Plates and the Jethwai Plates dated A. D. 781 and 786 respectively he is mentioned as Parama-bhṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parmeśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Srimad-Akalavarṣa-deva pād-anudhyāta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Sri Dhāravarṣa Sri Dhruvarāja-deva and Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Srimad-Akalavarṣadeva Pādānudhyāta Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Dhāravarṣa Sri Dhruvarāja-deva.⁶ It is interesting to note that the expression "Srimad-Akalavarṣadeva Pād-anudhyāta" found in the later records is omitted in the earlier. The omission, I believe, is significant. It indicates that at the time when Dhruva issued the Pimpri Plates, though he proclaimed himself as an independent monarch, his position was not secure; and that his brother whom he resolved to oust from his throne was not yet overthrown; he probably hoped to settle the matter amicably by peaceful negotiation, and persuade him either to abdicate in his favour or agree to a division of the empire. He, therefore, did not want to repudiate Govinda's right to rule by proclaiming himself as the successor of his father and thereby antagonize him. When, however, he found that peaceful settlement was not possible, he resolved to wage war on Govinda, and proclaimed himself as the successor of his father, repudiating Govinda's right to rule.

The events that took place during this war of succession:— The inscriptions of Dhruva and his son Govinda III which refer to the war of succession briefly pass over the subject; and the little information they give is necessarily one-sided. Nevertheless, they indicate that Dhruva did not easily win the victory, and that at one time he had to make a show of submission and lie low abandoning his claims to sovereignty. It is stated in the Paṭṭaṇ Plates that although Govinda II had fetched in large numbers of those hostile kings, including the rulers of Mālava, Kāñci, Vengi, and Gangavāḍi against him, and took possession of his ruby-ornaments and gold, his mind underwent no change and that when he failed in spite of his conciliatory overtures to induce Govinda to make peace, he defeated him in battle and obtained sovereignty.⁷ Again, in the Kaḍaba Plates, it is said that "when once in battle his (Dhruva's) fortune was fickle, his heart trembling on account of the destruction of his elephants and ships by the crushing of the rough waves, even then his enemies though united, and their power being unshaken, forsook the kingdom, and bewildered by delusion, fled themselves to the

6. E. I. XII No. 28-A 184, No. 17, p. 107.

7. E. I. VI, p. 107.

remotest regions."⁸ It is evident from these two records that (1) Govinda II secured the help of the Kings of Maḷava, Kāñci, Vengi, Gungavāḍi and others against Dhruva, (2) that Dhruva was defeated in a battle in which elephants and ships played an important part, (3) that he made overtures of peace which were rejected, and (4) that he waged war on his brother, and having defeated him wrested from him the sovereignty. Though these incidents are narrated here as if they had taken place in quick succession, one immediately following the other, they must have been, as a matter of fact, separated from one another by comparatively long intervals of time. Dhruva would not have been in a position to make overtures to Govinda II to settle their quarrel peacefully, much less to wage war on and defeat him immediately after his own defeat mentioned in the Kaḍaba plates. It must have taken some time for Dhruva to recoup his strength and renew his attack. To gain time to strengthen his hands for renewing the struggle, he must have made a show of submission and acknowledged the supremacy of Govinda II abandoning ostensibly his designs upon the throne. This view is strengthened by the Dhulia Plates dated 779 A.D., in which Suvarṇavarṣa Kakkarāja, the donor of the grant, refers to his father, Dhruva as the subordinate of the ruling sovereign, Govinda II.⁹

It must have been during this period, when he was at the zenith of his power, that Govinda II must have led the expedition against the Jumnā-Gangetic doab and defeated its ruler Indra.

8. E. I. IV, p. 348.

9. E. I. VIII, No. 19, pp. 182-187. The genuineness of this inscription has been called into question on palaeographical grounds. Though issued in 779 A. D., the alphabet appears to be some decades later than that of the Pimpri Plates of A. D. 775, (E. I. X pp. 81-84). For short periods of a few decades, paleography cannot be taken as a sure test of the genuineness or otherwise of an inscription. The fact that the form of letters and the style of writing are known to vary with the scribe and the locality must not be overlooked in this connection. Another proof of the spurious character of the record is said to be that the grant purports to have been made by the donor at the command of Dhruva, though the ruling sovereign according to it was Govinda II. "How could Kakkaraja" asks a scholar, "order all feudatories by the command of Dhruvaraja in the prosperous reign of Govinda II, when Dhruva was not the reigning sovereign?" (E. I. X No. 19 p. 82). The difficulty is imaginary. Kakkaraja was governing a district of the Rastrakuta kingdom which was under the immediate jurisdiction of his father Dhruva who was ruling the northern province as a subordinate of the ruling sovereign, Govinda II. Therefore, while issuing the charter, following the routine in such matters, he first referred to his immediate superior by whose orders, he made it. There is, therefore, nothing suspicious in this procedure; and the record cannot be condemned, on that ground, as spurious.

He could not have embarked on the expedition earlier; Dhruva appears to have been in a state of rebellion almost from the beginning of his reign; Kṛṣṇa I was still ruling in June, 772 A. D.,¹⁰ when Bhandak Plates were issued; and Dhruva had already declared his independence before October 775 A. D., when the Pimpri Plates were published.¹¹ It is not likely that Govinda II, who succeeded to the throne in the interval, could have found it possible to lead an expedition to distant Kanauj. Nor could he have undertaken the invasion subsequent to A.D. 781; for, Dhruva, who took up arms against him for the second time, succeeded by that date in overthrowing him completely.¹² Therefore, the interval between the issue of the Pimpri Plates and the Bhor Museum Plates (A. D. 775-781) was the only period, when Govinda II could have led his armies against Indrayudha of Kanauj.

The motives which actuated Govinda II to attack Kanauj are not at all clear. He might have embarked on the expedition to demonstrate his military strength, and acquire glory and renown as a great warrior and conqueror. It is not, however, unlikely that the expedition was undertaken by Govinda II with the object of chastising Indra for some hostile act, at which he was provoked. Dhruva had to fight Govinda II and his allies of whom the most formidable was Vatsarāja, the Gūjara-Pratihāra king of Mālava. In his war with Govinda who was in the Karṇāṭaka in the South, Vatsarāja would be a very inconvenient enemy, as he could attack him in the rear, and reduce the chances of his success. To checkmate Vatsarāja and neutralise his power to cause injury, Dhruva needed an ally; he must have naturally turned to Indrayudha, the king of Kanauj, Vatsarāja's neighbour in the north-east and entered into an alliance with him. The help given by Indrayudha to Dhruva in his war with Govinda might have annoyed the latter who, after his victory over his brother, invaded the kingdom of Kanauj to teach its ruler a severe lesson.

The relations of Dhruva subsequent to his accession to the throne with Indrayudha lend colour to this suggestion. There is reason to believe that when Vatsarāja dispossessed Indrayudha of his kingdom, Dhruva espoused the cause of the latter and re-established him upon the throne. The following facts may be taken into consideration in this connection.

(1) The Bhor Museum plates dated A. D. 781 mention the King of Mālava as one of the allies, whose aid Govinda II solicited in his struggle against Dhruva.¹³

10. E. I. XIV, No. 6, pp. 121-130.

11. E. I. X, No. 19, pp. 81-89.

12. E. I. XXII, 28-A, pp. 176-186.

13. E. I. XXII, 28-A, pp. 176-86.

(2) In a passage of Jinasena's *Harivaṃśa* it is stated that when he finished the poem in Saka 705 (A. D. 783-4) there were ruling Indrāyudha in the north (at Kanauj), Sri Vallabha, son of King Kṛṣṇa in the south (over Dekkan). Vatsarāja in the east at Avanti, and Jaya-Varāha in the west in Saura-Maṇḍala.¹⁴

(3) The Gwalior Inscription of Gūṛjara-Pratīhara Bhoja I states that his great-grand-father Vatsarāja had forcibly taken possession of the empire from the Bhaṇḍi family.¹⁵ As Bhaṇḍi was the maternal uncle of the emperor Harṣavardhana of Kanauj; it is presumed that the Bhaṇḍi family who were dispossessed of their empire by Vatsarāja were his descendants, and that Indrāyudha, the then ruler of the place, was their chief.¹⁶

(4) The ruling sovereign of the Jumnā-Gangetic doab at the time of Dhruva's invasion subsequent to A. D. 785 was, according to the Wani-Dindori Plates of Govinda III, the Gūṛjara-Pratīhara Vatsarāja, and not Indrāyudha. Dhruva expelled Vatsarāja from the doab and compelled him to seek refuge in the heart of the desert of Rajaputana.¹⁷

(5) When Dharmapāla of Bengal invaded the Jumnā-Gangetic doab after Dhruva's retirement, he found there Indrāyudha again as the ruler of the region.¹⁸

These facts make it clear that Vatsarāja of Avanti at first expelled Indrāyudha and took possession of his Kingdom. Then Dhruva invaded the Jumnā-Gangetic doab, defeated Vatsarāja and having driven him into the desert of Rajaputana handed over the country to Indrāyudha and returned to his own kingdom. It is obvious that Dhruva embarked on the invasion of the Jumnā-Gangetic doab specially to reconquer the country for Indrāyudha, and reinstate him in his ancestral dominions, a step which he would not have taken but for the existence of an alliance between the two, going back probably to the early days when he was still a rebel fighting with his brother for the throne.

14. E. I. IV, p. 109.

15. E. I. XVIII, pp. 108 iii verse, 7.

16. Altekar, *Rastrakutas*, p. 56.

17. I. A. XI, p. 156 f.

18. E. I. VI, pp. 248 f.

GENEALOGY OF THE SARABHAPURA KINGS

BY

L. P. PANDYA SARMA

When in 1929, I visited Sirpur (Sripura of copper inscriptions) on the Mahanadi in the present Raipur district in C. P's., I traced out a copper charter which I published in the Indian Historical Quarterly under the title 'Damaged Sirpur plates of Mahāsudevarāja' of Sorabhapura. The 'Gajalakshmi Seal' found with these plates contained a legend mentioning 'Jayaraja' as the son of 'Prasanna.' The 'Sloka' runs as follows :—

प्रसन्न-तनयस्येदं विक्रमाकान्तविद्भिः

श्रीमतो जयराजस्य शासनं रिपु-शासनं ॥¹

Thus the discovery helped us to ascertain the true relationship between Sri Prasanna-matra and Mahājayarāja.

Two years ago in 1927, I was able to recover a round thin gold-polished silver coin with the legend श्रीप्रसन्नमात्र on it written in the box-headed script. This coin² is the 1st and only epigraphic document of *Sri-Prasanna-matra*, grand father of Mahā-Pravararāja of the Thakurdiya plates.

This charter called the Thakurdiya plates, was brought to light by the Mahākosala Historical Society of Balpur (District Bilaspur C. P.) Via. Raigarh B. N. Ry., in 1932. This charter gave us the name of a hitherto unknown king of the dynasty namely Mahā-Pravararāja, while the legend on the seal, which the plates contained, supplied the name *Mana-matra* who was described as the father of Mahā-Pravararāja. Unlike other charters of the Sarabhapura family it was issued from श्रीपुर.

This discovery confirmed the relations between

श्रीप्रसन्न-मात्र

मान-मात्र

And महाप्रवरराज (issuing his charter from श्रीपुर).

We can safely assume प्रसन्नमात्र and मान-मात्र³ as grandfather and father of महाप्रवरराज. The legend on the seal of the Thakurdiya

1. I. H. Q. Vol. X. March 1934.

Also Mahakosala Historical Society's Papers, Vol. II p. 43—1937

2. I. H. Q. Calcutta Vol. IX (1933) and J. A. H. R. S. Vol. IV p. 3 and 4 p. 195

3. J. A. H. R. S. Vol. IX p. 2.

plates is explicit and states that मानमात्र's son was महाप्रवरराज (मानमात्र-सुतस्येदं.....शासनम्.....) while the legend on the seal of the Khariyar plates runs as follows :—

प्रसन्नार्थव संभूतमानमात्रेन्दुजन्मनः
श्रीमत्सुदेवराजस्य स्थिरं जगति शासनम् ॥

From the ocean of प्रसन्न was born the moon—Mānamātra, from whom sprang Mahasudevarāja. The Khariyar plates like other copper charters of this family were issued from शरमपुर which place still lies un-identified.

In May, 1945, I came across a fresh set of three copper plates called the Kauwāṭal plates of Mahāsudevarāja. In this record, the donor is described as श्रीमहादुर्गराज-पुत्र श्रीमहासुदेवराज : and the charter was issued from श्रीपुर, the legend on the seal making no reference to मानमात्र and प्रसन्न (मात्र) as is done in case of the Khariyār plates referred to above.

The seal of The Kauwāṭal plates has the following legend.

क्रमाधिगतराज्यस्य विक्रमाक्रान्त विद्विषः ।
श्रीमत्सुदेवराजस्य स्थिरं जगति शासनम् ॥

I enclose paper impressions of 1st plate and the seal for examination.

Thus we have an additional name महादुर्गराज, who is mentioned as the father of Sudevarāja in the recently discovered copper charter which I propose to publish soon.

Was this महादुर्गराज the natural father of महासुदेवराज ? Can he be identical with मानमात्र whose son was महाप्रवरराज (vide Thakur-diya plates).

All these sets of copper plates contain three small sized plates fastened to a circular ring containing the identical Gajalakshmi seal. They are all recorded in the box-headed script and the wordings of the grants in all the charters are almost the same, the language being refined Sanskrita.

All the three kings Mahajayarāja, Mahāsudevarāja and Mahāpravararāja call themselves as परमभागवत as different from परममाहेश्वर.

None of the charters throw any light as to what race or caste these kings belonged and which part of India was their original home. Seven sets of copper plates of these three kings, Mahāsudevarāja, Mahajanyarāja and Mahāpravararāja have been described by me in a chart in detail, published with my paper called "Thakurdiya copper charter" (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. IX P. 2). The present (Kauwāṭal plates) is the 8th set, out of which, six

charters were issued from *Sarabhapura* and only two from *Sripura*. All the 8 sets have been discovered in Chhattisgarh (ancient Mahākosala). A gold-plated silver coin of Sri-Prasannamātra is reported to be in possession of Mr. S. K. Saraswati, M. A., of the Calcutta University. About this coin, my friend Dr. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. write to me under date 16-3-45 as follows :—

The other day a (very thin gold-plated?) silver coin was sent to me by a friend for examination. To my great joy, it was found to be a well preserved coin of Prasanna-mātra, which, I think, is the king's 3rd coin so far discovered. It exactly resembles the coin described by you. My friend will probably write a note on the coin (said to be found somewhere in Orissa), in the near future. Four gold coins of *Sri-Prasanna-matra* are reported to be in the coin cabinet of the Travancore State and they have been noticed as *Rastrakuta coins*.⁴ Although I have been in correspondence with Mr. R. V. Poduval, B. A., Director of Archaeology, Travancore State, since 28th of August, 1943, I have not yet been able to get full particulars about the shape, size, weight and legend of the gold coins. But if they are identical with the silver coins of Sri-Prasanna-matra found in Chhattisgarh (Bilaspur District) and in Orissa, they can safely be accepted as gold issues of Sri-Prasanna-mātra of Sarabhapur family, especially when the legend be in the box-headed script. Such coins being portable might have easily travelled to south India, where we have so many sacred shrines including one of Lord Siva, the foremost of all at Rameshwaram, so dear to a Hindu of Northern India.

Now we can safely come to the conclusion that Sri-Prasanna-mātra had two sons, Māna-mātra and Mahā-Jayarāja.

Māna-matra' son was Maha-Pravararāja of Thakurdiya plates.

Mahāsudevarāja is described as the son of Maha-Durgarāja as we have pointed out on the strength of the newly discovered Kauwātāl plates of the 10th year of Mahāsudevarāja himself.

In my paper entitled "Three sons of Mahāsudevarāja of Sarabhapura" published in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, I have tried to show that from none of the copper charters it can be gathered that the origin of these kings was from the *Rastrakutas*.

4. I H. R. Commission 19th Session List of Exhibits 1942—
Supplement—Travancore State—Gold coins. Part I. General.

OBSCENE SCULPTURES OF ORISSAN TEMPLES.

BY

KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

A visitor while going round the great temples of Bhubanesvar, Puri and Konarka is struck with the hugeness of their structures and their wonderful wealth of sculptures exhibiting graceful human, divine and semi-divine figures, animals, griffins, scrolls and arabesques executed with such skill and excellence that they cannot but excite his wonder and admiration, but at the same time he is also repulsed at the sight of a variety of indecent figures, sometimes in their most voluptuous poses, occurring alongside this sublime art. But if he is led to believe that the presence of such figures is an isolated phenomenon only in the temples of Orissa, he is mistaken. They occur in some temples of Khajuraho in Bundelkhand and in the modern temples of Nepal and Tibet. They are also to be found in the terra-cottas preserved in many of the modern temples of Bengal and in the paintings and decoration of metal and wooden *rathas* of the Bengali Vaishnavas (R. D. Banerji—*History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 401.). But prominence given to them in the Orissan temples, has rather become a disturbing feature in the otherwise general religious fervour that permeates these edifices.

So far, scholars have given no satisfactory explanation for the occurrence of these figures. Mr. M. M. Ganguly who has been the first scholar to make a systematic study of the Orissan temples, called them to be "the most perplexing features of Orissan Architecture" *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 227-28) and Prof. R. D. Banerji, an authority on Orissan History, admitted that "the presence of indecent figures on religious edifices is still a puzzle" (*History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 401).

Local inquiries at Puri and Bhubanesvar generally elicit two kinds of explanation of which, one given by the temple priests can be rejected without much examination. The priests maintain that the presence of obscene figures prevents the temples from being struck with lightening. The idea of indecent figures serving as lightening conductors is ludicrous to the modern man. Besides, the extant *Silpa-Sastras* which generally give an explanation for each aspect of temple architecture, do not explain the phenomenon in this manner. They have rather remained silent on this point. The art-minded persons find in them an attempt of the sculptor to depict life in all its naked reality. They cite the example of the Greek images which exhibit the anatomical treatment of limbs sometimes with nudity conspicuously shown. They, however, fail to perceive the distinction between the nude images and obscene figures as they appear in

the temples of Orissa. The latter form a class by themselves in which obscenity has been exhibited not as a necessary element of artistic requirement, but very often to depict the sexual relations of man and woman in their all nakedness.

It is the religious motive which has actuated the builders to lavish their all on the temples and it is the same motive which must have been responsible for the introduction of obscene figures in them, however outrageous they may be to modern religious sentiments. On examination it is found that they do not belong to the temples of any particular sect, they being found in the Saiva temples of Bhubanesvar, Vaishnava temple of Puri and Saura temple of Konarka. They also do not appear in the temples of Parśu-rāmeśvara and Mukteśvara at Bhubanesvar and of Gaṇḍharāḍi in the Baudh State, which, according to R. D. Banerji, are the earliest group of temples in Orissa dating back from the 8th century A. D. (*Ibid*, pp. 340-47), but they are found in profusion in the latest group *viz.* the temples of Raja-raṇi at Bhubanesvar, of Jagannatha at Puri and of Suryya at Konarka assigned to a period between the 10th and the 12th centuries A. D. So, if any religious significance was attached to the obscene figures, such a significance must have originated from the religious form or thought obtaining in India in a period later than the 7th or 8th century A. D.

To me it appears that they owe their origin to *Tantrism* in which sex plays a very important part and which greatly influenced the religious thought and culture of the Early Mediæval India. The fact that these indecent figures are found in the religious shrines only of the Eastern India and the parts of the Central India contiguous to it, lends support to this proposition, because it is the eastern part of India which formed the cradle of *Tantrism* with its centre at Nalanda. The influence of *Tantrism* on the Early Mediæval Orissa is illustrated in the images of Trailokya-Vijaya, Heruka and three-headed Bhairava, all recovered from the Cuttack District (*Ibid*, Pls, between pp. 408-409, 416-17 and 404-5) and also in a number of Buddhist images with the inscribed *Dharini* and inscribed *Tantric* formulas such as *Om Hrim Klim Svaha*, which are now preserved in the Provincial Museum, Cuttack. Moreover, Ratnagiri in the Jajpur Subdivision of Cuttack, from which the majority of these images hail, was an important centre of the Mahāyāna School of Buddhism which favoured and nurtured *Tantrism*. A Tibetan tradition credits Bodhi-śrī with having practised *yoga* at Ratnagiri. *Pang Sam Jan Zang*-edited by S. C. Das) and *Saddharmma-Pundarikam*, a Nepalese Buddhist work, contains a prophecy in which the Lord assures Śariputra that he would be in a distant future time a Buddha under the name of Padma-Prabha, and that his place of enlightenment will be Virajā (R. L. Mitra. *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 204). Virajā has been identified with the modern

Jajpur (Misra—*Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 87-89) which is not far from Ratnagiri in the Cuttack District. All these archæological and literary pointers prove the influence of *Tantrism* in Orissa, but the subject has yet to be investigated.

But did *Tantrism* which transformed Buddhism in India ever recommend the presence of obscene figures in religious shrines? We know that the transformed Buddhism with its centre at Nalanda entered Nepal and Tibet and after its destruction by the Muslims in the 12th century, the scholars with their religious texts also made their way to these countries. In India the latest form of Buddhism either died out or went under-ground. It is, therefore, in these two countries that we must search for the evidence whether obscene figures ever played any part in religious shrines. I am unaware of the temples of Nepal proper, but a modern wooden temple built by the Nepalese near the Observatory of Benares contains numerous indecent male and female figures engaged in different poses of sexual act. Little influenced by the modern culture, Tibet still more faithfully preserves the latest form of Buddhism as it flourished in India in its decadent period, although it has become mixed up with the native religious elements. I quote below the experience of a modern American adventurer in a Buddhist temple of Tibet, from which the part still played by obscene images in the religious shrines there, will be clear to all.

"The idol house is filled with obscene-images. To put it very bluntly, those idols represent all the postures the mind of man has been able to conceive having to do with copulation. When a lāmā has reached the point in his spiritual training where he believes that he can look upon the flesh without desire and emotion, he enters the Obscene Idol-house for post-graduate examinations and to conduct experimental researches.

Extremely life-like figures in the most lewd postures are calculated to prove to him definitely just how much good his years of concentration upon the negation of things worldly, how much his endless meditation and training in things intellectual, has done for him.

After hours of chanting and meditation it does not take too much imagination almost to see the idols move. The Tibetan artists and sculptors have done excellent work in depicting what they wish to show. The nude figures of voluptuous women play a large part in this deeply serious rite, seen in sex-play with the gods and the demons; for it is an attempt to make copulation a visual appeal to the senses."

The writer then goes on to describe how having passed the test of idol house, the prospecting lāmā is confronted with living women beautiful and well-versed in dance and arts and wiles of

womanhood. Should he successfully pass this test too, "he is entitled to progress to the next stage—that of experimental research which is self-explanatory." (Harrison Foreman—*Through Forbidden Tibet*, London, 1936, pp. 107-9.)

The religious motives such as those quoted above must have actuated the builders of the Orissan temples to allow the obscene figures to be carved on them. Otherwise it will be absurd to imagine that the temple-builders for whom religion was all, have light-heartedly allowed these figures to defile their religious monuments. The indecent figures were considered to be a test which a devotee must pass before he was entitled to *darshan* and salvation.

THE EARLY CAREER OF BHILLAMA V

BY

DR. G. N. SALETORÉ, M.A., PH.D.

The downfall of the Western Çalukyas during the reign of Someśvara IV was hastened partly by a war which that monarch waged with the Kalacuryas and partly by active rebellion of the feudatories, who had strengthened themselves pending the issue of this struggle. Among such feudatories, the Hoysalas and Sevunas were the most prominent. In 1179, Hoysala Vira Ballala II was acknowledging the authority of Kaḷacurya Saṅkamadeva.¹ But in the same year he opposed that monarch in a battle at Maḍavalli², while in the next year, he fought with him at Ummāḍiyabavara³. He then opposed Kaḷacurya Rāya Murāri Keśavadeva at Haḍade in 1181,⁴ but surrendered, in the same year, to the Kaḷacurya general Caṇḍugideva⁵. In the following year he became bold enough and acknowledged no overlord.⁶ His restless spirit is further seen in his encounters with Çalukya Someśvara IV in whose reign, still in the same year, he made a raid in the direction of Hire-Idugodu, killing Soyī Seṭṭi who opposed him.⁷ At this stage his further progress was perhaps retarded by Daṇḍanāyaka Brahma's restoration of the Çalukya

1. Fleet, *Dyn. Kanarese Districts*, p. 489.
2. *Ep. Carn. VI*, Mg. 33, p. 65, *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1937, p. 175.
3. *E. C.*, X, Gd. 41, p. 217.
4. *M. A. R.*, 1917, p. 45, *Ibid*, 1937, pp. 150-1.
5. *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 119, p. 89.
6. *Ibid*. V, Cn. 150, p. 192.
7. *Ibid*, VIII, Sb. 419, p. 74.

monarchy in 1182 or early in 1183. Meanwhile it is more than certain that Sevuna Bhillama V had his own plans of territorial expansion as against those of Vira Ballala II. His career is obscure, for though he appears as a Kaṭacurya subordinate as early as 1173, little indeed is known of his schemes of aggrandizement.

At this time, or a little earlier, Bhillama was distracted by a civil war at Devagiri, for which the only source of information that we possess is Hemādri's narrative. From this it appears that Mallugi I was succeeded by others—Amara Gangeya, Govindaraja, Amara Mallugi, Kāliya Ballala and Bhillama of these the first and third persons were brothers and the others evidently their sons, while the Gadag inscription dated 1191 reveals the name of the third brother Kaṇadeva, the father of Bhillama¹. Hemādri thus inaccurately describes Bhillama as Kāliya Ballala's uncle in the statement that (on the death of Amara Mallugi) the virtuous Goddess of Wealth of the Yadu family abandoned the sons of Kāliya Ballala and resorted to the mighty arms of his uncle (*pitravya*) Bhillama."² Putting these details together it is apparent that Kaṇadeva was a rival to the throne, but presumably suffered a premature death in a fratricidal struggle. Bhillama however renewed the contest and superseded Kāliya Ballala in the administration. Bhillama's success was mainly due to the efforts of a trusted general named Jalha who led him to a sovereignty that had become weak³, a fact which hints at a period of anarchy and the consequent strain on the resources of the Sevuna Kingdom.

Bhillama is praised in his Gadag inscription as a conqueror of many countries and acquirer of much wealth.⁴ His achievements subsequent to his accession are mentioned by Hemādri in the following verse⁵:—

Yah Srivardhanam-asasada-nagaram. Ksonipater-Antalat
Yah Pratyandaka-bhubhratam ca samare dustam Vyajestha-
Ksanat
Yo va Mangala Vestakam Ksitipatim, Sri Billanam Jaghnivan
Kalyanasriyam avapya vidadhe yo Hosalesam vyasum.

The context implies that Bhillama possessed himself of a city called Srivardhana from its ruler Antala; destroyed in battle the wicked king of Pratiandaka; slew Billana, the king of Mangalaveṣṭaka; obtained the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa; and, finally, killed the Hoysala king.

1. *Ep. Ind.* I, pp. 219-20.
2. Bhandkar, *Early history of the Dekkan*, p. 271.
3. Jalhana, *Suktimuktavali*, I, 10, p. 2.
4. *E. I.*, I, p. 219.
5. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 271, Verse 37.

Srivardhananagara is doubtless the same as the hill-top of Srivardhan, which with its twin-peak Manranjan (Manoranjan) comprised the renowned Marāthā fortress of Rajmāchi. It lies about 36 miles towards the N. N. E. of Poona,¹ and the ancient town of Srivardhana must have extended around the present mountain. The only other epigraphic mention of this city, with the slightly altered name of Vira Vardhana, is found in a stone inscription at Puṭṭammanakaṭṭe (Mādihaḷli hobli, Belur taluka, Mysore State) which was issued by the Hoysaḷa monarch Vira Ballaḷa II in 1195. Describing this ruler's capture of Talakāḍu, Gangavādi, Nōḷambavādi, Banavase, Hāṇugāl, Huligere Halasige, Beḷvola, Tarddavādi and Tarikāḍu, this record goes on to say how he "destroyed the whole Sevuaṇa army composed of the four arms, together with a city named Vira Vardhana," and returned in gift Lokkiguṇḍi, also called Sri Rāmadatti, after which he was ruling in peace and happiness with Kalyāṇa as the border of his dominion.² The earliest reference to Vira Ballaḷa's conquest of Lokkiguṇḍi being in his Anekere plates dated 1190,³ the destruction of Srivardhana must be placed before this date of its ruler Antala nothing more is known, but his country must have been contiguous to Pūṇakadeśa (Poona) which is mentioned in the Baroda Museum plates of Silāhara Aparājitaḍeva dated 993,⁴ and also in the B. I. S. Maṇḍala plates and Talegaon plates of Raṣṭrakuta Kṛṣṇa I, dated respectively in 758 and 768.⁵

Bhillama next attacked and dispossessed the king of Pratiṇḍaka, a country which has till now remained unidentified. This was the 'Pratiṇḍaka Catusahasradeśa' which is mentioned in the Tiḍguṇḍi plates dated 1082 as being in the possession of the Sinda Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras. Of this family only three names are available—Bhīma; his first son Sindarāja; and the latter's son Muṇja or Muṇjaradeva, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI.⁶ Pratiṇḍaka Catusahasradeśa, may be identified with Pariṇḍa Nālsāsiva (4000) which is referred to in a stone inscription at the Kallesvara temple at Bāgaḷi (Harpanhaḷli taluka, Bellary district). It is dated 1048 in the reign of Caḷukya Trailokyamalladeva and mentions a land grant by a *Mahasamantadhipati* who held the government of 'Pariṇḍa Nālsāsira'.⁷ But unfortunately his name is effaced in this record and it is likely that he was a predecessor of Sindarāja or a Scion of the Sinda dynasty figuring in the Tiḍguṇḍi plates. The king of Pratiṇḍaka whom Bhillama subverted may have also belonged to same Sinda dynasty. Pratiṇ-

1. Fleet, *op. cit.* p. 380.

2. *E. C.*, XV, No. 375, p. 105.

3. *Ibid.*, V. Cn, 179, p. 203.

4. Gadre, *Select Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, I p. 47.

5. *Q. J. B. I. S. Mandal*, VIII, 3, p. 168; *E. I.*, XIII, p. 281.

6. *E. I.*, III, pp. 310-1.

7. 80 of 1904; *South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, 1, No. 108, p. 83..

daka or Parianda country certainly denotes the present Parenda Lat 18° 16' 20 "N and Long. 75° 30' 18" E in the Naldrug district of the Nizam's Dominions.

Bhillama then slew in battle Billana or Villana, a king of Mangalaveṣṭaka, who must have belonged to the Kaḷacurya Stock. The Darikaḍu country, with Mangalaveṣṭaka or Mangalivedapura the modern Mangalvedham in Lt. 17° 30' 42" N and Long. 75° 29' 19" E, in the Sangli State, was a hereditary possession of the Kaḷacuryas of Kalyāni. One of its earliest rulers Kannama (Kārṣṇarāja) proved troublesome to the Caḷukyas. This is inferred from the *biruda Kannamadisapatta* borne by Cavuṇḍa rāyarasa, the Caḷukya governor of Banavase 12,000, Santaḷige 1000 and Hayve 500, in a record dated 1047¹. This *Mahamandalesvara* Kannamarasa, according to an inscription at Chadchan, was ruling at Mangaḷivada in 1067². His son was Jogama, who is to be identified with Tarikaḍa Jogama, the father of Permādi, figuring in the Kāśivīśveśvara temple inscription at Harihara assigned to *circa* 1162³. Another record at Hire Muddanūra, dated 1105-6, refers to this *Mahamanodalesvara*, Jogamarasa or Jogamarāṇa, the Lord of the Darikaḍunaḍu and *Mandalesvara* of Mangalavaḍa, and to his wife Tārādevi. His daughter Sāvaladevi, according to the same epigraph, was the queen of Vikramaditya VI⁴. Jogama's son Permādi appears in two inscriptions, one of which, calling him as Darikaḍa Permāḍideva, shows that he was administering the Taradavāḍi 1000 country in the 3rd year of Būlokamalladeva⁵. The Ingaleśvara inscription, dated 1128, also speaks of him in the same reign.⁶ According to Viraśaiva tradition the next king Bijjaṇadeva had Mangaḷavāḍapura as his *rajaḍhani*.⁷ The Bābānagar inscription dated 1161-2, issued in his reign, makes mention of a gift,⁸ probably by the chieftain Mailugi to Maṇikya Bhaṭṭāraka of Mangaḷivedha. An inscription at Sankh also states that *Mahamandalesvara* Bij (jaṇadeva) while ruling from Mangaḷivada made (on the date specified a land grant, oil presses and money to the local temple of Mahimesvaradeva⁹.

The Bābānagar inscription referred to above connects Mailugi with Mangaḷiveda. His perhaps identical with Melugideva who,

1. E. C., VII, SK. 151, p. 109.
2. B. K. 21 of 1937-8.
3. E. C., XI, Dg. 42, p. 53.
4. *Fleet*, *op. cit.* p. 520.
5. Bk. 95 of 1936-7.
6. Bk. 8 of 1930-1.
7. Harihars, *Basavarajadevara ragale* (Mys. 1930) VI, 1-6, p. 34; Bommarasa, *Revanasiddhesvarapurana* (Mys. 1926), VI, 56, p. 83; cf. also V, 46-51, pp. 57-8.
8. Bk. 120 of 1933-4.
9. Bk. 68 of 1937-8.

as described in the Muttigi inscription of 1181, "seized the whole of the kingdom" in the reign of Kaḷacūrya Someśvara. Upon this we are told that Keśava Daṇḍanātha approached the emperor and said—"Melugideva should not stay in the service of the supreme Lord unwillingly". Then being ordered by that monarch to chastise Melugi Keśava Daṇḍanātha "sportively obtained the kingdom" for Someśvara¹. Keśava Daṇḍanātha was the same as Boḷikeya Keśimayya, who, in 1168, was governing under the monarch Someśvara the provinces of Tarddavaḍi 1000, Hāṇuḡal 500 and Banavāsi 12,000.² Dādā, a Commander of the elephant corps in Mallugi's service, is credited with a victory over king Bijjaṇa's army³ while Mahidhara, Dādā's son is said to have "charmed by the night of his own arms the ocean named Bijjaṇa"⁴ though he seems to have been killed in the action⁵. Hemādri also avers that Bhīllama slew Villāṇa or Vijjaṇa⁶, who is the same as Bijjaṇa of the foregoing accounts. Perhaps this is but a reference to the continuation of a fight begun by Mallugi I in the last days of Bijjaṇa.

Is Vijjaṇa of Jalhāṇa's and Hemādri's narrative the same as Vijjaṇa of the Sankh inscription and can he be identified with the celebrated Kaḷacūrya monarch of that name? It must be confessed that this problem is beset with considerable difficulties. First, as regards the death of Kaḷacūrya Bijjaṇa. From sources like *Basava Furana*, *Cenna Basava Purana* and *Bijjalaraṇa Cerite*⁷ it is known that Bijjaḷa was murdered. But Hemādri attributes the death of Vijjaṇa to Bhīllama. Secondly, Hemādri gives the feudatory title of *Sri* to Vijjaṇa and the Sankh inscription also refers to him as *Mahamandalesvara*. But we know that Kaḷacūrya Bijjaḷa first assumed the paramount title of *Maharajadhiraja* in 1157,⁸ And thirdly, the date of the Sankh inscription is defective as it contains merely the following... *Vā, Puṣya, Ama-Vasya*, Solar eclipse, Monday. Now during the period of Bijjaḷa and Bhīllama the following were the equivalents according to Swami Kannu's *Ephemeris*.

(1) [Prabha] va=1148, Jan. 23 Friday; (2) [Vibha] va=1149, Jan. 11, Tuesday; (3) [Bha] va=1155, Jan. 5, Wednesday, (4) [Yu] va=1155, Dec. 25, Sunday; (5) [Parthi] va=1166, Jan. 3 Monday;

1. Kundangar, *Inscriptions from Northern Karnatak and the Kolhapur State*, No 9, p. 93

2. Fleet, *op. cit.* p. 485.

3. Jalhana, *Suktimuktavalli*, I, 1, 5, p. 1.

4. *Ibid*, I, 1, 8, p. 2.

5. *Ibid*, I, 1, 10, p. 2.

6. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

7. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VIII, pp. 96-7, pp. 219-20; Wilson, *Des. Cat.*, of the Mackenzie Collection, p. 320,

8. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

(6) [Pla] va = 1181, Jan. 6 Wednesday; (7) [Parabha] va = 1187, Jan. 11, Sunday. There was however no Solar eclipse on any of these days and the week-day agrees only in No. 5. In view of these difficulties it is possible that Bijjana whom Bhillama defeated was some other later prince of that same Kaḷacūrya dynasty of whom no details are forthcoming. And, finally, had Bhillama come into conflict with Bijjana or his immediate successor, his position in Kaḷacūrya administration would have been different from that held by him in 1173. In this year according to the Maḍagihāḷ inscription of Kaḷacūrya Sankamadeva Bijjayanāyaka, the *Prabhu* of Māḷige, a village in Tarikāḍu, made a grant to the gods Rāya Murāri Somanātha and Bijjeśvara. Gifts were also made by other fiscal officers of the country. Maiduna (brother-in-law) Ravuḷayya, the *Nadadhikari* of Tarikāḍu also made a grant by the order of Sankamadeva. A grant was also made by another *Nadadhikari* of Tarikāḍu, Lakkhkhana Daṇṇayaka, a subordinate of Māyi Deva Daṇṇayaka. In respect of Māyideva it is said that he was the officer of Adava Nārāyaṇa Bhillamadeva (*Srimad-Adava-Narayana-Bhillamadeva adhikari Mayideva Daṇṇayakana nemudim Tarikada nadadhikari Lakkhkhana Daṇṇayakaru.....*). Here follow other grants by different officials, with a final reference to Bijjayanāyaka's endowment to the Guru Kalyāṇadeva. The record is dated Saka 1093, Nandana Samvat-sara = 1173, Phālguna = March, Amavāsyā, Adivāra Sūrya grahaṇa = 15th Tuesday, the week-day however not corresponding.¹ From the fact that a grant by Bhillama's Officer is inscribed on the same stone as that containing gifts of other State officers, it seems evident that Bhillamadeva was then only a subordinate of Maiduna Ravuḷayya in 1178. It is noteworthy—that Bhillama is merely given the feudatory title of *Srimad*. Moreover he is content with the less elaborate variant *Adava-Narayana*. "It is quite possible", as Dr. Barnett says, "that Adava is the original name of the family, and Yādava a Sanskritised form serving to support an imaginary pedigree".² Bhillama was therefore still a Kaḷacūrya feudatory.

Indeed there is evidence to show that the Tarikāḍu country continued to be in the possession of the Kaḷacūrya. An inscription hailing from Kadlevāḍ, dated in 1168 shows that Rāya Murāri Soyī Deva had his *Nelevidu* at *Mangaliveda*.³ while another, also from Kadlevāḍ, state that it continued to be in *Nelevidu* of the same monarch in 1176 and 1178⁴

1. E. I. XV, pp. 322, 327-8.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 316. The form *Adava* occurs in the Soratur inscription dated 869 (*ibid.* XIII, p. 177); in a record at Nidagundi dated 1200 (*ibid.* XV, p. 316); also in a record at Byadarhalli dated 1336 (E. C., IX, Bn. 110, p. 22).

3. Bk. 37 of 1936-7.

4. Bk. 160 of 1936-7, Bk. 41 of 1936-7.

Bhillama is said to have obtained the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa, a claim which is also put forth by Vira Ballāla II in his Puṭṭamanakatte inscription already cited. The reference is possibly to a successful expedition against that city, since the occupation of a capital, especially of a reigning monarch, implied proclamation of independence. It is however a fact that Caḷukya Someśvara IV, whose rule survived till 1189, was driven by the onslaughts of the new powers to the south-west corner of his empire where he continued to rule at first from Eṭagiri and later from Banavase.

Bhillama finally killed the Hoysala king. The only Hoysala ruler who conquered Devagiri at this time was Narasimha (1141-1173).² He died in 1173. And Caḷukya Siddharāja Jayasimha (C. 1094-1149),³ also led an army against Devagiri. These earlier references prove that Bhillama was not the builder of Devagiri, as Hemādri avers, but only fortified that city on being successful in the civil war.

There is little doubt however that Bhillama slowly strengthened himself in the region around Tarddavaḍi 1000 and finally succeeded in ousting the Kaḷacuryas. The Mārḍi stone inscription is of capital importance in this connection. An earlier portion of it contains a grant Sankamadeva's official *Rayacauhatta malla Mudrahasta* Vesugi Setṭi to the god Yāgeśvara of Gavareśvarapura, in Saka 1103 Sarvarin Samvatsara=1180, Asvayuja=October, Amavāsya, Somavāra=20th Monday. Only seven years later this same Kaḷacurya official made a fresh donation to the same god during the reign of Bhillama V, in the Plavanga Samvatsara= 1187, Puṣyamāsa=December, Kṛṣṇapakṣa=Dark fortnight, Daśami, Somavāra, Uttarayana Sankrānti=26th Saturday (the week-day not corresponding) the date being cited as the fourth regnal year of Bhillama's reign pointing out that the initial year of that monarch was 1184. It also indicates a situation when Bhillama had conquered and acquired the Kaḷacurya country as a result of which Vesugi Setṭi now recognised his supremacy.

It was a time when the Kaḷacuryas had just been overthrown by Dandanāyaka Btāhma. According to the Gadag inscription dated 1191 this general conquered sixty tusked elephants with a single tuskless one, "when, on account of an insult to his father he was tearing the royal fortunes from the family of the Kaḷa-

1. E. I., V. p. 466.

2. E. C., XI, HK 121, text p. 383, M. A. R., 1911, p. 48, I. H. R. C. Progs. XV p 86; E. C. V. B. 114, p. 75.

3. Bhandarkar, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Presidency, 1883-4, pp. 10-11.

curyas,"¹ achieving the title of *Calukya-Rajya-Pratisthapaka*. In this victorious campaign he must doubtless have subdued all feudatories who espoused the Kalachurya cause. The Puradappa—Virabhadrapa temple inscription at Annigeri throws some interesting light on this point. It states how Brahma, "having vowed that he would uproot the destroyers of his master, and make the Calukyas again lords of the earth, became the destroying fire of the Kalachurya-Kula." Then extolling his bravery the record says that driving aside Keraja and Gurjjara, he made "Bhillama bow before him, as a wife bows before her husband."² This record is dated without full details in the Krodhin Samvatsara=1184-5 and it plainly shows that Bhillama had to be attacked before that date.

Brahma Camupati however was soon deprived of his sovereignty by Vira Ballala II,³ who thus became supreme. Bhillama also assumed independence about the same time, that is in 1184-5 according to the reckoning of the Mardi inscription dated 1187. In this year Bhillama's titles were:—*Srimad Yadava-Kula-parvva-tapratapi, Ripu-timira-kutula-patali-nirakarana-pravinah, Saranagata parijana-sarasija vikasana-karapatana-bhaskaro, Yadava Narayana Pratapa Cakravartti, Bhillama-bhumandala-raja Samajani*. It is noteworthy that in this year Bhillama did not assume the higher paramount Calukya titles of *Prithvi vallabha, Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara* and *Parama bhattaraka*, which figure in his Muttigi and Annigeri inscriptions dated 1189 and the Gadag inscription dated 1191, showing that his accession to power was recent.

A NEW COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYAN DYNASTY—(926 A.D.)

BY

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I. History of the Plate

This one plate was handed over to me by a Kshatriya ryot of Bhimavaram sailing to Godwari district several years ago

1. *Daksina Madhyayugina itihasancen Sahitya*, (B. I S. Mandal, Poona) I. pp. 50-51.

2. E. I. VI pp. 92, 96. *Ibid* V p. 250.

3. Elliot, *Hindu inscriptions*. J. R. A. S. (Old series) IV pp. 16-17.

but as it is the central plate in a set and as the other plates are not found, I waited so long but in vain. It contains writing on both sides at the rate of 8 lines on each side. The length of the plate is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches and the breadth $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Its ruins are raised so as to protect the writing which is in a state of good preservation except in 2 or 3 places where it is rust-eaten. It contains a hole $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the left ruin through which a ring passes to hold the plates and its two ends are soldered into a seal containing the usual E. Chalukyan Symbols like Elephant joad (Ankuṣa), half-moon (Ardha-Chandra) Lotus (Padma) and the legend "Sri Tribhuvanāṁkusa." In this case, the ring with seal and the two outer cover plates are missing with the result that the opening Praśasti (family history) and the grant made as well as the names of the Donor and Donee are not forthcoming. However, so far as it goes, it gives the names and reguel period of 15 kings that ruled over Vengidesa from (Jaya)simha (II) the 6th king in the list (696 709 A.D.) to Bhima (III) the 20th king who ascended the throne in 926 A.D. The qualities of head and heart as well as the activities of 3 successive kings, viz., (1) Chalukya Bhima, the 14th king, (2) his son Vijayaditya, the 15th king and (3) his grandson Amma the 16th king are graphically described. Another noteworthy point mentioned in this inscription is that the 16th king's younger son Bhima (III), 20th in the list, is said to have killed the 19th king Vikramaditya II and obtained the E. Chalukyan throne. This fact is not mentioned in several inscriptions. Many usurpations had taken place, the throne of Vengi being tossed about between the main and collateral E. Chalukyan dynasties often with the help of the then-neighbouring dynasties like the Rashtrakutas W. Chalukyas, W. Gangas, and Cholas. Vengi consequently suffered worst ruin from foreign invasions and internal feuds.

The following genealogy and chronology provided by this inscription will be found useful to students of history. To suit the information given in several plates of this dynasty, the period of one king as given here, viz., of (1) Vijayaditya II Narendra Mrugaraja (48 years) is cut down to 44 years. Some inscriptions even state that he ruled only for 40 years. Except for this and for the recognition of Bhima (III) as king, the whole genealogy and Chronology may be accepted as trustworthy and correct.

- (1) Kubjavishnuvardhana I (2) Jayasimha I, (3) Indra Raja,
(4) Vishnuvardhana II and (5) Mangi [ruled from 615 to 696 A.D.]

(8) Vishnuvardhana III, 37 years. (709—46)	(6) (Jaya)* Simha II, 13 years. (96—709)	(7) Kokili, $\frac{1}{2}$ yr. (709 A.D.)
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(9) Vijayaditya I, 18 years
(746—64)

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(10) Vishnuvardhana IV,
36 years (764—800)

|

(11) Vijayaditya II)
Narendra Mrugaraja,
48 years (800—844)

|

(12) Vishnuvardhana V
 $\frac{1}{2}$ year (844)

(13) Vijayaditya III, 44 years (844—888)	Vikramaditya I | (14) Chalukya Bhima I 30 years (888—918)	Yudhamalla I | (18) Talapa, 1 month (925)
(15) Vijayaditya IV, $\frac{1}{2}$ year (918)		(19) Vikramaditya II 11 months (925—26)
(16) Amma I, 7 years (918—25)	Bhima II. (Not men- tioned in this Inscr.)	
(17) Vijayaditya V 925 (He is given a fortnight in some inscr.)	(20) Bhima III (Ruled for 8 month) (I. A. Vol. XIII p. 214) after killing Vikra- maditya, II	

*Our Inscr. begins from here. The chronology is arranged from the date of accession of Amma Raja II, the son of Bhima II, in Dec. 945 A. D. That kings Charter was published by me in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, p. 245.

(Some inscriptions give 40 years and some 44 years.)

Transliteration of the Inscription.

Plate II, Side 1.

1. (Jaya) simha strayodaśa, tadavarajah Kokili shaṇmāsan, tasya jyeshṭha brāhṇā Viṣṇuva.
2. rddhava stam ucchāṭya sapta trimśatam, tatputro Vijayāditya Bhaṭṭācakoshṭadaśa, tatsu.
3. to Viṣṇuvarddanashshatṭrim śatam, tatsūnurṇ Narendramṛga Rājoshṭa chatvārim śatam tatputrah.
4. Kali Viṣṇuvarddhanodyarddha varsham, tatsuto Guṇakainalla Vijayādityaschatu.
5. Schatvārimśatam, tadbhrāturv Vikramāditya bhūpate Samṛamupateh vilasa.
6. tkaṇṭhikādama kaṇṭhasya tanayonaye, Dinānāthāturaṇām dvijavara samiteryyā.
7. chakānām yatinānnānādeśa gatānām, paṭuvaṭu naṭa sad jāyakānām kavīnām pa.
8. nthvānāmandhakānām abhilashita phalaśrāṇanā drakshaṇa dyomatevatrimīśadabdhānbhu.

Plate II, Side 2.

1. vamabhūnagaso chāru Chālukya Bhīmah, tatputrah svabhu Jasi khaṇḍitaripukshmaḥbhu.
2. tulādvāsa vim Jitvāsāviraya pratā paṭra yāsachapadipto raṇesvarāṇa rūdatu.
3. lātra Jādamatu laituātrata laksha triyormmitrābhar pari rakshatisma Vijayādi.
4. tyassamārdhanvarān, tasyātmajar paṇata vairi siro vilagṇa ratna dvirephāparichu.
5. mbita pādapadmah, merunasamstulita hāṭakarāśi bhāsa Varshāṇi saptasama.
6. pādabhūv Ammarajah, tatsuta Vijayādityaṁbāla muchchāṭya līlaya Tālādhipati Rā.
7. kramya māsameka mapādabhuvah, tamjītvāyudhi chālukya Bhīmabhūmipatessutahvi.
8. kramādityabhūpopān māśānekādaśa kshitim, tatasputam mā Bhīmākhyamhatvapro.

Brief Translation.

(Jay) Simha ruled for 13 years; his younger brother Kokili 6 months; his elder brother Viṣṇuvarddhana overthrowing him ruled for 37 years; then, his son Vijayāditya Bhattaraka 13 years; his son Viṣṇuvarddhana 36 years; his son Narendra Mrugaraja 48 years; his son Kalivishnu Vardhana $\frac{1}{2}$ year; his son Gunakai Nalla Vijayāditya 44 years; then his brother Vikramāditya

having fallen in battle his (Vikramaditya's)* son called Chalukya Bhima led. This benevolent Chalukya Bhima I ruled the earth for 30 years like a second mother as he provided the desired lands and food to the downfallen helpless, needy, bachelor pupils, actors, singers, maimed, blind, assemblies of learned Brahmanas, beggars, ascetics and wanderers. His son, Vijayaditya (IV) ruled for half an year having cut to pieces by his own sword his kingly foes in battles. Having spread his fame in all quarters on account of his prowess which resembles that of sun he weighed himself against gold and protected the earth against the Akshatriya low-minded rulers. His son Ammaraja (I) ruled for 7 years. His lotus feet were kissed by the beelike Jems set forth in the crowns of his bowing enemy kings. He was shinning with the gold heap which resembled the Meru (gold) mountain. After throwing out his infant son, Vijayaditya (V) very easily, king Tala or Tada occupied by force the throne for a month only. By conquering him in battle, Chalukya Bhima Rajah's son Vikramaditya (II) ruled over the earth for 11 months. After killing him, Amma's son Bhima (III) ruled.

N. B.—This copper-plate inscription has not been published anywhere. The original plate and the Estampager will be shown in the Conference Historical Exhibition. The Estampages will be handed over so that their blocks may be made and printed along with the article.

*He is described as having had a shining Kanthika or necklet as a garland round his neck. Vijayaditya V is also called in another inscription Kathika Beta Vijayaditya.

SECTION III

Early Medieval Section

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

DR. I. H. QURESHI, PH. D., Professor of History,
University of Delhi.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Even at the risk of repeating what has been said so often on such occasions, I must express my gratitude to the authorities of the Indian History Congress for choosing me to preside over the deliberations of such eminent scholars as have assembled here today. Your presidents have all been historians of distinction, and I am deeply conscious of the honour in being asked to join such distinguished company. If I were not certain of your tolerance and co-operation, I would have considered it presumptuous on my part to accept the invitation to preside over this section.

It is the duty of a sectional president to draw the attention of scholars towards the gaps in the knowledge of the period with which he is concerned. You would agree with me when I say that so far as our period is concerned, it would be wrong to say that there are gaps in our knowledge, it would be more correct to characterize our knowledge as mere oases in the vast desert which still remains to be explored. There is no period in the history of India which has been so neglected, and which has succeeded so little in drawing the attention of scholars, Indian or foreign.

Whatsoever might have been the reasons for this neglect, and it would serve no useful purpose to enumerate them, it is our duty to apply ourselves to the task of throwing more light on a subject which we have chosen to be our special field of work; and I assure you, gentlemen, that there is an ample harvest waiting for the diligent worker. Is it not a rebuke to our effort that the number of published works on the period is ridiculously small? Even the superficial aspects of the history of the period have not been adequately dealt with. Of the large number of

monarchs, some of whom were men of remarkable personality and ability, only two have been the subjects of separate monographs. Even a towering administrative genius and economic organizer like 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī has not been presented to the reader by a biographer trained in modern methods of research. It is a matter of regret that even today prejudice passes for knowledge, and Baranī's opinions, as edited and presented by Elliot and Dowson are considered to be the bedrock of information about this grossly misunderstood Sultan. Now, to take him as an example, it should be realized that Baranī's evidence is mostly hearsay and is directly contradicted in many a place by contemporaries like Amir Khusraw and Hasan Sajzi. It is a matter of common knowledge that wheresoever Khusraw differs from Baranī, Khusraw is invariably found to be correct, because he is supported by numismatic, epigraphic and yet geographical evidence, and the more reliable authority has been discarded in favour of Baranī, whose calumnies, exaggerated by bad translation and misinterpretation have been accepted as gospel truth. Would it not be worth a scholar's while to sift the evidence and present a critical study of this great man whose achievements offer such a contradiction to the estimates of his character and personality which are repeated *ad nauseum*?

I have taken only one glaring example of our neglect; the critical biographer would find several personalities, royal and otherwise, worthy of his art. Firaz Shāh, with his initial success and ultimate failure, would make another excellent subject of a biography. In this respect I am glad to say that a research student of the Muslim University, now a member of the Department of History in my own University has written a thesis on Firaz Shāh. It would be premature, however, to discuss its merits before it is published. To one contribution of this young scholar I would like to draw your attention. He has brought to our notice a manuscript lying in Rampur State Library, hitherto neglected by the students of this period, but of great importance to them. The manuscript is Dastar-ul-albāb fi 'ilm-i'l-hisab and deals with practical problems of the book-keepers and officers engaged in agrarian administration under Firaz Shāh and throws a flood of light on the system in vogue at that time. A recent publication of considerable merit is Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah's "The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India" which gives a critical and readable history of the early days (1200-1290) of the Sultanate of Delhi and discusses its institutions. This book is a

welcome addition to the meagre literature produced by modern authors on the pre-Khalji Sultans.

To revert to the question of serious omissions in our studies of the period, I would draw your attention to the need of research in connection with some of the provincial dynasties. Professor Commissariat has done valuable work in connection with the history of Gujrat, there is room for further investigation in connection with administrative institutions and cultural and religious movements. Few areas are so rich in the matter of original documents as Gujrat, because deeds of grants of land, letters of historical importance, and manuscripts are in the possession of many an old family and epigraphic and numismatic evidence is not wanting. The Bahmani Empire has interested scholars of Hyderabad, but even now its administrative institutions and its great cultural progress have not been properly interpreted for the layman. The kingdoms of Bengal and Jaunpur have generally been treated as forbidden lands because the evidence is not easily available, and even the sultanate of Malwa in spite of extant evidence, has been ignored. How many of us have not admired the architectural achievements of these monarchies without trying to unravel the endeavour of the motive spirit in other directions? It is true that evidence regarding Bengal and Jaunpur is meagre, but it is not entirely lacking and at least all available information could be made available to the average reader.

The history of the Provincial dynasties apart from its intrinsic value, has an important bearing on the history of the Empire of Delhi itself. These sultanates developed institutions which affected the later administrative history of the Sultanate of Delhi, and it is as important to study the administration of the provincial sultanates to understand the origin and growth of Mughul institutions in India as it is to understand the institutions of the Sultanate of Delhi and of Central Asia. In the realm of culture, provincial dynasties played an exceedingly important part. The provincial governments under the Sultans of Delhi, in their effort to establish contacts with the people encouraged local languages and culture. The process received great impetus when the provinces became independent and the courts vied with one another to excel in the patronage of arts and literature; visible effects can still be seen in stone and mortar, but even greater was the awakening and

quickenings of the sense of beauty and cultural values of which architectural achievement was but a fragment. The metropolis of Delhi had been far away and governors were bureaucrats whose interest in local culture could be but transient; but when provincial dynasties were established they could not help identifying themselves with the local population and traditions, and a closer bond of unity emerged between the ruler and the ruled. Gulfs were narrowed, more bridges were built and deeper understanding was the result.

In the history of the Sultanate of Delhi itself, apart from what I have already pointed out, there are a number of topics which could be fruitfully studied. It is generally recognised that some of the Muslim mystics played an important part in the social and religious history of the period. Apart from a Ph. D. thesis on the Chishti Silsilah, written by a student of the Muslim University, very little has been attempted in this direction. Some critical scholar has to wade through the *tadhkirahs* to sift the improbable from the probable and, so far as it is, humanly speaking, possible to do so, to separate fact from fiction, so that we might know something of the lives of these saintly men who slowly removed the estrangement which political conquests had brought in its wake and helped the process of conciliation. Even more important are the sidelights which the records of their table talk, in so far as they are genuine, throw on the social life of the period which the snobbish chroniclers ignore.

It is a matter of great regret that even the storehouse of contemporary literature has not been fully explored. There are few men who have achieved immortality like Amir *Khusraw*; even his works are not easily available to the student. Enthusiastic editors have edited his romances, but a number of his historical works can be read only in manuscript. Apart from his *Tughluqnamah*, no other work of a historical nature has been properly edited. The *Khaza'in-ul-futuh* has been translated by Professor Habib, but no translation can ever replace the original. The text has been lithographed at Aligarh, but an important work like this requires greater collation of the manuscripts and more critical editing. *Diwalran* *Khidr Khan* and *Qiran-u's-sa'ain* have been edited, but an extremely important work like *Nuh Sipihr* still awaits editing and printing. The introduction of his *diwans* contain historical information, but can be properly studied only in manuscript.

Even his tedious exercise in rhetoric, the *I'jāz-i-Khusraw* has direct bearing on history; it has been lithographed but could be profitably edited and republished.

This is our attitude towards the tallest poplar in the forest; the neglect of other sources can be imagined. Hasan Sajzi has been called the Sa'di of India; his works have been published, but historians have made little use of them. Badr-i-Chāch whose chronograms and panegyrics would settle many a doubtful question has received the attention of an indifferent lithographer but awaits the care of a critical scholar. The collection of letters by 'Ain-u'l-mulk Māhru, the administrator, literateur and courier of two reigns, should have been printed long ago; Shah Tāhir's letters should be made available to the student through the efforts of some critical editor; the authentic *Malfuzāt* should be similarly treated. There are certain other works which are indispensable to the student, but which still can be studied only in manuscript. Single manuscripts of Barani's work on statecraft, the *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndārī*, and of the *Siḥat-i-Firuz Shāhī* said to have been dictated by the monarch himself should be rescued from comparative oblivion. Similarly, books like the *Adāb-u'l-mulūk* and the *Dastar-u'l-albāb* should be edited and printed. I could multiply these instances but I have limited myself to the more glaring omissions. Those who undertake to edit these works would earn the gratitude of all students of early medieval history.

The amount of prejudice regarding our period caused by ignorance can scarcely be described in words. There has been very little effort to go beyond a few chronicles; even these have not been properly studied. Raverty directed his attention to *Minhāj*; but his was a pioneer effort and his errors have not been rectified. Professor Hodivala's monumental researches have "turned the cold light of scientific research on some of the purple passages of history", but he has dealt only with the more glaring sins of commission by Elliot and Dowson, and their omissions still remain unheeded. Basing on their presentation, critics of Barani and 'Afif, two chroniclers whose contribution to our chronological knowledge is meagre and who give us a wealth of administrative details, characterize their books as "jejune chronicles", unworthy of serious study by students of institutions. We all know that Barani is openly hostile to several monarchs, yet he has been characterized as "a court chronicler". All evidence has to be

studied, weighed and interpreted; in our period there are few who have tried to peep beyond the facade of words. Trespassing chronologically, but not from the point of view of logical division of periods, I may mention that historians have attached the greatest and to my mind even undue importance to Sher Shah's reign, yet the text of the basic authority of the reign, 'Abbās Sarwānī's *Tuhfah-i-Akbar Shāhī* and its redaction *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* are found in widely divergent manuscripts which have never been collated. For a very long time our historians depended only on *Firishtah* and on a smattering of facts most indifferently chosen for them by careless translators from other chroniclers, and little wonder that they dismissed the period as unworthy of their notice. Our serious historians have only recently turned to this period, but their researches take long to percolate into popular knowledge or even into text books which we encourage our school children to cram as the verses of holy scriptures containing eternal verities of life. The prejudices created by earlier writers will take long to die and, therefore, our struggle is not only against insufficient knowledge, but also against prejudice born of sheer ignorance. Insufficient knowledge is the most potent corrupter of the mind.

The picture which ignorance has painted of this period for us can be easily described. It is of a period of darkness, of brutality, with neither an administrative system of any description nor a culture which could repay any effort to understand it. The lights all went out; man's soul withered into annihilation; life lost its colour, unless it be the red of blood and fire. Yet such writers have never paused to think out a cogent reply to the most obvious question which would strike even a child. The question is: How could such utter darkness produce an 'Alā'ī Darwāzah, a Khusraw, a Maḥmūd Gāwān, a Nizām-u'd-dīn, a Kabīr, a Nānak. 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī's economic measures, Sher Shah's administration and Akbar's *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* according to such interpreters of our period of Indian History are miracles divorced from the chain of cause and effect, growth with no roots in the past, flashes of divine inspiration unrelated to human effort. This is a strange conception of history which ignores the basic principle of its continuity and the fundamental nature of life itself. Even from the mouths of babes should have dropped greatest wisdom. Fellow workers in the field! it is our duty to give a truer perspective of the history of this period.

What do we find when we care to read even our

wellknown chronicles, howsoever superficially? We find that the Turkish invaders were no barbarians; they had well developed institutions in their homelands and a tradition of culture which has excited admiration from its serious students. When they conquered Northern India, they were face to face with the most difficult problem of saving their newly won empire from being engulfed by the surging tide of Mongol conquest. It was no mean achievement to keep their hold on a conquered population numerically overwhelming, warlike, deeply conscious of its heritage in culture and religion, and not always unwilling to throw off the yoke of the invader. The Turkish Sultans succeeded not only in doing this, they also drove off several waves of an all conquering foe who had overrun many a land of Asia and Europe. As if this was not sufficient to engage all their attention, they kept on conquering new areas and extending their empire. It was only when these missions were well nigh fulfilled, that they grew less vigilant and permitted centrifugal tendencies to become active. The value of their success in defending India from the ravages of the Mongols has to be correctly assessed, for several lands have never recovered from the aftermaths of Mongol fury and barbarism. One should have thought that the task they had set before themselves of fighting the Mongols, of tenaciously holding to their empire and of expanding it would give them no time either to develop a polity or to cultivate the softer graces of life; and yet we find them running a well organized administration, the principles of which were well conceived and properly understood, and taking delight in the patronage of culture. Poetry, music, literature, learning and architecture thrived under their fostering care and the fame of Delhi reached the four corners of the civilized world. To scholars like you, I need not point out references to these matters either in the contemporary literature of India or of distant lands like Egypt and Morocco, nor is it necessary for me to draw your attention to flattering references in unofficial inscriptions. Much less, need I say anything, in a gathering like this, regarding the material which is available in the very chronicles from which contrary conclusions are drawn.

I cannot, however, refrain from pointing out that the achievements of the Sultanate of Delhi and of the minor Sultanates are such as could not have been possible if the rulers of our period had been "an armed camp in the midst of a hostile population," and to say this is, on the one hand, to exaggerate the capacity and process of the rulers beyond

the realms of probability and on the other hand to minimize the great contribution of native genius. We find Hindu soldiers fighting in the armies of the Empire of Delhi and of the provincial Sultanates, Hindu administrators practically running the local revenue administration, Hindu officials governing provinces and vice-royalties; Hindu Generals leading armies; Hindu architects and artisans producing a pleasant blend of Muslim and Hindu features in architecture without the faintest trace of self conscious effort to create an artificial effect; Hindu musicians, dancers, and painters thronging the courts of the Sultans; and even Hindu professors lecturing in Muslim Universities and colleges. Indeed there was hardly a walk of life where co-operation did not exist and where the achievement of the Sultan did not represent the effort of his people. A certain modicum of this co-operation was not absent even in the darkest hours of estrangement, because there were certain occasions when tempers are frayed and conflicts arose. In the Middle Ages the population of India was warlike and fully armed; it was fashionable to carry arms on one's person; the difference between an armed rabble and an army was, comparatively, almost negligible, and a handful of Turks could not possibly crush the spirit of the people. Whenever they disliked a measure they rose in rebellion, and the government did not always find it easy to curb it. This denotes that co-operation was not based on cowardice or coercion and that whatever the native population contributed it did so willingly. This seems to be a startling conclusion, because we have been accustomed to hear a different tale, but we have to follow the dictates of reason and cannot base our conclusions on merely what has been repeated so often.

The story of this cooperation is eloquently told not only by that great witness of the spirit of an age-architecture, which bears testimony in material more lasting than human memory but also by the texture of life itself. Indeed the earlier Sultans who could engrave on their coins Nandi Bulls and Chauhan horsemen and inscribe their names and titles in Nāgri script, maintaining the Hindu pronunciation of outlandish words, could not have been blind to the dire need of winning the cooperation of their people. Even in the earliest grandiloquent descriptions of great victories are found sentiments of benevolence towards the people now entrusted by Destiny to their care. The Mongol danger soldered the ruler and the ruled into common resistance; the conqueror succeeded in conciliating

the conquered, this endeavour was helped by the work of Sufis, saints and missionaries; peaceful relations were cultivated by traders, new forces threw the world of Hind into a spiritual and cultural turmoil which blossomed into the great Bhakti movement. We should remember that the greatest lights of this movement preceded the great Mughuls, and even the great Tulsī Dās was unknown to Akbar who bestowed the title of Mahākavi on a Bīr Bal. Surely a period which brought about such emotional revolution, such spiritual fervour, such sincere poesy cannot be dismissed lightly and should be more carefully studied. The significance of the period has mostly been lost on the Indian mind through lack of proper interpretation; child like we have been charmed with the summer of Mughul rule without caring to study the spring which had gone before.

The real reason of this neglect has been the wrong angle with which we have studied the period. We have been too greatly interested in monarchs and their conquests and have been little attracted by the achievements of the courts and the people alike in the direction of constructive effort. War is ugly and disgusting, if we view a period through the glasses of its wars, our visions must necessarily be distorted. Let us put away these glasses and try to understand the period of our study through the records of its achievements in building up institutions and in the creation of culture.

I am conscious of the fact that I have taken up too much of your time and I thank you sincerely for your kindness in giving me a patient hearing. My only apology is the importance of the theme. We owe it to ourselves and to the sacred cause of true history to work hard to give a proper perspective of our period to the world.



HINDU CO-OPERATION WITH EARLY MUSLIM EXPANSION IN INDIA

BY

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"A Hindu strikes, but the sword is Islam's."

This dictum of Mulla Shir, cited by the historian Badauni in a later context, appropriately sums up the role of the Hindu in the conquest of India by the Muslim invaders. It was uttered by the orthodox chronicler during the battle of Haldighat or Gogunda when Akbar fought that decisive action against the redoubtable Rana Pratap in 1576. There were Rajputs fighting on both sides who, to use the memorable words of Tod, 'irrigated the pass of Haldighat with the best blood of Mewar'. There were no doubt two types of Hindus: one represented by the patriotic and indefatigable Rana Pratap, and the other by the veteran loyalist Raja Man Singh. It is obvious that, but for the co-operation of natives like the latter, the subjugation of the former type of defenders of Hindusthan might have been rendered very difficult, if not impossible. The attitude of the conquerors—though not of noble exceptions like Akbar—is conveyed by Asaf Khan, under whom Badauni was fighting, when he declared: "On which ever side these may be killed, it will be a gain to Islam".

In the light of the above, scores of instances of various types and degrees of co-operation by the Hindus, during the long history of the Islamic conquest and subjugation of India, might spring to the minds of the students of this period. However, this short paper will confine itself to illustrations—typical rather than exhaustive—drawn from the earlier stages only. Analogies of the same type and character are found in later history in larger numbers as a matter of course.

It will be helpful to start with a pointed reference to the geographical and chronological aspects of Muslim expansion in India initially. For, what was achieved under the Great Mughals was nothing more than a more effective reconquest of the country, with superior political wisdom and more lasting results. The real conquest was effected by the early Sultans of Delhi and their forerunners who were pioneers in this historic process. Overlooking the episode of the Arab conquest of Sind and Multan, for purposes of this paper, the regular conquests, as is well-known, began round about 1001 A. D., when the redoubtable Mahmud Ghazna set out on his seemingly unending raids. The net result of the doings of his dynasty was to secure a permanent foot-hold in the Western Punjab. This together with the earlier permanent annexation of Sind and Multan by the Arabs, opened a new era

in the history of Hindusthan, which so far as geographical extent covered by Islamic arms was concerned, reached its culmination about the year 1311 A. D. when Malik Kafur reached the southern end of the peninsula. Thus the entire country appears to have been completely over-run in the course of a little over three centuries, though effective dominion over the larger part of this conquered territory was held only for a very short period. In fact, the process of disintegration began in 1335 A. D., in this part of the country, namely Ma'abar, under Muhammad Tughlaq. During the major part of the three centuries, therefore, the Sultanate of Delhi merely enjoyed a fluctuating hegemony over an ever-changing part of India. The war against the conquerors, though carried on heroically through the centuries, by the Rajputs, had not succeeded in stemming the tide, until the flood was firmly held by the glorious founders of Vijayanagar in 1336 or a year after the revolt in Ma'abar. During this period and within the territorial limits indicated above, the part played by the Hindus is worthy of being very carefully scrutinised. Without being blind to the heroic sacrifices of some of the rulers and people alike, from Jayapal to Rana Sanga, and the not less patriotic women of the Punjab who sold their jewels in order to finance the war against the aggressors, the scope of this paper will be confined to examining the extent and character of Hindu co-operation that was quite naturally exploited by the conquerors in achieving their objectives.

At the outset it is necessary to guard against vague and sweeping generalisations, particularly in the absence of adequate contemporary details and materials. Instances cited, therefore, ought not to be interpreted too widely without the most careful reflection on their character and significance. The experience of the recent World War provides us dependable clues in this respect. To what extent did the inhabitants of countries overrun by the Axis powers cooperate with their conquerors? What was the nature of that co-operation? Was it voluntary and genuine in all instances? Or was it forced and inescapable? Whatever its immediate character, was it not of vital use to the enemy? We know that all Norwegians were not quislings. Yet the morale of the people, even in our more enlightened modern times, is not a constant quality, but has varied with the kind of leadership supplied to them. This has been demonstrated in both the hemispheres in the winning and losing phases of the recent war from the point of view of the victors as well as the vanquished. The people of medieval times, therefore, ought not to be judged more severely. They inevitably acted as they were led by their kings and generals. The heroism of a Jayapal inspired even the women to sell their jewels as noted above, but the defection of a Jayachandra equally misled them into servitude to the conqueror. When a venerable ruler like Laxmana-sena of Bengal or Rama Dev Rao of Deogiri either ran away in fright or surrendered

abjectly, their leaderless subjects cannot be blamed for lack of grit. Our comments, therefore, should be taken as applying more specifically to the leaders of society than to the masses who were like clay in the hands of the potters. That there were people to fight and die with Jayapala and Prithvi Raj indicated the nobler strains in the national character. Under leadership like that of the modern Russians or even the Indonesians, the country might have given a better account of herself. The lapse, therefore, was more or less entirely on the part of such Hindus as went over, either voluntarily under temptation or compulsorily under coercion from the winning side. (Parenthetically, it is desirable to observe that, though the Muslims are as much Indians to-day as the Hindus, in the historical circumstances under consideration, even objectively speaking, the terms 'enemy' and 'traitor' should not be misunderstood. At that stage of our history, the Muslims were foreign invaders, and the Hindus were the native defenders of the soil). There must undoubtedly have been mass conversions to Islam of people enslaved on the battle-field. These could not be classed with the traitors for obvious reasons. Not so opportunist adventurers like Tilak who rose to such high position under the Ghaznavid Masud, that he was used in putting down the rebellion of the Muslim Niyaltigin. Nowhere do we learn of the conversion to Islam of this able Hindu general. To the best of my knowledge he is the first prominent Hindu who wielded the sword of Islam, not in defence of his faith or country, but to strengthen foreign domination. We also know from Ferishta that unconverted chieftains like Siwand Rai, at the head a considerable body of Hindu cavalry were employed by Mahmud Ghazna. It is quite likely that, as it had happened in Sind and Multan under the Arabs low class untouchables, thanks to short-sighted Hindu orthodoxy, were driven into the arms of the caste-less conquerors. That appeared to them the only way by which they could rise to the full height of their capacities. So it is clear that active co-operation on the part of sections of Hindus was not always due to compulsion or conversion. In later times we have the more prominent examples of unconverted Hindus of high social standing who proudly bore aloft the banner of victorious Islam and—far from feeling anything amiss 'deemed their own dignity increased!'—of men of eminent ability like Raja Todar Mal, Birbal, Man Singh, Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh.

To another category belong Rajput kings who lacked the stamina to resist and became instruments in the further conquest of the country, like Rajyapala, the Pratihara king of Kanauj, and Jayachandra who, perhaps, for quite other reasons, too well-known to be repeated, acted unpatriotically. In 1018 we hear of Hira Datta, the Raja of Bulandshahr (Baran) who allowed himself to be converted to Islam together with 10,000 followers. It is not to be forgotten that during the same campaign of Mahmud Ghazna, the gallant Kulchand of Mahawan offered

relentless opposition and got himself killed with 50,000 of his men dyeing the Jamuna red with their blood. As against this noble sacrifice, we have the inscrutable attitude of Anandpal, son of the immortal Jayapal, who, by the testimony of the contemporary Al-Biruni, strangely wrote to Mahmud, "I learn the Turks have rebelled against you. If you wish, I shall come to you or send my son with 500 horse, 1,000 soldiers and 100 elephants. I have been conquered by you and therefore wish that another man should not conquer you!". Nevertheless, Trilochanapal, the son of Anandpal, no less than his son, Nidar Bhima, fought against the conqueror with the assistance of the Kashmiri general Tunga. We do not know whether the unnamed guide who is said to have led Mahmud Ghazna out of the desert was also a Hindu; presumably he was. That Mahmud should have found such a guide in a country whose temples he had so frequently despoiled and desecrated including the most sacred ones, like those of Mathura, Brindavan and Somnath, appears very strange indeed.

Barring a few noteworthy exceptions, the Hindus do not seem to have learnt better after generations of tragic servitude, until the rather belated effort of Vijayanagar at organised and determined resistance. In the time of Alauddin Khalji, we have several curious instances of the attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslim conquerors. The most outstanding example of lack of patriotic leadership is that afforded by Rama Dev Rao of Devgiri. After an ineffectual attempt at resisting the invader the Yadava did not merely give way to the enemy, but even enthusiastically co-operated with the conqueror in the further extension of his dominion. If Isamy is to be trusted, 'Rama Dev Rao, who remained loyal to Alauddin, sent a secret messenger to Delhi to inform him that a rebellion headed by his own son had broken out at Deogiri against the Sultan.....and he requested the Sultan to send a competent person with an army to put down the rebels and restore the imperial authority'. When next the Khalji forces appeared before Deogiri, under Malik Kafur, on 24th March 1307, Rama Dev 'advanced with presents to meet the conqueror in order to obtain peace.' After a visit to Delhi, Rama Dev received the title Rai Rayan and continued to pay tribute to the King of Delhi. In the words of Barani, he remained 'as dutiful as any rayat of Delhi'. The following paragraph from Barani's account throws lurid light on the situation :—

'On approaching Deogir, Rai Rayan Rama Dev came forth to meet the army with respectful offerings to the Sultan and presents to the generals. While the army was marching through the territories of Deogir, Rama Dev attended every day at headquarters. So long as it remained encamped in the suburbs of the city, he showed every mark of loyalty and, to the best of

his ability, supplied Naib Kafur and his officers with fodder and material. Every day he and his officers went out to the camp rendering every assistance. He made the bazar people of Deogir attend the army and gave them strict orders to supply the wants of the soldiers at cheap rates. The army remained in the suburbs of Deogir for some days resting from its fatigues. When it marched, Rama Dev sent men forward to all the villages on the route, as far as the borders of Warangal, with orders for the collection of fodder and provision for the army, and giving notice that if a bit of rope was lost they would have to answer for it. He was as dutiful as any rayat of Delhi. He sent on all stragglers to rejoin the army, and he added to it a force of Marathas, both horse and foot. He himself accompanied the march several stages and then took leave and returned. *All wise and experienced men noticed and applauded his devotion and attention.*

Co-operation could go no further. Deogiri became the base of operations for the extension of Muslim dominion further south. Malik Kafur himself, the *hazar dinari*, was a slave purchased at Cambay—evidently a Hindu. His services to the cause of Muslim expansion are too well-known to need expatiation. Another Hindu slave like Malik Kafur (an out-caste Dher from Western India) played a similar role under Mubarak. As an evil favorite of the Sultan, he rose to such eminence that he usurped the throne of Delhi and proclaimed himself under the title of Nasir-ud-din Khusru Shah. He was responsible for the reconquest of Warangal and Madura, which had already come into the Khalji net, thanks to the invitation extended to Malik Kafur by Sundara Pandya. The enormous loot carried away from all these conquered Hindu kingdoms supplied the sinews of war to the Muslim imperialists. "No such booty," observes Sir Wolseley Haig, "had ever before been brought to Delhi; the spoils of Deogiri could not compare with those of Dvaravatipura and Madura, and the king, when receiving the leaders of the expedition in the Palace of the Thousand Pillars at Siri, distributed largesse to them and to the learned men of Delhi with a lavish hand."

A tragic fringe is added to this part of our story by the incidents connected with the capture of Kamal Devi and Deval Devi, the wife and daughter respectively of Raja Karan of Gujarat. The surprise of the tragedy is not so much that Kamal Devi was carried away to the harem of the Sultan at Delhi, but that the enslaved and dishonoured lady should have desired the company of her daughter, to be thrice dishonoured, in that impious den. Was it a triumph of thoughtless attachment born of affection for her daughter, or was it a perverted form of co operation with her new imperial master?

Another interesting feature is provided by the half-Hindu origin of some of the prominent political personalities of this age.

Regarding the origin of the Karauna Tughlaqs, Dr. Ishwari Prasad is of the opinion that they came of a Turkish stock of adventurers who had settled in the Punjab and married with natives, possibly Jats. About the founder of the Tughlaq dynasty, he writes, "born of an Indian mother, Ghazi Malik typified in his character the salient features of the two races: the modesty and mildness of the Hindu and the virility and vigour of the Turk." Of Firuz Tughlaq again, the same remark may be made, since he was the son of Ghiyas-ud-din's brother, Rajab, by a Rajput wife. It is interesting further to note that the very capable minister of Firuz, namely Khan Jahan Makbul, was a Hindu convert from Telingana. He had already made a mark under Muhammad Tughlaq and had been rewarded with the fief of Multan. During the long absences of Firuz from the capital, Makbul managed the affairs of the State, both civil and military, with remarkable devotion and efficiency.

Similar instances of Sultans born of Hindu mothers and of capable ministers and generals who were originally Hindus might be cited from provincial dynasties all over the country. But my purpose in this short paper has been more to indicate a line of fruitful research, from the point of view of the social relations between the two great communities, in the initial stages of their contact and conflicts, rather than to give an exhaustive catalogue of such data. The co-operation of the Hindus on an increasingly voluntary basis became more and more an established tradition as the foreigners became domiciled Indians. The history of the Deccan during the period of the Bahmanis and their successors, despite the fierce fanaticism of some of the local Sultans, shows a greater dependence of the Muslims over the Hindus. Thus we find Hindus in large numbers providing the personnel of the armies of Muslim states, no less than their civil administrations. Particularly were the Hindus found indispensable in the revenue department. In later times, as Lane-Poole has pointed out, the Hindus became even the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans. "Much of the improvement," he goes on to say, "was due to the employment of the Hindus who at that time were better men of business than the uneducated and mercenary adventurers who formed a large proportion of the Muhammadan invaders. As I have pointed out at length in my 'Maratha History Re-examined', the Marathas who ultimately overthrew the dominion of the Muslims received their initial training because of their widespread service in Muslim states. The names of Shahji and Lakhji Jadhav Rao are to a well known.

I have not dealt with the co-operation of the Hindus in other than the political field. But through less perceptible channels Hindu blood was flowing into Muslim veins through seragios of the Sultans because of the established practice of enlarging their zenanas with Hindu women; Hindu artisans and craftsmen,

from the time Mahmud Ghazna carried them away to his Afghan capital to build his 'Celestial Bride' to the shaping of the Taj Mahal and the palaces of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, were remoulding Muslim architecture, jewellery and perhaps dress.

A more detailed survey than the one I had the time to undertake in the course of this paper would reveal many more interesting and illuminating facts. For instance, I have not even indicated the extent of the peaceful penetration made by the Muslim traders and missionaries during the early days. Sometimes they preceded the armed invasions, and at other times followed them. The few instances that are familiar even to a cursory reader of the history of the period serve to indicate the attitude of the Hindus towards them. The welcome accorded to the Arabs, for instance, by the Balharas or Rashtrakutas, was partly due to the advantages of trade and partly to the traditional Hindu tolerance which opened the doors of India to all outsiders without much discrimination. According to Wassaf, no less than 10,000 Arab horses were imported into India costing 2,200,000 dinars, annually; and Idrisi, in the 11th century, noted that 'the Arab traders who frequented Anhilwara in large numbers were honourably received by the king and his ministers and found protection and safety.' Ufi records that, when the Muslims of Cambay were attacked by the Hindus, Siddh Raj (1094-1143 A.D.) punished his own offending subjects and subsidised the Mussalmans in building a mosque by way of compensation. The missionaries appear to have been encouraged to build mosques as well as to convert Hindus, by the Rajas. So far as the masses were concerned, there are numerous instances of their being attracted to the new faith by the miracles ascribed to some of the Muslim saints and preachers. Two examples of encouragement to the Muslims might be cited from Malabar alone: one is that of the conversion of Cheruman Perumal, alleged to have taken place during the life time of the Prophet; and the other that of the Zamorin of Calicut who deliberately encouraged the lower castes to become Muslims, in order to secure sailors for his warships (Arnold: 'The Preaching of Islam', p. 266). It is said that he ordered that 'in every family of fishermen in his dominion, one or more of the male members should be brought up as Muhammadans.'

To conclude with a quotation from Prof. Qureshi's 'The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi', "The Hindu attitude towards their Muslim rulers can be determined from literary works and folklore, where the Sultans are depicted as receiving help from Hindu princes in times of need and rewarding them for their services. Of special interest is a Hindu inscription partly in Sanskrit and partly in the vernacular of Hariyanah;..... which concludes with the words—So great was the Sultan's care for his people that 'Vishnu himself has retired from the care of the world and gone to sleep on the ocean of milk' " (This about Balban.)

THE DESCENDANTS OF MAHMUD OF GHAZNI AND
MUIZZ-UD-DIN OF GHOR AS DESCRIBED IN
THE FUTUH-US-SALATIN OF 'ISAMI

BY

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From verse 1174 to verse 1594 'Isami describes (1) the fate of the descendants of Mahmud of Ghazni, (2) the capture of Ghazni by the Ghuzz and then by the Ghorī chief Ghiyās-u'd-din Ghorī bin Sām, (3) the invasions of Hindustan by the latter's brother Muizz-u'd-din, (4) the two battles of Tarain and (5) the conquest of Gwalior.

Masūd the eldest son being absent at the time of Mahmud of Ghazni's death in 1030 A. D. Muhammad the second son was raised to the throne by the Amirs. But the latter was deposed blinded and thrown into a prison. The sceptre then passed to Masūd who ruled for nine years and was then killed by his own army at Marikala. Muhammad was then taken out of the prison and made king again. In the course of the next four months, however, Maudud captured Ghazni and killed Muhammad.

Maudud ruled for nine years; and after his death the throne passed successively to Ali bin Masūd, Muhammad bin Maudud, and Abdur Rashid bin Mahmud. When 'Abdur Rashid was killed after a reign of two years the sceptre was seized by Tughril, a slave of Mahmud. He was also killed after a shouspan of forty days; and the vacant throne was filled successively by Farrukh and Ibrahim, the grandsons of Mahmud. Ibrahim ruled for forty years and had a large progeny. He was followed on the throne by his sons and grandsons—'Alā-ud-din, Arsalan and Bahram. During the reign of Arsalan his brother Bahram revolted and invited a Saljuk army. Arsalan was defeated and Ghazni passed under the sway of Bahram who, it should be noted, had been related on the maternal side to the Saljuks.

During his reign 'Alā-ud-din the Ghorī king invaded Ghazni. Bahrām was defeated and he fled to India. Ghazni was captured by the Ghorids, but it was recovered before long by Bahrām who came back after the Ghorī had withdrawn. Bahrām died at Ghazni after a reign of 40 years and ten months. He was succeeded by a scion of the house of Mahmud named Khusraw Shah erroneously called Malik Khusraw by 'Isami. Under him Ghazni was captured by the Ghuzz Turks and Malik Khusraw was compelled to fly to India. There he planted his residence in Lahore which he ruled for 17 years. He was succeeded by his son Khusraw

Malik according to 'Iṣāmī. The triumphant Ghuzz held Ghazni for ten years and nine months.

Afterwards the Ghuzz were defeated by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Ghorī bin Sām; and on taking possession of Ghazni he appointed his younger brother Muizz-ud-dīn its governor. In 1173 (569) Muizz-ud-dīn "sat on the throne of Ghazni like Mahmūd "and six years hence he marched his army to India. He fought a battle with the Hindu ruler of Gujarat and was defeated. In the course of his retreat he reduced Lahore and Khusraw the Ghaznavid ruler was finally taken prisoner and sent to Ghazni. Muizz-ud-dīn then marched in the direction of Hānsī, but he was confronted by a Rajput confederacy and had to fight a battle at Tarain in the course of which he was severely wounded. He fell down from his horse; and although he was rescued by a Khalji soldier his army fled. This was, according to 'Iṣāmī, "the second defeat he had suffered in India".

Before long he came back to Lahore where he raised new fortifications and then returned to Ghazni. From Ghazni he sent a message to Ghor to the effect that "Khusraw and his son" the Ghaznavid princes should be killed. Both were killed accordingly.

While brooding over his repeated discomfeatures in India, 'Iṣāmī tells us that Muizz-ud-dīn was inspired by his mother who charged him not to lose heart and strive to attain success by making further attempts to conquer Hindustan. 'Iṣāmī then draws the reader's attention to some of the renowned slaves and warriors in the army of Muizz-ud-dīn *i.e.* Khirmil, Kharman Albah, Makalbah—each being a commander of considerable number of soldiers and had travelled over the world 'from one end to the other". Besides these 'Iṣāmī gives the names of Taj-ud-dīn Yalduz, Qabāchā and Iltutmish.

Next, 'Iṣāmī introduces Quṭb-ud-dīn Aibak and reproduces Muizz-ud-dīn's discourse with him, an extract from which runs as follows: "As there is an apprehension" said Muizz-ud-dīn, "that our horses will take to flight when pitted against the ferocious elephants it is advisable that you should order...our horsemen to make some huge elephants of mud and wood..In this way our horses will become familiar with the elephants and will not take to flight in the course of the battle. "Quṭb-ud-dīn Aibak acted accordingly. 'Iṣāmī proceeds to inform us that while Muizz-ud-dīn's army was preparing to advance, a body of forty horsemen came from Turkistan and offered their services to Muizz-ud-dīn. They were permitted to join the army.

Then follows a graphic account of the second battle at Tarain and of the victory achieved by Muizz-ud-dīn. The victor marched from Tarain to Gwalior. The Raja of Gwalior was upset; and while he lay extremely disconcerted his fears were allayed

by his daughter. She approached Sultan Muizz-ud-din with the request that he might be pleased to withdraw his forces and spare Gwalior. The Sultan agreed on condition that "the practice of idolatry be discontinued in the realm of Gwalior, that a mosque be constructed and that the idol-house be destroyed." The Raja did so. A mosque was raised inside the fort of Gwalior; and the Sultan withdrew his forces from Gwalior which was restored to the Raja.

It should be noted that the story of the abolition of idolatry in Gwalior described by Iṣāmī lacks confirmation.

RELATION OF THE SYAD KINGS WITH THE RULERS OF PROVINCIAL DYNASTIES

BY

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A good many years before the establishment of the so-called Syad Dynasty on the throne of Delhi in 1414 A. D. the solidarity of the Delhi Sultanate had come to an end. Bengal and the Deccan had fallen off in 1336 and 1347 respectively, Kanauj Āwadh, Karra, Sandila (Hardoi District, U. P.), Dalmāu (Rae Barelli District, U. P.) Bahraich, Bihār and Jaunpūr were held by Khwāja Jahān Malikush-Sharq since 1394, and Mālwa had formed a separate kingdom under Dilāwar Khān in 1401. On the eve of the seizure of Delhi by Khizr Khān, the founder of the Syad Dynasty, Mahoba and Kālpi had been usurped by Maḥmūd Khān son of Malik-zada Firuz, Sāmāna by Ghālib Khān, Biana by Shams Khān Auhadi; Miwāt had become virtually independent of Delhi, under the Khanzada, the descendents of Bahādur Nāhir Khān, Gwalior had been seized from the Muslims by the Tonwār Rajputs, the turbulent Khokhars, a tribe of converted Rajputs and the Mameluke Turks held the Central Punjāb in fee and the Rajputs of Rohilkhand and the Doāb had stopped paying revenue to Delhi. The Sultanate had ceased to own any territory east of Bulandshahr. During his short reign of about seven years, Khizr Khān had rehabilitated Delhi destroyed during Timur's invasion and had re-established the control of the Delhi kingdom over the Punjāb, Multān, Rohil-khand and the Doāb, Gwalior and partially over Miwāt. The eastern frontier was pushed as far as Etawa. Busy as he was in asserting his authority, Khizr Khān had little inclination or opportunity to fight aggressive wars with the rulers of neighbouring kingdoms. We know of only one war which he had to wage to save Nagaur (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) against an attack by Aḥmad Shāh of Gujrat, in 819/1416. We

do not know why Khizr Khān who had failed to establish full control over Miwāt should have the audacity to save Nagaur lying hundreds miles away from his territories. Nagaur, the birth-place of Abul Faḥl and Faiḥi, had then a strong Muslim colony in addition to a strong defensive position, surrounded on all sides by the Rajputs. It was conquered by Chonda, the Rāna of Mewar (1382-1409), it appears, after the death of Firūz Shāh Tughlaq, but was reconquered by the Muslims soon after the death of Chonda.¹ It is not strange that its Muslim chief should have maintained allegiance to a distant kingdom when threatened with aggression by the strong ruler of a youth-ful state. Any way, on hearing the report of the investment of Nagaur fort by Sultān Aḥmad Shāh of Gujrāt (1411-41), Khizr Khān, most likely, in pursuance of an appeal by its chief, personally led an army, and reached Nagaur via Tonk and Tūda, since a more direct route via Miwāt could not be utilised on account of the dis-affection of the Khan-zadas. On the approach of the Delhi forces, Aḥmad Shāh abandoned Nagaur, and retreated to Gujrāt.² Khizr Khān returned to Delhi via Gwālior and Biāna, after securing homage and cash from Shams Khān Aḥadī, the chief of the latter place.

During the reign of Mubārak Shāh, the ablest member of the dynasty, the new line of kings had struck a deeper route. The prestige of the Delhi kingdom had increased, lawlessness had been firmly dealt with, and the turbulent Khokhars and the Rajput free-booters had been made to respect the authority of the Delhi Sultan. Nay, even more than this. The vigilant watch and strong military measures had saved northern India from an early conquest by the Mughals led by Shaiḥ 'Alī, the Deputy governor of Kābul for Mirza Sayurghātmish, grand-son of Timūr. Mubārak Shāh had repelled four invasions, which had taken place in support of the Khokhar attacks, in the last of which the Mughals had captured Lahore.³ Mubārak Shāh had to wage two wars with the rulers of the so-called Provincial dynasties, one to protect his vassal, the Rāja of Gwālior against an attack on his territories by Hushang Shāh Ghori, the ruler of Mālwa and the other against Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, in connexion with Mubārak Shāh's operations in Biāna and Miwāt.

In 826-1422, Hushang Shāh Malvi, after capturing Gagron fort, led his victorious arms towards Gwālior. Proceeding by forced marches, he captured the country-side and laid siege to the fort after isolating it⁴. Sultan Mubārak Shāh, by virtue of

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1. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, II, p. 19, 20, 1879 Editon.
 2. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, 186.
 3. *Tar Mubarak Shahi* A. S. B. Cal. 228-30.
 4. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, A. S. B, III, 298.

his position as the liege-lord of the Gwalior Raja, marched to the relief of the fort, 827-1423, through Biāna, whose chief Shams Khān, renewed his allegiance. Crossing the Chambal, a detachment of the Delhi forces under Nuṣrat Khān, plundered Hushang Shāh's baggage and camp on the bank of the river and captured many of his effectives. The kind-hearted Mubarak Shāh released them without ransom as he was averse from shedding Muslim blood⁵. On the second day peace was concluded on condition that, Hushang Shāh retires from Gwalior and pays a ready indemnity. Both these conditions were fulfilled and Hushang Shāh retired to Dhār, and Mubarak Shah to Delhi after realising arrears of revenue from the Gwalior Raja⁶.

Three years later 830-1426, Mubarak Shah led an expedition against Biāna whose chief Muhammad Khān had revolted, it seems, in sympathy with his kinsmen of Miwāt who had been the victims of ruthless revenue-collecting expeditions by Mubarak Shah in times of severe famine. The Delhi forces had shown no mercy to the Miwāt peasants whose habitations they had destroyed under the supervision of Mubarak Shah himself and whose properties they had looted. In the Miwāt campaign of 829-1425, Mubarak Shāh had captured Malik Qaddū, grandson of Bahādur Nāhir Khān and forced his Qaddū's brother Jalāl Khān to seek refuge in the sanctuary of the Alwar hills⁷. Mubarak Shāh led the campaign against Biāna in 830-1426, and laid siege to the fort for 16 days. When the besiegers entered the fort by the back-gate, Muḥammad Khān, weakened by the desertion of many of his men, surrendered himself, with his turban⁸ tied round his neck and gave his horses and arms. Muḥammad Khān's family was sent to Delhi and the fief of Biāna was split up into two parts—Biāna proper and Sikri, given in charge of Malik Muqbil Khān and Malik Khair-uddin Tuḥfa respectively. Muḥammad Khān, soon after, fled from captivity and found an asylum in Miwāt where his kinsmen were still fighting a war of attrition. Collecting an army, he fell upon Malik Muqbil, ejected his men and occupied Biāna, the Zamindars of the locality co-operating in the last phase of his adventure. Mubarak Shāh quite naturally, dismissed Malik Muqbil, and gave Biāna to Malik Mubārīz and commissioned him to punish Muḥammad Khān. The latter was besieged in the Biāna fort, which was isolated from the country-side. Muḥammad Khān however succeeded in flying from the fort and seeking refuge with Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī. News was brought by the emissaries of Qādir Khān the chief of Kālpi (in Jalaon District, U. P.), that the Sharqī forces were on their way to

5. Tar Mub Shahi, 202.

6. Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 299, Tar Mub Shahi, 203.

7. Tar Mub Shahi, 204.

8. Tab Akb I, 276 ; Rope acc to Ferishta, I, Lucknow, 165.

invade Delhi territories. On a grave occasion like this, Mubarak Shāh himself took the field. On hearing that the Sharqis had plundered Bhongāon⁹ and were marching straight on Badaon, along the courses of the Ganges, Mubarak Shāh postponed marching in the direction of Biāna and crossed the Jumna near Noh Jhil, 831/1427. Being delayed in punishing the rebels of Atrauli (Aligarh District, U. P.), he deputed Malikush-Sharq Malik Maḥmūd Hasan against Mukhtas Khān, brother of Ibrahim Shāh the Sharqi king, who was marching on Etāwa, hitherto a Delhi possession, with ten thousand cavalry. Malik Maḥmūd Hasan was out-witted and out-generalled and failed to contact the enemy and the army under Mukhtas Khān in joining with the main army of Jaunpūr under the command of Ibrahim Shāh, succeeded marching along the courses of the Kali Nadi, and came as far as Burhānabad, described as a dependency of Marhara.¹⁰ The Delhi forces under the Sultān encamped within sight of their enemy. After an indecisive encounter following a 24 days encampment, the Sharqi forces retreated during the night, crossed the Jumna near Rāpri by the Gadrang ford¹¹ marched rapidly in the direction of Biāna and installed Muḥammad Khān after capturing it. The Delhi forces gave chase to the Sharqis by crossing the Jumna near Chandwār, (near the present Firuzabad town, Agra District) and encamped on the bank of the Gānbhir river, within 8 miles of the enemy forces.¹² After some skirmishes lasting for 20 days, a pitched battle was fought from mid-day till night-fall, on the 7th Jamadi 831 Feb. 23, 1428, after which both the armies retired to their respective camps. The Delhi forces having been re-inforced by the arrival of Malikush-Sharq Sarwar-ul-Mulk, Malikush, Sharq Malik Maḥmūd Hasan, Khān 'Azam Fath Khān, son of Sultān Muzaffar, Majlis-i 'Ala Zirak Khān, Malik Kaloo, Malik Aḥmad Tuḥfa, Malik Muqbil Khān, in fact all the chief war-lords of Delhi with their contingents, had the advantage of number over their opponents, and could take a heavier toll of their life. During the darkness of the night, the Sharqi forces slipped off towards Jaunpūr via Rāpri. Mubarak Shāh followed his opponents upto the Gadrang ford, but unwilling to shed Muslim blood, dis-continued pursuit, and turned against Hatkānt, Bāh Tahsil, Agra District U. P., to punish the Bhadauriya free-booters. From Hatkānt he marched towards Gwalior, collecting revenue in both the places and then proceeded to punish Muḥammad Khān installed at Biāna with the Sharqi aid. The Biāna fort could not be stormed "on account of the

9. In Mainpuri Distr., U. P., 7 miles NE of Mainpuri town on the Shikohabad Farrukhabad section of the E. I. Ry.

10. Only Yahya, author of Tar Mub Shahi, 208, identifies it as a dependency of Etawa.

11. Tar Mub Shahi, 207-09.

12. The same as No. 11.

massive-ness and height of its walls."¹³ After a seven days' siege Muḥammad Khān surrendered and was pardoned by the kind-hearted Mubārak Shāh. But Muḥammad Khān fled again to Miwāt and thus forfeited Biana which was given by the Sultān to Malikush-Sharq Malik Maḥmūd Hasan, before returning to Delhi in Shābān, 831. The flight of Muḥammad Khān to Miwāt had provided one more pretext to Mubārak Shāh to invade that tract, and procure the submission of Jalal Khān and Malik Fakhr-uddin. But soon after, during the same reign, we find the descendants of Muḥammad Khān restored in Biana, probably, as the result of a second amnesty of Mubārak Shāh.

In 836/1432, Nagaur, which had given its loyalty to Khiz̄r Khān, was captured by Aḥmad Shāh of Gujrāt at a time when Sultān Mubārak Shāh was fighting a life and death duel against the Khokhars the Turks and the invading Mughals under Shaikh 'Alī and was not in a position to succour a distant out-post against the resources of an able and powerful monarch. Marching for the conquest of Mewār with a formidable army, Aḥmad Shāh overran Kailwāra and Dailwāra before falling foul on Mewār: Firuz Khān son of Shams Khān Dandani who was Sultān Muẓaffar's nephew,¹⁴ and who held governorship of Nagaur came to offer homage and brought a few lacs of tankas as tribute. The Sultān, retained him over Nagaur, and came back after posting some of his men in strategic areas. In 855/1451, this Firūz Khān, son of Shams Khān had died during the first year of Aḥmad Shāh II's reign, and his brother Mujāhid Khān usurped Nagaur driving Shams Khān, son of Firūz Khān to seek aid from Rāna Kumṭha of Mewār which was promised on condition of his demolishing three battlements from the Nagaur fort which had once compelled the Rāna's father to retire before it because of their impregnability. Mujāhid Khān was ejected but Shams Khān refused to fulfil the conditions whereupon Rāna Kumṭha laid siege to Nagaur, forcing Shams Khān to fly to Ahmadabād to seek Gujrātī aid.¹⁵

In 837/1433, during the year of Mubārak Shāh's death, we hear the armies of Malwa and Jaunpūr, each heading towards Kālpi, a place of great strategic importance in Central India, held by Qādir Khān who had professed loyalty to the Syad rulers of Delhi. We do not know what precipitated that race, but we know that the Sharqī forces under Ibrahim Shāh were the first to arrive. Hushang Shāh turned his armies to fight the Sharqī's and a sharp contest for Kālpi between the two forces was imminent. At such a point spies brought news to Ibrahim Shāh that Mubārak Shāh, having taken advantage of the pre-occupation of

13. Tar. Mub. Shahi, 210.

14. Tab. Akb. III, 123.

15. Tab. Akb. 129.

the Sharqi forces, was on his way to Jaunpūr. This news unnerved Ibrāhīm Shāh so that he abandoned Kalpi and retreated to Jaunpur.¹⁶ The truth is this that on learning that the Sharqi and Malwa forces were poised for a contest for Kalpi, Mubārak Shāh, in response to an appeal from its governor, and loth to see it in enemy hands, had completed the mobilization of a huge army, with which he was moving towards that threatened town. But unfortunately he was assassinated, in the mosque of Mubārakabād, a new city founded by him on the bank of the Jumna, while entering it for Friday prayer, by Sidhpāl acting as agent of a group of conspirators consisting of Sarwar-ul-Mulk the Wazīr, Mirān-i-Sadr and Sidhāran Gāngū, on Feb. 19, 1423. (Rajab 9, 1434). Hushang Shāh conquered Kalpi without shedding a single drop of blood and read his own Khutba.¹⁷ He stayed there sufficiently long to instal Qādir Khān as a vassal of the Malwa rulers. Kalpi, however remained the bone of contention between the Sharqis and the Malvis for years to come.

Muḥammad Shāh, the nephew of Mubārak Shāh who succeeded him to the throne of Delhi, was a weak and ease-loving prince, and as such presented a sharp contrast with his contemporaries, Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqi and Maḥmūd Shāh Khilji of Malwa, who may be ranked as the ablest rulers of their lines. Muḥammad Shāh Syad became a tool in the hands of Sarwar-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr. Each of the conspirators responsible for Mubarakh Ali's murder was rewarded by Sarwar appropriately. An attempt by Sidhpāl to capture Biana given him as fief, through his slave Rānō, was frustrated by Yusuf Khūn Auhadi. Kamāl-ul-Mulk put himself at the head of a band of loyal officers to avenge the murder of his patron. He captured Delhi by marching from Bulandshahr, punished the entire gang of conspirators and re-installed Muḥammad Shah. But the contest between the two parties again dissolved the Sultanate to tribal chieftainships. Multan became independent under Shaikh Yusuf, a descendent of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria Qureshi, (the premier saint of Multan), in 847/1443 and the Sharqis occupied the tract from Kanauj to Etawa and beyond, and chaos reigned outside the limits of the metropolis.

In 844/1440, Maḥmūd Khilji of Malwa was invited by some Miwati chieftains who could not efface from their memory the scenes of pillage and destruction of their habitations by the Delhi forces in the past, to invade Delhi. When Maḥmūd Khilji arrived near Delhi, he was joined by Yusuf Khan Hindauni.¹⁸ Muḥammad Shah who had neither the courage nor the resources to fight such a formidable invader, summoned Malik Bahlul, the nephew and

16. Tab. Akb. 299.

17. Tabaqat-i Akb. III, 299.

18. Ta', Akb. III, 322.

son-in-law of Malik Sultansha Bahram Lodi from Sirhind, and appointed him commander-in-chief of the Delhi forces which stood for action with the city of Tughlaqabad on its back. Learning that the Delhi forces were not commanded by the Sultan in person, the chivalrous Mahmūd sent his sons Prince Ghiasuddin and 'Alauddin to take command of the Malwa forces. After a sharp battle in which both the armies fought valiantly, they retired to their respective camps.¹⁹ Delhi was spared the change of dynasty through a dream which Mahmūd Khilji dreamt during the night following the day of battle. Dreaming that some miscreants had captured Mandū fort and brought out the parasole from over the grave of Hushang Shah and put it on the head of an obscure man, Mahmūd Shah hastily departed towards Mandū after concluding terms in the morning, according to which the Malwa forces were to be allowed to depart unmolested. But Bahlul Lodi with whom the end justified the means, treacherously attacked the unsuspecting Sharqis and drove them to headlong flight and captured their camp equipment and stores. For this the grateful Sultan conferred on him the title of Khan Khanan and called him son. Curiously enough, Mahmūd Shah on the way to Mandū learnt that a party of mischiefmongers had actually rebelled at Mandu but were suppressed by Local officials. Another version of the reason of his precipitate retreat which has been accepted by saner historians is this that he had heard the report of the invasion of Malwa by Ahmad Shah Gujrati.²⁰

When 'Alauddin 'Alam Shah succeeded his father Muhammad Shah in 848/1440, the sway of the Sultanate was confined from Delhi to Palam, plus a small tract round Badāun. The western provinces upto Panipat were usurped by Bahlul Lodi, governor of Sirhind and Samāna. Ahmad Khān Miwātī had seized the vicinity of Delhi from Mehrauli to Ladū Sarāi, Darya Khān Lodi had captured Sambhal and its vicinity, 'Isa Khān Turk-bachcha Kol (Aligarh) and Jalali, Qutb Khān Afghan Rapri, the Chauhan chief Rāi Pratap Bhongāon, Kāmpil and Patiali, and Nizām Khān reigned supreme in Biāna.

Biāna was lost to Delhi in 848/1444, when Sultan Mahmud Malvi, marched upon it to seize it. When the Malwa forces reached within two farsangs of the fort, Mahmūd Khān brother of Yusuf Khān,²¹ sent his son Auhad Khān to the Sultan with 100 well-bred horses and one lac of tankas.²² Mahmūd Shah far

19. Tab Akb I 291, Tab Akb III, 322 23.

20. Tab Akb III, 323.

21. In 839-40, Yusuf Khan Auhadi had accompanied Muhammad Shah in his cermonious campaign in Multan. He was also instrumental in defeating and killing Ranoo, the slave of Sidhpal.

22. Tab Akb, III, 330

from annexing Biana, sent for the Biāna chief a robe of gold brocade, a crown bedecked with jewels and lined with gold, and Arab horses with golden reins and bridles. Maḥmūd Khān wore the Khilat "opening his mouth in praise of Maḥmūd Shāh" and read the Khutba and issued the Sikka in the latter's name. Maḥmūd Mālvi then sent a formidable army for the conquest of Chitore and himself marched towards Māndū. The chiefs of Biāna thereafter styled themselves as Sultāns. It was from Ashraf Khān Jilwānī, that Sikandar Lodi seized Biāna and incorporated it with his empire Kalpi which was lost to Delhi in 837/1433, became the scene of bitter rivalry between the Sharqīs and the Sultāns of Malwa. In 846-1442, Nāṣir Khan son of Qadir Khan gave offence to Maḥmūd Shah Malvi by openly assuming the title of the Shah.²³ Simultaneously representations against Nāṣir Khan poured forth at Māndū alleging that he had become an apostate from Islam and had turned a tyrant. When Maḥmūd Shāh marched towards Kalpi to punish him, the latter refuted the charges of apostacy, through his envoy, requested for an impartial commission and finally won his case through the present of one lac of tankas which he sent to reinforce his arguments. The Sultan pardoned Nāṣir Khan and proceeded to strengthen the siege of Chitore. On his return to Māndū, the Sharqī envoy reiterating the agelong friendship between the two courts, urged the Malwa Sultan to take action against Maṣīr Khan adding that he was giving Muslim women to Hindu Nayaks (expert in an art) to be trained as dancers. Maḥmūd Malvi promised to take action as soon as his armies were freed from the Chitore campaign, and admitted that the extirpation of heresy is obligatory on all Muslim Kings. At the news and the presents Maḥmūd Sharqī became pleased, sent a present of 29 elephants and an army to operate against Nāṣir Khan. On Nāṣir Khan's appeal, Maḥmūd Malvi sent a mission to Jaunpūr pointing out that action was premature so long as the enquiries were pending but before the mission had reached its destination, Nāṣir Khan had been expelled from his seat. Maḥmūd Mālvi taking pity on Nāṣir Khan, as the result of his appeal and interview, marched towards Kalpi. At the approach of the Malwa forces, Maḥmūd Sharqī, unceremoniously marched back to Jaunpur, with his enemies hanging on his rear. But when retreat was blocked, he stood to give fight from a high ground not far from Kalpi. At the approach of the rains both armies departed after concluding armistice. And finally at the intercession of Shaikh Jayaldah, a great mystic of his time who lies buried at Mandu in the vault with the Sultāns of Malwa, it was proposed and with great difficulty accepted that Nāṣir Khan should be given Rata and Kalpi, the latter four months after the departure of the Sultan of Malwa.

23. Tab Akb III. 323

24. Tab Akb 279-282; 323-29.

During the period under review the Delhi forces did not come in contact with the kingdom of Kashmir, screened as it was by the territories of the Raja of Jammu and unconquered Khokhar lands in the Jach Doab. The Raja of Jammu gave active help to the Delhi forces in fighting Jasrath the Khokhar leader and ultimately this Rai Bhim paid for his alliance by being defeated and killed by Jasrath in 827/1423. Thus ended an episode. A critical student of history cannot but notice that a stage had come in the history of the revived Sultanate when aggressive wars were out of the question and foreign wars were waged in pure self-defence. This feature of Indian History ends with the foundation of the first Afghan dynasty.

STUDY OF ZOOLOGY AND VETERINARY SCIENCE IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA

BY

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Students and scholars of mediaeval Indian history are apt, at times, to enquire whether the study of sciences physical, natural or organic, was cultivated in that age. Scientific works of those days being almost rare in comparison with the numerous works on religion and history mainly dealing with the rules of conduct of individuals or expeditions, battles and conquests, it is only natural to surmise that the Indian Muslims of late mediaeval times developed theology and the science of war at the cost of other sciences. In fact, references to scientific knowledge and works in the writing of the times and discovery of some valuable scientific works at present preserved in some of the European and Indian libraries, prove beyond doubt that the study of natural and organic science was not neglected in those days, and a good many works were written on the subject—some being translations of the sciences of the Hindus. To quote an authoritative saying, learning in the fourteenth century consisted of knowledge in theology, politics, astronomy, physiology, medicine, zoology and veterinary science. The *Shar* formed the chief and important part of theology and universally read by the people. Knowledge in the art of government was required of rulers, big and small, and people, high or low. The study of astronomy formed a part of the curriculum to be followed by the average students. The Medical Science, called *Ilm-i-tibb* consisted of physiology called *Ilm-i-abdan* or *Ilm-i-jan* and medicine called *Ilm-i-adwiya*. The medical science not only dealt with the human body and medicine for human ailments it included remedies for the diseases of the animals, birds and beasts alike.

The most important and well-known work on Zoology and veterinary science entitled *Shikarnamah-i-Firuzshahi*, not yet discovered, has been referred to and quoted in *Sirat-i-Firuzshahi*, which in itself is a rare book found in the form of manuscript and not yet put to print. The author of *Sirat-i-Firuzshahi* ascribes the authorship of *Shikarnamah* to Firuz Shah, the sportsman-king of the Tughluq family at Delhi. If there is ever a discovery made of this work that deals with the animal kingdom and its pathology it will throw a very valuable light on the science of Zoology and veterinary science and reveal the progress which the said two sciences made in mediaeval India.

In the words of the author of *Sirat-i-Firuzshahi*, the people were aware of the art of seizing and keeping animals, and could diagnose their maladies and heal them. Lions and tigers and other beasts and birds of the forest, such as deer, hares, hawks, ducks and kites and falcons were carefully domesticated and properly trained. Some of the birds could be made to speak like human beings and serve as messengers. They were sent high up the heavens and called back by the trainers. The animals, after all, were trained to display wonderful feats of skill.

In addition to his qualifications as a sportsman who had bagged animals and birds of every variety and species, Sultan Firuz Tughluq, it is commonly said on heresay evidence, was an expert and a specialist in animal diseases. He could not only find out very easily what ailments a particular animal suffered from, but could also, with ease, suggest a remedy for the troubles. Stories are narrated relating to the Sultan's deep interest in his pets. It has been mentioned in *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, how the Sultan once recognized without any difficulty one of his falcons that had been stolen away from his aviary a year before and again brought to his court by an individual as a royal present. For the purpose of satisfying the curiosity of his courtiers and the bystanders by producing an infallible evidence in his favour, the Sultan asked the newcomer to let the bird go. Lo! the bird came near the Sultan and perched on his hands.

The fact that the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air were domesticated and trained for purposes of hunting added interest and lent greater zest to the study of Zoology in those days. There were people who possessed detailed informations about the quadrupeds and birds. They could, for instance, tell to which part of the country, or to which mountain, tree or desert, a particular species of bird belonged and whether they built their nests on the trees or on the ground.

To revert to the work *Shikarnamah-i-Firuzshahi*. It narrates the various diseases of the animal kingdom and provides remedy for them; describes the method of seizing and training hawks and falcons: discusses the nativity of the birds and their physical

characteristics—their colour and peculiarities, the places where they generally build their nests, their manner of giving birth and rearing up their young, their mode of protecting the young against the enemies and the nature of the food that they gave to the young. It also deals with the signs of a good falcon, discriminating the active from the lazy and describing how the falcons are to be taught to attack its prey, and which of the falcons are to be placed on the hands, and the like.

Shikarnamah, as we have already observed, is a science of animal disease. It sets forth the disorder in the system of the falcons, such as, head, eyes, ears and backside the complaints they suffer from in the spring and other seasons, such as, catarrh, swelling of tulous, dry scab or wound etc. It provides remedy for the diseases of Yuz, or panthers used in hunting deers and sug or dog, used for similar purposes. Antidotes for maladies, such as, scabs, abess, sore in the anus, distortion of the limbs, troubles in the eyes and neck, cough, diptheria, cholic, worms in the belly, cold in the lungs, worms on the body etc. have also been provided for. The chapter on dogs enters into particulars of countries that supplies dogs of the best quality, and draws up a statement of their different colours and characteristics.

In addition to what has been mentioned before, the author of *Shikarnamah*, has very wisely and scientifically particularised the season best suited to hunting purposes, the equipments that a sportsman should provide himself with at the time of hunting, the manner in which a trained falcon should be set against its prey and other allied subjects.

For purposes of hunting in the different seasons, animals and falcons have been divided in the foregoing work into four categories, according to the influence of the governing planet constituting the sign of the zodiac on the animals. For example, there are animals that are influenced by Aries, and such animals belong to the first category: there are some that are influenced by cancer, some by Tanrus, and some by Gemini and they belong to the second, third and fourth classes respectively.

There are according to the science of Astronomy, twelve signs in the girôle of the Zodiac or *mintaqatu'l-buruj* or *mintaqat'i Zat'l buruj*. viz, Aries, Taudus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius and Pisces. These twelve signs fall under four classes according to their properties, namely, fire, earth, air and water. Aries, Leo and Sagittarius possess the property of fire and are called *buruj-i atish*; Tanous, Virgo and capricornus possess the property of earth and are called *buruj-i-khaki*; Gemini, Libra and Aquarius possess the property of air and are called *buruj-i-badi*; Cancer, Scorpio and Pisces possess the property of water and are called *buruj-i abi*.

According to Shikarnamah, animals that are influenced by Aries or its kindred signs possess nails and are invariably carnivorous. Sportsmen intending to hunt such animals should avail themselves of the time when the Moon enters Aries, or Leo or Sagittarius.

Again, animals that are influenced by Tai or its allied signs generally live on grass, chew the cud, and possess bisected hoofs. The time when the Moon enters Taurus or Virgo or Capricornus is regarded propitious and opportune for hunting such animals.

Further, animals that are influenced by Gemini or its related signs, such as Libra and Aquarius invariably move on their wings. It is only when the Moon moves on to Gemini or Libra or Aquarius that the feathered vertebrates should be bagged with the help of birds scientifically and sufficiently trained for that purpose.

Lastly, animals that are influenced by either cancer or or Scorpio and Pisces are mostly the denizens of the deep. Fish, crocodile, crab, tortoise etc., come under this category. Some species of this genus live both on land and water. However, for purposes of game, those interested in sports should set out on their enterprise when the Moon enters either of the signs, such as, Cancer, Scorpio and Pisces.

To sum up, physical and organic sciences were subjects of regular study in Muslim India, and books on those subjects were written on scientific lines. The most outstanding work on Zoology, or as we may call it veterinary science, written in the fourteenth century is Shikarnamah, composed by Sultan Firuz Shāh. It deals with an account of the mammals and birds, their species and characteristics, their diseases and remedies, and provides other necessary informations for the use of sportsmen who might bag them and for those who desire to keep and domesticate them.

JAJNAGAR AND ITS IDENTIFICATION FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

BY

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As the Hindu Kingdom of Jajnagar resisted the Muslim onslaught century after century before its final subjugation by Raja Man Singh, the Governor of Akbar, towards the close of the 16th century A. D., the history of Jajnagar was a favourite

subject of all the mediaeval Muslim historians for a period of four hundred years from the beginning of the 13th century A. D. and the identification of Jajnagar has also been a fit subject of the learned controversy for a period of one and three quarters of a century since 1770 (when Alexander Dow published his *The History of Hindustan*) in which many eminent modern historians have joined. As majority of modern historians are in favour of maintaining the existence of two Jajnegars identified with Orissa and Tripura in Bengal from one and only one Jajnagar of the Muslim historians on the testimony of one historical event out of two in Barni's work, let us first see as to how the original sources help us in the identification.

*The following historians have dealt with Muslim expeditions to Jajnagar :—

1. Minhajuddin's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*¹ is the first work which deals with the history of Jajnagar for a period of nearly 40 years from 1205 A. D. The work narrates the history of the Sultans of Delhi upto 1259 A. D.

2. Zia-i-Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*² narrates the history of Sultan Firozshah Tughlaq for six years only but it contains the history of the Sultans of Delhi "beginning with Sultan Giyasuddin Balban, who appears in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* under the name of Ulugh Khan."³ Barni is the only source of the history of 90 years from 1260 to 1350 A. D. But during the period of 85 years, it is regretted that no effort has been made to publish an authentic text of Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* with the English translation of the work.

3. *Ain-ul-malk Mabru's* letters⁴ describes Firozshah's expedition to Jajnagar.

4. An unknown author's *Sirat-i-Firozshahi*⁵ describes in detail the expedition of Firozshah to Jajnagar.

5. Shmas-i-Siraj Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*⁶ deals with the history of the Sultan of Firozshah upto 1388 A. D. In this work Udisa is recorded as a second name of Jajnagar.

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* translated by Raverty in *Bibliotheca Indica* series 1873 81.

2. Text in *Bibliotheca Indica* series (1560-62) and its English translation. Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* Vol III pp. 93-268 (1871).

3. Elliot and Dowson Vol. III p. 94.

4. J. & P. 1923 pp. 278-90.

5. J. R. A. S. B. 1942, Letters pp. 57-98.

6. *Bibliotheca Indica* 1891, Elliot & Dowson Vol. III pp. 26-273.

6. Sirajuddin Umar⁷ mentions Jainagar as one of the 22 provinces of the empire of the Tughlaq dynasty.

7. Yahiya's *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*⁸ narrates the history of upto the year 1434 A. D.

The following historians collected materials relating to the history of Jainagar for their works from above authorities for the period from the beginning of the 13th century A. D. to the middle of the 15th century A. D.

8. Nizamuddin Ahmed's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*⁹ deals with the history of India upto the 1593 A. D. in three volumes.

9. Badaoni's *Muntakhab at-Tiwarikh*¹⁰ deals with the history of India upto 1595 A. D.

10. *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*¹¹ deals with the history of India upto 1610 A. D.

11. Ghulam Hussan Salim's *Riyazus-Salatin*¹² is the last Persian work dealing with the history of Bengal and was written in 1785 A. D.

The works No. 1 to 7 contain history of Jainagar for a period of one hundred and fifty years from 1211 to 1361 A. D. Minhaj, the first historian, was in Lakhnauti or Bengal for over two years after 1242 A. D., and so his account of Jainagar for the period from 1205 to 1242 was compiled either from records or from other persons. But his account for the period from 1243 to 1246 is based on his personal knowledge and hence it is very authentic. "Barni takes up the history of India just where the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* leaves it; nearly a century having elapsed without any historian having recorded the events of that interval."¹³ Barni writes in the preface: "Whatever I have written is right and true and worthy of all confidence."¹⁴ "What he has written upon the life and action of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban he himself heard from his father and grand-father and from men who held important offices under that sovereign"¹⁵ Zia Barni's statement

7. Catalogue of coins of Indian Museum Calcutta Vol. II, Pt. 1 & II 1907 p. 9.

8. Gaekwar's Oriental Series Vol. LXIII, 1932.

9. English translation by Mr. B. in *Bibliotheca Indica Series* 1911-1939.

10. English translation by Messrs. Ranking, Lees & Hing 1884-1925 in the *Bibliotheca Indica series*.

11. Translation by Mr. Briggs.

12. English Trans. by Abdus Salim 1902-04 in *Bibliotheca Indica Series*.

13. Elliot's Vol. III, p. 93.

14. *Ibid.* p. 94.

15. *Ibid.* p. 97.

on the sources of the history of Sultan Balban and his march against Mughisuddin Tughril of Lakhnauti is applicable to the history of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlak's march to Lakhnauti and his son Ulugh Khan's march to Warrangal. Barni narrates Sultan Firozshah's conquest of Lakhnauti in 1353 but he does not say a word on Haji Iliyas' expedition to Jajnagar in 1351 A. D. The different accounts of Firozshahi's expedition to Jajnagar bear personal testimony of the authors.

Yahiya seems to have derived materials from his predecessors excepting perhaps Minhaj and he has written in the introductions that "The facts have been gathered from various histories and recorded upto the coronation of the powerful × × Firozshah, the deceased emperor, and after that event whatever was witnessed (by the author) has been written."¹⁶

As the controversy over the identification of Jajnagar is based on the text of Zia Barni's references to Jajnagar in his *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, let us see how Barni's text helps us in ascertaining the geographical position of Jajnagar.

Zia Barni is the earliest authority on the following historical points:—

(1) Sultan Balban's march to Lakhnauti and then to Sunargaon lying on the way to Jajnagar against Mughisuddin Tughril of Lakhnauti in 1280-81 A. D.¹⁷

(2) In 1321 Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlak sent his eldest son Ulugh Khan with an army against Warangal and Tilang¹⁸ "The name Arangal was changed to Sultanpur and all the country of Tilang was conquered."¹⁹ "The Prince then marched towards Jajnagar and there took 40 elephants."²⁰

(3) "At this time × × the Sultan resolved to march against Lakhnauti, and he sent courtiers to summon Ulugh Khan from Bengal. He made him his vice-regent, and placed all the affairs of the kingdom under his management during his own absence. He then marched to Lakhnauti × ×. When the Sultan reached Tirhut, the ruler of Lakhnauti, Sultan Nasiruddin came forth with great respect to pay homage to the Sultan. × × × Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Sunargaon made resistance × × ×, but a cord was thrown upon his neck."²¹

16. *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*.

17. Elliot Vol. III, pp. 115-119.

18. *Ibid.* p. 231.

19. *Ibid.* p. 233.

20. *Ibid.* p. 234.

21. *Ibid.* p. 234.

Ulugh Khan's return to Delhi from Warangal has not been described by Barni, but he was present at Delhi before the return of Sultan Ghiyasuddin from Lakhnauti and both father and son met at Tughlikabad where the Sultan died.

The position of Warangal in Telingana and Lakhnauti and Sonargaon in Bengal gives the limit of the extension of Jainagar according to Barni's account. Barni's information on Jainagar is certainly based on Minhaj's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* which describes that Jainagar was on the south-western frontier of Lakhnauti; his information on Jainagar in connection with Tughril's expedition to Jainagar in 1279 A. D. and his capture on the border of Jainagar in 1280-81 and Ulugh Khan's expedition to Jainagar from Warangal in 1323 A. D. is based on traditions or records current in Delhi and so Barni was fully aware of the exact geographical position of Jainagar which was bounded by the Bhagirathi branch of the Ganges on the north and the Godavari on the south. But the printed text of Barni's book shows that Sunargaon lay on the way to Jainagar and this leads us to conclude that the limit of Jainagar and this from the Bhagirathi to the border of Assam. But such a conclusion becomes impossible due to the existence of Sundarbans at the head of the Bay of Bengal. Thus Zia Barni cannot be made responsible for narrating such an absurd situation of Jainagar beyond the east of the Bhagirathi and the Meghna and in the area of Tripura where even tradition is silent about its ancient name of Jainagar. But J. Wise²² recorded that according to tradition the old name of Tipperah was Jahajagar or the city of ships. We are, therefore, forced to conclude that either there is some defect in Barni's text which are available to us or his text has been wrongly deciphered and written by the copyists. It appears that both are possible.

The details of Barni's account of Sultan Balban's invasion of Lakhnauti and the pursuit of the rebellious Tughril on the frontier of Jainagar and the offer of alliance by Danuj Rai of Sunargaon soon after Sultan's arrival there, are corroborated by the account of Nizamuddin²³ and Ferishtah. But Badauni narrates the story as follows:—

"Sultan Ghiyasuddin brought up an army against Tughril but he went towards Jainagar and Tarkilla (Narkia) and Malik Ikhtiaruddin Beg Birlas was ordered to pursue him, the Rai of Sunargaon named Dhanuj offering his services to the Sultan engaged to bring Tughril and Malik Ikhtiruddin proceeding by forced marches found Tughril, who had fled into a jungle, walking about off his guard, and having put him to death he sent his head to the court."²⁴

22. J. A. S. B. 1874, p. 83.

23. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* Vol. I, pp.

24. *Muntakhabat-i-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 186.

Yahiyas's account of this event is quoted below in which it will be found that there is no mention of Sunargaon or Jajnagar.

"Learning that the king was personally taking the field, Tughril retired to Narkila on a boat. The Sultan sent out Malik Ikhiaruddin Nek Tars with a strong force to seize Tughril."²⁵

Then follows the description of the interview of Sultan Balban with Danuj Rai who promised by every possible means to bring Tughril before the Sultan.

"The Sultan, then, set out with successive marches, and on his reaching Lakhnauti, *Tughril out of dread, retired to the forest* and was followed by the imperialists. Malik Nek Tars fell upon Tughril and imprisoned him alive. Later he flayed Tughril and sent his body to the Sultan."²⁶

In the extracts quoted below it is found that Tughril made preparation for retreat to a safe place at the time of attack and selected Narkila where he went in a boat. Tughril's preparation at Narkila was a cause of apprehension for Rai Danuj of Sunargaon and so he lost no time in seeking protection from Sultan Balban and wrote a letter "informing the Sultan of his intending visit for the purpose of paying him respect, and requesting him that he would stand up on his arrival. The fact was that Muslim king ought not to show proper respect to an infidel made Sultan pensive."²⁷ The details of interview as narrated by Yahiya was arranged in such a way that the honour and prestige of both were fully maintained. The slackening of the rule of reception by the Sultan in the case of Danuj Rai indicates the anxiety of the Sultan for Tughril whom he wanted to crush by all possible means as the Sultan was defeated twice by his own slave. Balban would not have agreed to the proposal of Rai of Sunargaon if the interview would have been granted at Sunargaon which would have been very easily occupied by him. The narrative of the details of the interview of the Raim of Sunargaon with Sultan Balban is not found in the works of Barni, Nizam-uddin, Badaoni and Ferishta. It is not understood why in Yahiya's work Sunargaon and the name of place where the interview took place are omitted, but as he puts the narrative of Balban's march to Lakhnauti after the interview, it seems that interview took place at Delhi.

The expression *on the boat* used by Yahiya suggests that Tughril went to Narkila by the river route and so the situation of Narkila was either on the banks of the Bhagirathi or the Padma of the Ganges. Yahiya only mentions Narkila, but Badaoni mentions Jajnagar, Narkila and Sunargaon. Jajnagar

25. Tarikh-i Mubarakshahi, p. 39.

26. *Ibid.* p. 40.

27. *Ibid.* pp. 39-40.

is not found in any old map, but Sunargaon and Narkila are found in Blaeu's map (1650 A. D.) Van Den Brouke's map (1660 A. D.) and Rennel's map (1779 A. D.) in east Bengal near Dacca but no such places are found in the west Bengal. Blochmann writes that "along the lower Ganges the old maps have x x Noorkuly or Noricoel, as Van den Brouke gives it, (Norikol due south of Dhaka, and a little south of the right bank of the Kirtinasa)." ²⁸

As Narkila of Yahiya and Badaoni can be visited by boat from Lakhnauti, its identification with Norikul situated not far from Dacca and Sunargaon is quite possible. The Eastern Bengal was not occupied by Muslims before 1280 A. D. and so a place called Hajinagar (*e g.* a nagar built by a Haji or one who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca) is altogether impossible. Hajinagar or Jainagar may be a mistake for Jahajinagar, the old name of Tripura.

How a copyist's mistake baffles the identification of place names has been best illustrated by the following note of W. Haig.

The difference between Nagaur and Bagor in Persian script is but slight, consisting in the change of position of one dot, and nothing would be more natural than for a copyist, ignorant, like most of his class of geography, encountering the comparatively unfamiliar name of Bagor to jump to the conclusion that there must have been some mistake, and to substitute the name of the well-known town Nagaur, but it is incumbent on all editing or using works in Persian script to follow geographical details on a map, if absurdities are to be avoided." ²⁹

Haig's remark is fully applicable for the Persian script of Jainagar, Hajinagar and Jahajinagar and as the scribe was not familiar with Jahajinagar substituted either Hajinagar or Jainagar in its place in the text of Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*. By the acceptance of text as Jahajinagar or the question of identification of Jainagar on the frontier of Sunargaon with Tippera does not arise at all.

In the account Balban's march against Tughril, Hajinagar has been printed at pages 82, 83, 86, 87 and 88 and Jainagar only once at page 89 in the printed text of Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*. Dowson notes that "the printed text has Hajinagar, an obvious blunder. The manuscripts correctly give Jainagar." ³⁰ The text of Hajinagar should be read Jainagar as suggested by Dowson because Tughril actually invaded Orissa in 1279 A. D. According to previous information and arrangement with the Rai of Sunargaon Balban

28. Geography and History of Bengal, J. A. S. B, 1873, p. 232.

29. J. R. A. S. 1921, p. 586.

30. Elliotts Vol. III, p. 112 F. N. 2.

perhaps marched straight from Lakhnauti to Sunargaon Bengal. If so Barni's text of Hajnagar at pages 86, 87, 88 and 89 should be Jahaj Nagar which was the ancient name of Tripura (Tippera) and so the identification of Jahaj Nagar with Tripura will be quite reasonable with the change of text noted above. But if Balban had to return from Sunargaon to Lakhnauti for the failure of Tughril's pursuit in the Eastern Bengal, Barni's text at pages 86 and 88 should be read as Jainagar and that at page 87 as Jahaj Nagar. If Sunargaon is accepted as a copyist's mistake for Saptagram or Satgaon as suggested by Blochmann,³¹ Barni's text at all places stands for Jainagar. As no authentic information has yet been discovered regarding Danuj Rai and his kingdom, Blochmann's suggestion seems to be very valuable.

The material differences in the text of Barni and Yahiya, suggest that a portion of Barni's text is missing otherwise the details of interview of the Rai of Sunargaon as narrated by Yahiya are irrelevant and meaningless. As Balban was a veteran soldier he fully realised the importance of friendship with the Rai of Sunargaon, a neighbouring kingdom of Lakhnauti the ruler of which was the most hated enemy of the Sultan. The promise of the Rai of Sunargaon to bring Tughril before the Sultan by every possible means frustrated the plan of Tughril's choice of Narikul as a place of concealment and so instead of going to that place he fled into the forest on the frontier of Jainagar before Sultan Balban's arrival at Lakhnauti. Zia Barni's text at page 86 supports Yahiya's narrative relating to Tughril's departure by the road towards Jainagar and not by the river on the boat. Barni's text runs as follows:—

"Rahe Jainagar girit EK Manzil az Lakhnauti der rahe Khuski peshtar rafta firod amad."³²

"He took the road to Jainagar and after going forward one manzil (or one day's journey) from Lakhnauti on the dry road halted there."

But Dowson puts the translation of the printed text as follows from which the routes of departure of Tughril are not clear which may be the land route or the river route.

"He took the way to Jainagar and halted at a dry place ; one day's journey from Lakhnauti."³³

The road to Jainagar from Lakhnauti means the road on the right bank of the Bhagirathi. According to De Barros' map (1550, and Blaeu's map (1650) the country of Gajapati (written

31. J. A. S. B. 1873, p. 239.

32. Barni Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, p. 86.

33. Elliot's History of India Vol. III, p. 116.

in the map as Cospetir) with the town Mandaran lay south of Lakhnauti. Mandaran was included in the kingdom of the Gajapati kings of Orissa which was known to Muslim historians as Jainagar. Tughril was captured on the frontier of Jainagar and from this it can be inferred that he was captured in the district of Hoogly of Bengal as Mandaran lies to south western border of the district.

The geographical position of Jainagar of the Muslim historians will be quite clear from the different directions. It was invaded by the muslim kings century after century and for this purpose the expeditions to Jainagar are noted below in the chronological order.

No.	Direction.	Year.	Expedition led by to Jainagar.	Reference.
1	From Lakhnauti Bengal.	1205 A.D.	Sheran brothers were deputed towards Lakhnauti and Jainagar.	Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 573.
2	Do.	1211 A.D.	Ghiyasuddin Iwaz used to receive tribute from Jainagar, Bang, Kamrud and Tihut.	<i>Ibid</i> , p. 587-88, Hunter's Orissa Vol. II, p. 4.
3	Do.	1243-46 A.D.	Fight of Muslim Governors of Lakhnauti with Rai of Jainagar.	Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, pp. 738-39, 762-63.
4	Do.	1279 A.D. 1280 A.D.	Mughisuddin Tughril's and Balban's march towards Jainagar.	(1) Zia Barni's T. F., p. 82. (2) Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 108. (3) Firishtah Vol. I. p. 260. (4) Riyazus Salatin, p. 79.

No.	Direction.	Year.	Expedition led by to Jajnagar.	Reference.
5	From Telengan	1323 A.D.	Ulugh Khan's Expedition to Jajnagar from Warrangal.	(1) Barni, p. 450. (2) Yahiya, p. 96. (3) T. Akbari, Vol. I, p. 213. (4) Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 405. (5) Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 299. (1) Sirati-Firuzshahi, J.R.A.S.B. 1942, p. 75. (2) Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. III, p. 421. (3) Riyazus Salatin 98, (1) Afif's Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi. (2) Sirat-i-Firuzshahi. (3) Ain Ulmulk letters J.A.S.B. 1923, pp. 278-90. (4) Yahiya, p. 135-36. (5) Nizamuddin, Vol. I, p. 247. (6) Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 329. (7) Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 452. Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 348.
6	Lakhnauti Bengal	1351 A.D.	Shamsuddin Iliyas Shah ...	
7	Bihar	1360 A.D.	Sultan Firuzshah Tughlaq ...	
8	Bihar	1393-94	(i) Sultan Us-Sharq proceeded as far as Jajnagar and took possession of it. (ii) The Ray of Jajnagar and Badshah of Lakhnauti sent to him the presents and tribute which they had every year sent to Sultan Firuzshah. Sultan Hussang of Malwa ...	Nizamuddin, Vol. I, p. 273.
9	Malwa or Central India & Central Provinces.	1421		(1) Nizamuddin, Vol. III, pp. 475-77. (2) Fershtah, Vol. IV, pp. 178-79.

From above it is clear that Jainagar was approached by the Muslim invaders from Bengal, Bihar, Central Provinces and Madras, and looking at the map of Eastern India one can safely say that the position of Jainagar in the map is the same as that of Orissa, Orissa States and the bordering districts of Bengal, Bihar, Central Provinces and Madras, Shams-i-Siraj Afif writes a verse at page 169 saying that "when the army occupied Jainagar, it occupied the whole of Orissa (Odisha)" in his Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. So in the 14th century A.D. the popularity of Orissa, the second name of Jainagar, was well-established and this contemporary evidence supports geographical position of Jainagar noted above. There are some epigraphic and literary evidences which mention Jainagar (Corruption of Yayatinagar) and corroborate the narratives of the medieval historians and I like to discuss them in a separate paper.

THE KINGDOM OF KĀMARUPA AND KAMATĀ IN THE 14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES.

BY

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The political history of the kingdom of Kamarupa in the later medieval age is yet to be written. The epigraphic sources for the ancient and early medieval age though not as profuse as one would wish are adequate not only to furnish us with a fairly accurate chronology from the 4th to 12th century A.D. but also to give us a rough picture of the social and political conditions of the time. From the 12th century A.D. these important sources of information completely dries up and we are left completely in the dark as to what happened to the country during the period immediately preceeding the rise of the Koch power under Biswa Singha. Fortunately however, the contemporary and later literature come to our help and shed some light on this otherwise dark period. I shall endeavour in the following pages to piece together the scrappy evidences lying scattered in various literary works with a view to construct a chronology of the Kings of Kamatā and Kāmarupa in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Of these literary sources the foremost in point of historical value are the works of Harihara Bipra, Hema Saraswati and Kaviratna Saraswati who as I shall show presently wrote in the second half of the 14th century A.D. Next in importance are the various Guru Charits or the biographies of Sri Sankar Deva the famous Vaisnavite reformer of Assam and his associates.

In the third place must be mentioned the Raj-bansawalis or royal genealogies compiled comparatively in modern times but embodying historical traditions contained in earlier historical or semi-historical works.

Harihara Bipra translated the Aswamedha parva of the Mahabharata and Hema Saraswati composed the Prahlad Charitra based on the Bāmana Purāna. Both of them clearly state that they composed their respective works in the reign of King Durlabha Nārāyana of Kamatā. Kaviratna Saraswati who seems to have been their junior contemporary was the author of Jayadratha-badha. Kaviratna also makes the definite statement that his father Chakrapani had held the office of a shiodar in the village of *Chotasila* under King Durlabha Nārāyana of Kamatā and that he himself was a contemporary of King Indra Nārāyana the son of Durlabha Nārāyana. From the works of these three contemporary poets Durlabha Nārāyana and his son Indra Nārāyana seem to have been powerful kings aspiring after the title of 'Pancha Gaudeswar' i.e., the lord of the five Gaudas. These writers do not mention any date. To find out the date of Durlabha Nārāyana we must fall back on later literature. The Charit puthis especially the biographies of Sri Sankar Deva invariably make mention of King Durlabha Nārāyana of Kāmarupa and Kamatā in connection with the account of the Barabhuyān. It is narrated that Durlabha Nārāyana of Kāmarupa and Kamatā received from his friend the ruler of Gauda seven families of Brāhmans and seven families of Kāyasthas whom he settled within his kingdom. Of those who thus came to Kāmarupa Chandibara the great-great-grandfather of Sri Sankar Deva was considered the ablest and the most intelligent and king Durlabha Nārāyana conferred on him the title of Siromoni Bhuyan i.e. the chief of the Bhuyana. The unanimous testimony of all the Guru Charits so far available goes to prove that Durlabha Nārāyana was a contemporary of Chandibara. The authors of the Guru Charits and what is more important Sri Sankar Deva himself have furnished us with the genealogy of the family of Chandibara. Counting back from the known date of Sankar Deva's birth it is therefore possible to arrive at the date of Chandibara and his patron Durlabha Nārāyana. Sankar Deva was born in 1449 A. D. We are told by Rāmānanda Dwija in his Sankar Charit that Sankar Deva was born when his father Kusumbara had passed 29 years.¹ This brings us to 1419 A. D. the year of Kusumbara's birth. Kusumbara was the eldest son of Suryyabara and the latter the eldest son of Rājadhara. So it is quite reasonable to suppose that Rājadhara Kusumbara's grand-father was born in (1419-30-30) 1359 A. D. We are further told by the Gurucharits that Rājadhara was born after Chandibara had stayed in Kama-

1, Sankar Charit, by Ramananda Dwija M. S. in K. A. S. 92.

rupa for a few years. Chandibara, therefore, must have come to Kamarupa sometime in the fifties of the 14th century at the earliest. This seems to be corroborated also by a passage in the Rajbansawali by Suryadev-Sidhanta Bagis to the effect that the Bhuyan was born in 1238 *saka*.¹ N. N. Vasu in his Social History of Kamrupa quotes this date as 1236 *saka* but he translates the passage in question as the "Bhuyans rose to power in the year 1236 of the *saka* era."² I do not see any reason why the passage should not be translated literally. So rendered the passage in question means 'the Bhuyan was born in *saka* 1236' or 1238 according to another version. I am inclined to believe that the reference is to the birth of Chandibara—the first Siromani Bhuyan. If this assumption is correct then Chandibara was about 40 years of age when he came to Kamarupa. This is not unlikely as Chandibara must have been a man of experience and age before he could impress the King of Gauda by his intelligence and abilities as mentioned in the Guru Charits.

On the whole it is fairly certain that Chandibara came to Kamarupa sometime in the fifties of the 14th century at the earliest when Durlabha Narayana was the King of Kamata.

The Sankar Charit by Ramcharan Thakur, however, makes Durlabha Narayana the King of Gauda and makes mention of one Dharmapala the King of Kamarupa and Kamata, and his son Tamradhwaja. Excepting Ramcharan Thakur none of the earlier authors of the Guru Charits gives the name of the King of Gauda the contemporary of Durlabha Narayana. There are reasons to doubt the authenticity of the work attributed to Ramcharan Thakur. In this particular respect at least the evidence furnished by the works of Daitari Thakur and Ramananda Dwija corroborated by the unanimous testimony of three contemporary poets is more reliable. In his Early History of Kamarupa Late Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua has made an attempt to reconcile these two conflicting accounts. But in so doing he has made confusion worse confounded by misinterpreting certain passages of Ramcharan Thakur. He believes that Dharmapala the King of Kamata and Kamarupa had a quarrel with his cousin Durlabha Narayana and that on the cessation of hostilities there was a division of the kingdom. The Northern and eastern part with Kamatapur went to Durlabha Narayana and Dharmapala retained the territories to the south including perhaps Rangpur and Dinajpur districts which he ruled from his head quarters at Ghoraghat. Ramcharan Thakur does nowhere make any mention of Ghoraghat. The passage in question speaks of ঘরঘাট³ i. e. one's own landing place which

1. "Ba a Athatris Sake Bhuyan Upajila"—Rajbansawali.
2. The Social History of Kamrupa by N. N. Vasu, p. 6 Vol. II.
3. ঘরঘাট (Gharghat).

the Late Rai Bahadur read as¹ বোরাঘাট. In one version of the work of Rāncharan Thakur, we have বরঘাট² i. e. the chief or great landing place in place of বরঘাট. The theory of partition erected mainly on the supposition that Dharmapāla had his head-quarters at Ghorāghat, thus does not bear scrutiny. In the absence of further corroborative evidence it is not possible to assign to Dharmapāla the father of Tamaradhwaja a place in the chronology of Kamarupa Kings on the sole testimony of Rāncharan Thakur. One can only guess that he might be some ruler of Eastern Kamarupa and possibly a contemporary of Durlabha Nārāyana.

In his History of Assam Sir E. A. Gait makes a passing reference to Durlabha Nārāyana and says "one of the legends of the Bāra Bhuyān mentions Durlabha Nārāyana as a Raja of Kamatā and if it can be relied on, he would seem to have ruled at the end of the thirteenth century."³ Sir E. A. Gait was led to doubt the reliability of the stories regarding the Bāra-Bhuyān because they were 'various' and 'to a great extent mere legends.' The various accounts of the Bāra Bhuyān need not be characterised as mutually conflicting because as he himself has observed they refer to entirely different groups of chiefs. Sir E. A. Gait failed to take note of the important fact that number twelve in the expression Bāra-Bhuyān is merely suggestive of a big number and should not be taken literally. It is futile therefore, to trace the history of those characterised as Bāra-Bhuyāns to any group of twelve families that entered Kamarupa in a certain period of her history. As to the legendary character of the account of the Bāra-Bhuyān whatever may be said of the Bhuyāns of the North Bank in Eastern Assam, there is nothing in the account of the Siromani Bhuyāns that cannot find a place in sober history. Following Late Gunābhīram Barooa Sir E. A. Gait has placed Durlabha Nārāyana at the end of the 13th century but as it has already been shown he could not have commenced his reign very much earlier than the fifties of the 14th century. In fact it will be quite reasonable to place him in the third quarter of the century.

As to the extent of his kingdom and the character of his administration we have little information. Kaviratna Saraswati mentions the name of the village Chotasilā where his father held the office of shiqdar under King Durlabha Nārāyana. Rai Bahadur Barooa has identified this village with one in the present Barpetā Subdivision. Chandibara was settled by Durlabha Nārāyana at a place called Lengāmāguri a few miles north of the present town of Gauhati. It is therefore certain that Durlabha Nārāyana's

1. বোরাঘাট (Ghoraghat).
2. বরঘাট (Bharghat).
3. History of Assam, E. A. Gait, first ed., pp. 37-41.

kingdom included in the east the present district of Kāmarupa. Whether it extended beyond Kāmarupa is not certain. The eastern part of the ancient kingdom of Kāmarupa seems to have been ruled by princes of one or more different dynasties. It is just possible that Dharmapala the father of Tamradhwaja mentioned by Rāmcharan Thākur was one of such princes.

Durlabha Nārāyana seems to have tried to establish a well ordered administration and was liberal enough to adopt Muslim institutions when found suitable and efficient. Durlabha Nārāyana's appointment of Chakrapani as Shiqdar not only points to the King's knowledge of muslim administrative institutions but also affords an interesting sidelight on the mutual interactions of Hindu and Muslim ideas and practices in the sphere of politics. But in spite of all his efforts Durlabha Nārāyana does not appear to have been quite successful in ensuring peace to his people. The country was subjected to frequent inroads of the Bhotias—the inhabitants of the Bhotan hills and we are told that on one occasion Chandibara's son Rajadhara himself was kidnapped by a gang of Bhotias. The country was also not completely free from foreign invasions. There is numismatic evidence for an invasion of Kāmarupa by Sultan Sikandar Shah of Bengal in 1356¹ A. D. This must have taken place in the early part of Durlabha Nārāyana's reign. The coin of Sikandar Shah dated 759 A. H. issued from Kamru suggests that the invader had a decisive victory which entitled him to issue coins in Kāmarupa. But the victory was short lived as he had to make a hasty return to defend his kingdom against Emperor Firoz Shah Tughlak. For the rest of his reign Durlabha Nārāyana was on the whole undisturbed. How long Durlabha Nārāyana reigned we do not know but Kaviratna Saraswati informs us that he was followed on the throne by his son Indra Nārāyana. Indra Nārāyana seems to have been able not only to maintain the integrity of his inheritance but perhaps to extend its frontiers. Kaviratna Saraswati expresses his desire that by the grace of God Siva Indra Nārāyana would be the Lord of the five Gaudas. Evidently he showed some promise and was expected to outshine his father. Indra Nārāyana must have ceased to reign before the century closed.

From numismatic evidence it appears that there was an invasion of Kamatā and Kāmarupa by a Sultan of Bengal towards the close of the 14th century.² Reference to a Yavana invasion about this time is also found in the Yoginitantra.³ This invasion

1. A History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy—S. N. Bhattacharyya, p. 63.

2. A History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy—S. N. Bhattacharyya, p. 64.

3. Yoginitantram Edited by Kalimohan Bhattacharyya, p. 49.

took place either towards the close of the reign of Indra Nārāyana or in the early part of the reign of his successor. Nothing else is known for more than thirty years. Even our literary sources dry up. About the thirties of the next century the veil of mist is again lifted. Historical tradition recorded in the Kāmrupar Burānji, Dr. Wade's *An Account of Assam* and the *Danarg Rajbansāwali* by Ratikanta Dwija make mention of a King named Ārimatta. Popular traditions about this king are also widely prevalent all over the Brahmaputra Valley. Ruins of cities, roads, embankments, tanks and dried up rivers are associated with his memories in widely scattered areas. These seem to suggest that he exercised sway over a very wide area. The various accounts of Ārimatta shorn of minor discrepancies agree in stating that he killed Durlabhendra King of Kamatā and proceeding towards Kāmarupa, killed the reigning monarch and established his head quarters there. He also founded a city in Pratappur near Biswanāth in Tezpur which subsequently seem to have become the capital of the kingdom under his successors. Kāmarupa Burānji and Dr. Wade's *An Account of Assam* assign 240 years from 1160 *saka* to 1400 *saka* to Ārimatta and his three successors Sukarānka, Sutarānka and Mrigānka. The *Rajbansawali* on the other hand, places the end of the reign of Mrigānka in 1411 *saka*. All these works are, however, unanimous in stating that after Mrigānka the country was ruled by the Bāra-Bhuyāns and was invaded by Sultan the son of Hussain Shah of Gaur. Hussain Shah invaded Kamatā and Kāmarupa towards the close of the 15th century. Mrigānka's reign therefore must have closed a few years earlier. This very well agrees with the *Rajbansawali* which states that as Mrigānka was without a male heir he raised to the throne in 1411 *saka* a Brahman named Jay Singha who ruled for 3 years. That Mringānka died without leaving any male heir is also supported by the Kāmrupa Burānji and Dr. Wade's *Account* but the last year of Mringānka's reign according to these two works was 1400 *saka*. It is therefore, fairly certain that Ārimatta's dynasty ended with Mrigānka some time between 1478 A. D. and 1489 A. D. But it is simply absurd to assign 240 years to four generations as the Burānjis do or 251 years to three generations as the *Rajbansawali* does, and to place Ārimatta in 1160 *saka*. In one version of the *Rajbansawali* we have the reading 1360 *saka* in place of 1160 *saka*.¹ I am inclined to believe that this is the correct version. From the way in which the events are narrated in the *Rajbansawali* it is clear that the year given for Ārimatta was the last year of his reign. If Ārimatta's reign ended in 1360 *saka* i. e. 1438 A. D. his struggle with Durlabhendra must be placed not later than the twenties of the 15th century. Rai Bahadur K. L. Barooa has identified Durlabhendra with Indra Nārāyana and

1. Quoted in *Kayastha Samajar Itibritta*—H. D. Barua, p. 30.

thinks that the names of Indra Nārāyana and his father Durlabha Nārāyana were wrongly combined in Durlabhendra Nārāyana. Such wild conjectures are wholly uncalled for. It is quite probable that Durlabhendra belonged to the line of Durlabha Nārāyana but he might or might not be the immediate successor of Indra Nārāyana. The Assamese Buranji known as the 'Swarganarayan Mahārājā Janma Charitra' recently published by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, under the title Assam Buranji makes Durlabhendra the son of the King of Kamatā defeated by Hussain Shah of Bengal. But the Buranji also mentions with slight difference the struggle between the King of Kamatā and Ārimatta. In the face of the unanimous testimony of all other authorities placing Ārimatta and his successors in the period preceeding the invasion of Kamatā by Hussain Shah it is not possible to entertain the evidence furnished by this Buranji. Moreover in the brief interval between the invasion of Hussain Shah in 1498 A. D. and the rise of the Koch power under Biswa Singha in 1515 A. D. there is hardly any room for Ārimatta and his three successors. It is also significant that among the petty chiefs whom Biswa Singha confronted and defeated the name of none of the successors of Ārimatta occurs.

Ārimatta must have ruled over an extensive Kingdom stretching from Kamatapur in the west and Pratappur in the east. He was succeeded in 1438 by his son who has been named differently as Nārang and Sukarānga in the Rajbansawali and the Buranjis respectively. Nārang-Sakarānga was followed on the throne by his son Kusānka of the Rajbansawali and Sutarānka of the Buranjis. Then came the last of the line Mrigānka. The successors of Ārimatta do not appear to have been very strong rulers. Under them the integrity of the kingdom seems to have been impaired and Kamatā fell apart. The transfer of the headquarters to Pratappur a city in the eastern most part of the kingdom not only indicate the loss of the western portion of the former kingdom but seems to suggest that the kings were even hard pressed from the west. Rai Bahadur K. L. Barooa on the other-hand believes that Ārimatta's successors 'were kings of Kamatā who had but little influence over eastern Assam. His reasons are firstly Ārimatta's successors are more or less unknown in the Assam Valley and secondly the powerful Chutiā Kings were ruling in north-eastern Assam. Rai Bahadur Barooa however, has not been able to show that there are popular traditions about the successors of Ārimatta in Kamatā any more than in Assam Valley. If they are 'more or less unknown in Assam Valley' they are not better known in Kamatā. As to the 'powerful Chutia Kings' it must be remembered that in the latter half of the 15th century they were already reduced to the defensive by the rising power of the Ahoms with whom they came into hostile contact as early as 1364-76 and 1380-89. The Chutia kingdom in the 15th century seems to have been confined solely to the north east corner of

Assam represented by the present Lakhimpur Sub-Division and Sadiya. The Chutias ruling over this tract could not possibly prevent the descendants of Arimatta from ruling at Pratappur. Historical traditions mentioned above invariably associate such places as Aswakranta, Biswanath, and Pratappur with the successors of Arimatta. There can be therefore, no doubt that these princes ruled over the territory between Gauhati and Biswanath. Their failure to keep hold over Kamata must have resulted in a sort of anarchy in that part of the land. Taking advantage of such a situation an adventurous youth succeeded in establishing royal authority over Kamata and founded a new dynasty. The history of the Khen dynasty founded by Niladhwaja, based on the traditions recorded by Buchanan Hamilton is too well-known to need mention. While Niladhwaja, Chakradhwaja and Nilambara were ruling over Kamata the three descendants of Arimatta were ruling over the territory to the east of Kamata from their headquarters at Pratappur. Then came the whirlwind of the invasion by Hussain Shah of Bengal in the wake of which both the kingdoms perished. When the invading army withdrew we are presented with the strange spectacle of a host of petty chiefs called the Bhuyans exercising independent sway over groups of villages large and small, and constantly at war with one another. This was the state of things in central and western Assam at the beginning of the 16th century. The history of the rise of the Koch power under Biswa Singha and his son Nar Narayana and its conflict with the rising power of the Ahoms belong to the 16th century.

SIDELIGHTS ON THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL MEWAR

BY

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Our information about the different aspects of the history of medieval Mewar is admittedly unsatisfactory. Only a few scholars have so far taken active interest in this neglected branch of Indian history, and their attention has been concentrated upon political history. Fortunately some inscriptions printed in *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* (published by the Bhavanagar Archaeological Department) contain interesting information relating to administration, social condition and religion in medieval Mewar.

We shall begin with an inscription of Allata (V. S. 1010, A. D. 953) found in the temple of Sarnesvar at Udaipur. It is probable that it was brought to this temple at a later period

from some other temple of which no sings are now to be found in the neighbourhood. It describes Allata as '*Medinipati*' (Lord of the world)—certainly an inappropriate title for the ruler of a petty State. The following dignitaries are mentioned: '*Sandhi—Vigrahika*' (Minister of Peace and War), '*Amatya*' (Minister), '*Akshapatala*' (Judge?), '*Vandipati*' (Superintendent of Gaols?), '*Goshtika*' (Guardian? Custodian?), '*Vishagadhiraja*' (Court Physician?), '*Kayastha*' (Scribe). As regards weights and measures we get two terms: '*Tula*' (a measure of weight of gold and silver, about 145 ounces Troy). '*Adhaka*' (a measure of grain, nearly 7 lbs. 11 ozs. avoirdupois). The inscription makes provision for the maintenance of a temple dedicated to Murari (the temple in which it is now found is dedicated to Siva). This shows that Vaishnavism was not unknown in Mewar even in the tenth century. It is interesting to note that the temple was to be maintained by contributions from different classes of people: "(The owner of) an elephant should give one Drama; (the owner of) a horse two pieces of silver; (the owner of) a horned animal one-fortieth of a Drama; from the shop of a seller of worn-out clothes and ornaments(?) one *Tula* and one *Adhaka*. On the eleventh of the bright fortnight, a small pail (of milk) from the shop of confectioners; one bag from the gamblers, and a pala-ful (about 2½ tolas) from every oil mill, and at the end of a month, a silver-piece from the sellers of dressed-food(?) The sellers of flowers to present a four-stringed garland every day."

A mutilated inscription of Naravahana (V. S. 1028, A. D. 971) found in the temple of Natha near Udaipur is interesting from the standpoint of religious history. It refers to the worship of Ekalinga¹ and invokes the blessing of Sankara. The *guru* of the composer of the inscription is described as one "who was the medicine for the disease of the *Syadvad* (Jainism), who always pulled down the theories of free-thinking and who was the thunderbolt to the mountains of pride of the *Sugatas* (Buddhists)." This statement obviously implies hostility to Jainism²

1. Siva is the tutelary divinity of the Guhilots; hence Saivism may be regarded as the original religion of Mewar. The temple of Ekalinga, situated in a defile about six miles north of Udaipur, is the most important shrine of the Saivas in Mewar. The Ranas are the *Dewan*, or vicegerents, of Siva. When they visit the temple they supersede the high priest in his duties and perform the necessary ceremonies. This peculiar custom probably owes its origin to the fact that the ancestors of the Ranas were Brahmins. (See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, "Early History of the Guhilots"). In Tod's days the shrine was endowed with 24 large villages from the *Khalsa*, besides plots of land from the chiefs.

2. Tod says that Mewar always afforded refuge to the Jains and some of the Ranas gave them special privileges. (*Annals of Mewar*, Chapter XIX). In spite of their numerical weakness the Jains occupied

and Buddhism. It may be added that in this inscription Bappa is described as '*Kshitipati*' (Lord of the world).

A veiled reference to Saivism is found in a mutilated inscription discovered in the temple of Hastamata (date unknown) at Udaipur. Here Suchivarman is said to have 'burnt his foes like Siva.'

An inscription found at Chitor (V. S. 1331, A. D. 1274) begins with homage to Siva and Ganapati. Bhartribhata is described as a devotee of Siva, and Naravahana's heart is said to have been 'much pleased with (his) friendship with the lord of Gauri' (Siva). Although Saivism thus occupies a very prominent place in this inscription, there is an indirect reference to Vaishnavism also. Guhila, we are told, 'was as glorious as Vishnu.'

An inscription (V. S. 1342, A. D. 1285) found at Achalesvara on Mount Abu begins with salutations to Siva, Ganesha and Hanuman. The reference to Hanuman is very interesting, for it has no parallel in any other inscription found in Mewar. Bhoja is said to have 'worshipped the Lord of Lakshmi' (Vishnu) and Samara Simha is compared to the Boar incarnation of Vishnu "(who rescued.....the submerged land of Gurjara from the ocean-like Turushkas)." These references to Siva, Ganesha, Hanuman and Vishnu in the same inscription show that there was no sectarian animosity in Mewar towards the close of the 13th century.

An inscription (V. S. 1485, A. D. 1429) found in the temple of Ekalinga near Udaipur begins with salutations to Ganapati, Girija and Achyuta, and 'Bhagavati Bhabani' is described as the source of good fortune. These references to the worship of Sakti are specially interesting because no earlier reference to the consort of Siva has been discovered so far. The same inscription tells us that Mokala built a temple of Dvarakadhisa (Krishna). An officer called 'Senāni' (Commander of the Forces) is mentioned in this inscription.

An inscription (V. S. 1494, A. D. 1438) found at Nagada refers to the construction of a Jain temple at that place. A Jain idol was placed within the temple.

a very important place in the commercial and political life of Rajasthan in Tod's days. He says. "The officers of the state and revenue are chiefly of the Jain laity, as are the majority of the bankers, from Lahore to the Ocean. The Chief Magistrate and assessors of justice, in Oodipur and most of the towns of Rajasthan, are of this sect; and as their voluntary duties are confined to civil cases, they are as competent in these as they are the reverse in criminal cases, from their tenets forbidding the shedding of blood".

An inscription (V. S. 1496, A. D. 1440) found at Ranpur in Marwar describes Rana Kumbha as 'a *garuda* in destroying the hoards of the snake-like Mlechchha Kings.' His interest in Vaishnavism is clear from the well-known commentary on Jayadeva's *Gita-Govindam*, called *Rasika-Priya*, composed by him. But religion did not colour his political views. This inscription tells us that his favourite was 'Samghapati' (leader of company of pilgrims) Dharanaka, 'the most excellent follower of Jaina,' who had repaired and constructed Jain temples. We are told that this pious Jain made pilgrimages 'with the *farman* of the illustrious Ahammada, the Sultan.' There is no doubt that this 'illustrious Sultan' is to be identified with Sultan Ahmad Shah of Gujarat (1411-1441 A. D.). This reference to his religious toleration is specially interesting in view of Vincent Smith's statement that he was 'zealous in fighting the infidels and destroying their temples.'³

An inscription (V. S. 1545, A. D. 1489) found near Udaipur refers to Ganesha, Siva, Sankara, Mahesvara, Achyuta, Dhurjati, wife of Pasupati, Parvati, Uma and lord of Lakshmi. The frequent mention of Siva (under various names) undoubtedly shows that Saivism was the most prominent religion in Mewar even in the days of Rana Kumbha. In this inscription Vaishnavism is less prominent than the worship of Sakti (under various names). In connection with Vaishnavism, it may be noted that in this inscription Rana Laksha Simha is said to have freed the holy *tirtha* Gaya "where the cruel Saka (Kings) had made *kathās*, *Purānas*, and the *Smṛiti* doctrines useless."

An inscription (V. S. 1587, A. D. 1531-32) found on the Satrunjaya Hills in Kathiawad tells us that in the reign of Rana Ratna Simha one Karma Simha, who was 'the chief and wise among all the merchants,' 'bore the great burden of the administration of the State.' Whether he was a regular office-bearer or merely a confidential adviser of the Rana, we do not know. He repaired the temple of Adisvara lying within the Kingdom of Gujarat during the reign of Bahadur Shah. This shows that Bahadur Shah continued the liberal tradition of Ahmad Shah.

An inscription (V. S. 1654, A. D. 1598) found at Sadadi in Marwar refers to the construction of a Jain temple in Rana Amar Simha's reign. It mentions a case of 11 wives burning themselves on the funeral pyre of their husband. This is probably the earliest epigraphic reference to Sati in Mewar. The last known case of Sati in Mewar occurred in 1861, when a concubine of Rana Sarup Singh was persuaded to follow the ancient custom.⁴

3. *Oxford History of India*, p. 268.

4. Erskine, *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. IIA, pp. 26-27.

Two inscriptions of Rama Raj Simha's reign (V. S. 1732, A. D. 1676), which were really copied down from a book called *Rajaprasasti* composed by a Pandit named Rinachhoda, begin with salutations to Ganesha and Krishna. It is said that at the time of the desolation of Mathura by Aurangzib Raj Singh brought to Mewar the sacred image of Krishna, which had been worshipped in that city for centuries, and placed it at Nathdwara, 22 miles north-east of Udaipur. Tod says that the endowments for Krishna far exceeded in value those assigned to Ekalinga.

GENEALOGICAL SOURCES OF THE BAGHELA DYNASTY OF REWA

BY

(AKHTAR HUSAIN NIZAMI, M. A., Durbar College, Rewa.)

Sanskrit—

(1) *Virabhanudaya-Kavyam*. The Baghela dynasty of Rewa stands almost alone among the ruling houses of Central India as one which possesses a historical Kāvya in Sanskrit written in the 16th century giving an authentic record of the early history of the family. The only known manuscript copy of this work is preserved in the Saraswati Bhandar, Rewa. Dr. Hirananda Shastri first examined it in 1925¹ and again in 1939². The book has now been published by the Rewa Durbār.³ It was composed about the year 1555 by Mādhava, son of Abhaya Chandra and dedicated to King Vira Bhānu Baghela, contemporary of Humayūn Bādshāh. The existing copy was written in 1591 for Yuvrāja Virabhadra (son and successor of Mahārāja Ramachandra) whose seal it bears. The Kāvya contains the earliest known and the most authentic genealogy of the Rewa House. The author does not bother about the origin of the Baghelas and is silent about the previous ancestors. The narrative begins very unostentatiously and makes Bhima Deva the first ancestor of the family whose son Raṅginga (Ranika, Anika) occupied Gahora,⁴ the first capital of the Baghelas. As may be expected of a poetical composition, the Kāvya gives no dates. But many later events mentioned by it are corroborated by the works of Persian historians.

1. M. A. S. I., No. 21.

2. J. B. & O. R. S., 1930.

3. Text & translation by Lele & Upadhyaya with critical analysis by Dr. Hirananda Shastri, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1938.

4. Thirteen miles to the east of Karvi in the Banda District, U. P.

(2) *Kathasaritsagar genealogy*. There is a manuscript copy of the well-known work of Somadeva in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal which, like the manuscript of the *Kāvya*, must have been an heirloom of the Rewa House. The manuscript was revised and transcribed by Rūpaṇi Sarmā in 1678 A. D. for Mahārājā Bhava Sinha of Rewa who had brought a copy from Kaśmir. Rūpaṇi has added, at the end of the copy, 99 slokas of his own composition giving a genealogy of his royal master. This genealogy was first brought to the notice of scholars by Dr. Har Dutta Sharma.⁵ The genealogy begins with Karna Deva of Gujarat, who is said to have had Sohāga Deva as his son. To Sohāga Deva was born Sāranga Deva whose son was Viśala Deva rose to prominence under the Bhars of Kālinjar and several Kings showered wealth upon him. His son was Bhima Malla Deva. (Bhima of the *Kāvya*). The genealogy, like all later ones, differs from that given in the *Kāvya* in one important respect. Between Vālana Deva, the grandson of Bhima, on one hand and Vallara Deva on the other three names are interposed, namely Dalaka, Malaka and Bariāra. This led Cunningham to identify the "Rājā Daiki-wa-Malki" of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* with the first two of these names.⁶ In the light of the *Kāvya*, however, we may take these as names of collaterals mixed up with the main line by latter genealogists.

Hnidi :—

(1) *State genealogies*. Two official genealogies prepared by the KHĀS KALAMS of Rewa in the local dialect (Bagheli) were discovered some years back among old records by Diwan Bahadur Pandit Janki Prasad, late Adviser to His Highness the Mahārājā of Rewa. They are prefixed to EKATRĀS (land-revenue registers), preserved in the Central Record Room, Rewa. Another genealogy of the same type is in the possession of Pandit Ram Bhadra Gour of Rewa. None of these genealogies is older than 18th century. These genealogies for the first time, introduce Vyāghra Deva as the eponymous progenitor of the Baghelas. The list begins with (Siddharājā) Jaya Sinha followed by Vyāghra Deva. Then follows Karna Deva. The rest of the names agree with the list of the *Kathasaritsagar* genealogy. These genealogies give dates and record names of younger sons also but the few earlier dates given are unreliable. Matrimonial connections of the rulers which they mention, are, however, trustworthy.

(2) *The Baghela Vansavali by Ajbes Ram Mahapatra*. The author was the court poet of Mahārājā Visvanāth Sinha (1833-54). A fragment of the work, written in Samvat 1892 (1835 A. D.) is

5. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Com. Vol., pp. 48-54.
6. C. A. S. R., XXI, 105.

preserved in the Saraswati Bhandar, Rewa. The family of Ajbes are in possession of another old manuscript, mutilated, imperfect and illegible at many places. Ajbes belonged to a well-known family of bards of Asni (Fatehpur District, U. P.) who claim descent from Narhari, father of Harināth. Both the latter are said to have been connected with the Baghela court. The Vanśavali of Ajbes acquired much popularity and all modern compilations on Rewa history are mainly based on this chronicle. According to Ajbes the Parihārās, Pamāras and Chauhānās are Agnivaṇśī. Brahma Chaulaka sprang from the CHULUKA of Brahmin when the latter was offering water oblations to Sūrya Nārāyaṇa. His descendants, therefore, are Sūryavaṇśī. Ajbes derives the name, Solanki, from Sulanka Chaulaka, grandson of Brahma Chaulaka, taking Chaulaka to be a surname and distinct from Sulanka or Solanki. Between Brahma Chaulaka and Karan Si of Gujrat, he gives a long list of imaginary names which run to four figures. From Karan Si he traces the royal pedigree as follows: Karan Si Siddha Rāo Jaya Siddha, Sinha Rāj, Nāga Rāj, Karunā Deva, Viradwaja and Vyāghra Deva. Vyāghra Deva is made the eponymous hero of the Baghela clan. It was he who came from Gujrat and carved out a principality in Central India called Baghelakhanda. For the latter event Ajbes gives Samvat 631 which has been taken by Luard⁷ to be the Hijri era and the starting point of the narrative of the Baghela dynasty of Rewa. But the dates of Ajbes are not to be relied upon. Genealogies written in prose by later poets in the line of Ajbes are mere paraphrased summaries of his work.

(3) *Bhaktamala (Ramarasikavali) of Maharaja Raghuraj, Sinha*. In this hagiographical compilation the royal author has related the genealogy of his own house.⁸ According to Kabirpanth tradition recorded by his father, Mahārāja Visvanath Sinha in his Kabir Bijak ki Tika,⁹ Kabir Dās related the genealogy of the Baghelas to Mahārāja Rāma Chandra at Bandhogarh and prophesied that the family will rule for 42 generations. Visvanath Sinha says he derived this information from a book—Bayālis Bansa Bistara—which he saw at Bandhogarh dated the year 1521 and written in the hand of Dharam Dās.¹⁰ Raghuraj Sinha, after alluding to this fact in the Bhaktamala, proceeds to give the genealogy in brief. Appended to the main work is the Baghela Vansāgam of Yugul Dās, written at the instance of Raghuraj Sinha, in which the genealogical account is given in some detail. According to the version followed by both these authors Vyāghra

7. Rewa State Gazetteer, p. 12.

8. Venkateswar Press, Bombay, Samvat 1971, 4th edition, pp. 733-38.

9. Benares, the Light Press, 1868.

10. Presumably the premier disciple of Kabir Das and founder of the Kabir panth, *Ibid*, p. 23.

Deva was the son of Sulanka Deva of Gujarāt. Vyaghra Deva's son Jaya Siddha migrated to Central India where Karna Deva was born to him. It will be easily seen that the origin of the Baghelas and their migration from Gujarāt given here is absurd and worthless for purposes of history. Spurious names of rulers, not recorded anywhere else, have been incorporated for several generations.

THE SUN-GOD OF KONARAK—WHERE IS HE?

BY

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The world famous temple of Konarak in Orissa was built by Raja Languda Narasingh Deo of the Ganga dynasty in the year 1277 A. D.

In the February issue of the *Modern Review* an article under the startling caption "The Sun-God of Konarak unearthed" written by Mr. Prana Krishna Samal has been published. About a decade ago a beautiful mutilated torso was discovered by mere accident in a tank called Akhda Pokhari in the town of Cuttack and it was subsequently acquired by the Ravenshaw College Museum, since transformed into the Provincial Museum of Orissa. It is a beautiful torso, no doubt, but one must be very bold to call it "the best specimen of plastic art ever produced in Orissa". Mr. Prana Krishna Samal has, by marshalling a number of arguments, tried to prove, not only that the Ravenshaw College torso is a unique image of the Sun-God, but that it is the Sun-God of the world famous Konarak temple. The presiding deity of the Konarak temple has been missing from its original place of installation for many centuries. The *Madla Panji* or the chronicle of the temple of Jagannath, a palm-leaf manuscript, records that one Narasinmha Dev, a king of the Bhoi dynasty of Orissa who visited Konarak in 1627 A. D., brought back with him the images of the Sun and the Moon and left them at the sacred temple of Jagannath at Puri.¹ Amongst the innumerable images of the temple of Puri, there are now two stone images: one of the called Indra by the local priests was identified by Bishan Swarup with the presiding deity of Konarak;² while Krupasindhu Misra disagreeing with Swarup, identified the other stone image, these

1. Prachina Gadya-Padya-darsa, p. 9, Prachi Publication.
2. Konarka by Bishan Swarup. Chap. XI.

Sun-God of the local priests, with the presiding deity of Konarak.³ Now Mr. Samal rejecting both these views, identifies the Ravenshaw College torso with the main Sun-God of Konarak and suggests that it should be removed to Konarak and placed on the pedestal there. After carefully going through the arguments of Mr. Samal and minutely examining the headless image of the Ravenshaw College I have come to the conclusion that the Ravenshaw College torso is not the presiding Sun-God of Konarak, and that it is not a Surjya (Sun) image at all. It is probably the statue of Kamadeva, the Indian god of love.

Mr. Samal identifies the Ravenshaw College torso with the Sun-God of Konarak on the following grounds. He thinks that the torso is an image of superb beauty and wonders how and when it came to be buried in Cuttack, which in his opinion was never a centre of architecture and does not contain a single temple of any great architectural value, nor any remains of any such shrine. It is well-known that Cuttack being one of the mediæval capitals of Orissa was an important centre of Orissan art and sculpture, and produced in mediæval times the majestic nine-storied fort of Barabati, the sight of which reminded La Motte in 1766 of the western portion of the famous Windsor Castle. It is true there are no temples now of any architectural value but it must be remembered that remains of old beautiful shrines are visible in and near Cuttack *i.e.* at Chowduar, which is just on the other side of the river Mahanadi opposite Cuttack. Besides, even if we take for granted the argument of Mr. Samal that Cuttack was a centre of only civic and not religious architecture, was it impossible for the mighty Kings of the Kesari and Ganga dynasty to employ Oriya sculptors of distant places to carve out a statue of any god or goddess at Cuttack for the purpose of installing it in a temple there?

Mr. Samal's second argument is that there were three distinct schools of Orissan architecture and sculpture *viz.*, the Khiching, the Bhubaneswar and the Konarak schools. This in my opinion is not true. The architecture and sculpture of these three centres which belong to the same period (roughly 8th to the 13th century) are essentially similar in inspiration, technique and modelling. The mere fact that the Ravenshaw College torso is made of bluish chlorite (Muguni stone) which was used for all the important figures of Konark lures Mr. Samal on to the conclusion that the torso was originally brought from Konarak. It seems Mr. Samal is unaware of the fact that almost all the statues of the temples of Orissa, especially of Konarak, Bhubaneswar, Puri, Jajpur and Khiching are made of chlorite. If the statues are not afterwards bathed in oil they retain their bluish

colour; if oil is put on them they turn black. So any distinction made between black and bluish chlorite statues from the point of view of schools of architecture is likely to be of no value at all.

Mr. Samal's third argument is that because the Rajarani temple of Bhubaneswar and the temple of Konarak have now no presiding deity in their original place of installation, and because the measurement of the Ravenshaw College torso does not fit in with the pedestal of the Rajarani temple but is the same as the size of the altar of the Konarak temple, this torso was the original presiding deity of Konarak. From an artistic point of view, the pedestal of a statue should be not of the same size as, but of a bigger size than the statue itself; so the fact that these two sizes tally may be cited as an argument *against* Mr. Samal's thesis. In the Jagannath temple at Puri, the pedestal of the presiding deity is large enough to accommodate not only the presiding deity but also three other statues and the priest as well. But, even if we concede for argument's sake Mr. Samal's contention that the measurement of the pedestal and the statue should tally, it may reasonably be asked whether anybody has ever made a systematic scientific architectural and sculptural survey of all the temples of Orissa with a view to find out whether the measurement of the Ravenshaw College torso does not fit in with the pedestal of any other temple of Orissa except that of Konarak. In the absence of any such data it would be unwise to agree with the conclusion of Mr. Samal that the coincidence between the measurement of the Ravenshaw College torso and the pedestal of the *Ratna-simhasan* at Konarak, should be regarded as the strongest piece of evidence in identifying the torso with the presiding deity of Konarak.

It is unnecessary for me to examine in detail all the arguments of Mr. Samal. His final argument based upon his imagination is that Kalapahad took away to Cuttack the presiding deity of Konarak, out of a malicious fancy for the deity. He says further that as there were no direct inland waterways from Cuttack to Bengal for transporting the Surjya image, and as the heavy Konarak deity could not be carried away from Cuttack to Bengal by bullock-cart or even on an elephant, he satisfied his iconoclastic zeal by breaking it into pieces and burying it in the Akhda Pokhari tank, whence the torso was accidentally recovered about a decade ago. The fact is that the statue would not have been too heavy to be carried on the back of an elephant, and the torso was actually removed from the tank to the Ravenshaw College in a bullock-cart under my supervision. If the resourceful Kalapahad really wanted it, he could have easily transported the image from Cuttack to Bengal. The weight of the image could have offered no serious transportation difficulty to one who had at his disposal the unlimited resources of Bengal and Orissa in men, money, materials and animals.

Let us now see if almost contemporary records would help us in finding out the truth. Abul Fazl in his famous *Aini Akbari* while giving us a graphic account of the origin and the ceremonies connected with the idol of Jagannath at Puri, says that "Kalapahad the general of Sulaiman Karani on his conquest of the country (Orissa) flung the image of Jagannath into the fire and burnt it and afterwards cast it into the sea."⁴ Further, while giving a detailed account of the architecture and the sculpture of the temple dedicated to the Sun at Konarak with the remark that "even those whose judgment was critical and who were difficult to please stood astonished at its sight," he does not mention any thing about Kalapahad's destruction of Konarak temple and the removal of the deity. If Kalapahad really damaged the temple and removed the presiding deity from Konarak to Cuttack, it is surprising that Abul Fazl should have kept silent over it. Mr. Samal's explanation is that because Muhammadans destroyed such a beautiful temple as Konarak Abul Fazl cleverly avoided mentioning it. He further says that Abul Fazl did not give any description of the presiding deity of Konarak because there was none in the temple in his time. Mr. Samal assumes that because Kalapahad a Muhammedan desecrated Konarak, the Muslim Abul Fazl deliberately avoided recording it owing to his sympathy for a co-religionist who seemingly would have lost his reputation, by damaging the most lavishly sculptured temple of the world. But we may ask why should Abul Fazl fight shy of trumpeting before the world the destruction of a richly carved idolatrous temple by a zealous Muslim? Why did he record the vandalism of Kalapahad at Puri and why did he keep silent over the alleged destruction of Konarak? We are of opinion that if Kalapahad really removed the presiding deity of Konarak to Cuttack, Abul Fazl must have known it and would have gladly recorded it in *Aini Akbari*, as he did in the case of the Jagannath idol of Puri. There is also the fact that there was a bitter enmity between the Moghuls and the Afghans of Bengal. If Abul Fazl, as Mr. Samal thinks, was shocked by the vandalism of Kalapahad at Konarak, so far from cleverly suppressing it, he would not have missed the opportunity of blackening the records of the Afghans in Orissa by giving it the widest publicity, as he does in the case of the Jagannath image. Where the truth could be told without hurt to their friends, historians have not been reluctant to tell it. If in the telling the truth it damages the reputation of one's enemies so much the better. Except when there is something disgraceful or doubtful in the doings of his patron Akbar which he wishes to gloss over, Abul Fazl is a reliable historian.

There is also another independent piece of evidence to doubt the veracity of Kalapahad's alleged destruction of the Konarak

4. *Aini Akbari* Translated by Gladwin, Vol. II, pp. 126-127.

temple. The Chronicle of the temple of Jagannath (*Madla Panji*) amongst other incidents of Orissan history records Kalapahad's raid on the Puri temple, the excursion of Narasimha Dev to the Konarak temple and his removal of the images of the Sun and Moon to Puri, but does not say anything about the alleged raid of Kalapahad on Konarak. The silence of the *Aini Akbari* and the *Madla Panji* regarding the alleged Konarak raid by Kalapahad would lead us to the conclusion that no such raid ever took place, for if it were true, either the *Madla Panji* or the *Aini Akbari* would certainly have recorded the episode.

Enough has been said so far to demonstrate the untenability of Mr. Samal's thesis that the Ravenshaw College torso is the missing presiding deity of Konarak. I shall now proceed to show that it is not the statue of the Sun-God at all. The image of the Sun-God is thus described by Prof. B. Bhattacharya in his *Indian Images*. "Two types of the Sun images are described in the Sanskrit books; in one he is seated on a lotus, has two hands holding lotuses, moving in a car drawn by seven horses and in the other he has either four or two hands holding lotuses, moving in a car drawn by seven horses. The charioteer, the legless Aruna, drives the horses. He is attended by two male figures and two female figures. Their names differ according to different Sanskrit books. The two female figures are his queens. On his right side is Niksubha also called Chhaya and on his left side is Rajni also called Prabha or Suvarcasa. In front of this are male figures. The one on the right is called Pingala or Kundi holding either swords or writing materials and the one on the left is called Danda holding a Sula (staff). The figure of the Sun wears an armour. There is a corpulent figure of Surya belonging to the Kushan period in the Muttra Museum. Its number is D.46. It is seated squatting on a chariot drawn by four horses. Except the number of horses this figure answers the description of the seated type of the Sun *viz.* that given above. The Sun statue discovered at Konarak, the sculpture of the Sun No. 3927, 5820, 3925 in the Indian Museum, and the colossal Sun statue at Garhwa more or less follow the lines of the description given about the standing type." The Ravenshaw College torso though agreeing with some of the above characteristics of the Sun-God as described above differs in certain essential features. The seven horses, the Aruna and the two male attendants Danda and Pingala are wanting in the torso. All the known Surya images of Orissa and especially of Konarak invariably are carved with seven horses, two female attendants Chhaya and Prabha, two male attendants Danda and Pingala, and sometimes the legless Aruna. (Compare the standing Surya image No. 1 & 2 in R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II). The Sun-God

Surya is also represented as wearing a pair of boots. For all these reasons we are inclined to think that the Ravenshaw College torso is certainly not the image of the Sun-God.

If the Ravenshaw College torso is not the Sun-God, whom does it represent? Mr. Bhattacharya has given us a description of Kamadeva which is as follows. "He is described as having either two hands or eight hands. In the case of two, he bears the symbols of a bow and an arrow made of flowers. In the case of eight hands, he holds a conch, a lotus, a bow and an arrow in his four hands, the remaining ones rest on the bodies of his wives. He has two wives called Priti and Rati and a symbol of a Makara. An image of this description was found in Bihar and is now present in the Indian Museum. Kama is the god of love and resembles the god Cupid of Europe. Kama literally means desire and his consort Priti means 'pleasure' and Rati means 'enjoyment.' The images are an allegorical representation of love and its sports. Flowers are things of enjoyment and especially used by lovers. The symbol of Makara in his image justifies his name of Makara-ketana and Makara-ddhaja. Makara is believed to be a symbol of sensual powers. "The essential features of the Ravenshaw College torso are that it is seated on a full blown lotus in *Lalitasana* left leg bent at the knee and placed horizontally under the right which is hanging down being attended by two mutilated females and worshipped by four kneeling devotees, two on each side three of whom are women and one male. The torso is profusely ornamented in arms, neck, breast and waist and wears a garland of water-lily buds. Close observation reveals that the left shoulder and the left thigh bear unmistakable signs of the top of a bow and a bit of the bow string. Behind the right shoulder can be seen a mark which probably represents the lower portion of a quiver. On the left side of the female statue, which is also seated in *Lalitasana* holding a lotus bud, is the remnant of what seems like a broken Makara and above it the representation of a lion's head. The mutilated female figure to the right is also seated in *Lalitasana* and probably holding a lotus bud, but some portions on the top of this female are broken. A noticeable peculiarity of the torso is that it has two ornaments on its right leg but only one on the left leg. It would be seen that many of the essential features of the Ravenshaw College torso tally with the essential characteristics of Kamadeva as stated above, which leads me to think that it might be Kamadeva. The Ravenshaw College torso is certainly beautiful but can not bear comparison with either of the two Surya images of Konarak. (See R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, Vol. II pages). The torso can not therefore be called the "best specimen of plastic art ever produced in Orissa."

As for the place from which it has come, who can dogmatize or even make a plausible conjecture? Orissa is full of derelict

statues, and temples are not rare without deities in them. In Cuttack itself, in Oriya Bazar, at a short distance from the Akhda Pokhari, there is a deserted temple without a deity. Tradition has it that a certain unscrupulous zamindar, desirous of acquiring the temple property had the deity in it removed to an unknown place, so that he could buy up the land adjoining the temple. For all we know, the Ravenshaw College torso may have been the idol removed from that temple: and if it was thrown into the Akhda Pokhari tank instead of the Gangamandir tank which is near the temple, this might have been done to elude those who might have looked for the missing idol, in the nearer tank. There is at least this to be said for such a theory—that it is not more fantastic than Mr. Samal's.

INDEPENDENCE OF BAHMANI GOVERNORS

BY

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A number of problems have recently been elucidated regarding the Bahmanis of the Deccan but little has yet been written about a major problem which appeals to one's imagination during the last phase of their rule, *i.e.*, the question of the date of the independence of Governors.

It is known that the end of Maḥmūd Gāwān saw the loosening of the pivot of the kingdom and the ominous attitude of Yūsuf 'Adil Aḥmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk and others pointed the way the wind was blowing. The date of the so-called independence of the governors as given to us is about 1486-1490 when it is said that Malik Aḥmad Nizāmu'l Mulk removed the Sultān's name from the *khutbah* and messengers were sent to Yūsuf 'Adil and Fathu'l-lah 'Imādu'l-Mulk to follow suit, on which they also declared their independence. Further evidence of this reaction against the hegemony of Bidar is pointed out in the change of sect on the part of the rulers of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda who became Shi'ah as against the Sunnism of the Bahmani court.

But all evidence goes to prove that not one of the rulers ever shook off the sovereignty of the Sultan so long as the last scion of the progeny of Bahman Shah sat on the throne of Muḥammadābād Bidar. The whole struggle between the centre as represented by Qasim Barid on one part and the provincial governors on the other turned on the control of the person of the Sultān

as the pivot of State. With the accession of the weak Shihabū'd-dīn Maḥmūd on 26-3-1482 each of the disgruntled amirs began to carve out principalities for himself. The process was stayed for a time by Malik Ḥasan Nizāmu'l-Mulk, but with his murder four years later there was no one at the centre to wield much influence on the far flung corners of the kingdom. The first to feel his way was Qāsim Barid himself but he thought it wise to keep his hold on the capital and its Sultān and contented himself with being appointed Prime Minister. But times had changed and the fiefholders joined together defeating Qasim at Deoni and forcing him to fly. The whole history of Bidar from now onwards is the history of the rise and fall in the fortunes of Qasim and after him his son Amir Barid and their repeated bids for the control of the king's person. It is remarkable that every time a powerful governor like the ruler of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar gets the better of the royal forces against a Barid resulting in the defeat of the king, he invariably treats him in a right royal manner as befits a suzerain, and never acts as an independent monarch.

In order to evaluate the degree of autonomy or independence attained or acquired by the governors it would be well to take into consideration certain definite facts which come into full view during the internecine feuds from 1482 onwards :—

- (1) The nobles with Malik Ahmad Nizāmu'l Mulk at their head defeated the royal forces under Qasim Barid at Deoni; the Sultān fell from his horse, was captured by the nobles and was treated by them in a right royal manner. (*Bur.*, 143, 144).
- (2) When Yūsuf 'Adil defeated the Vijayanagar forces on 29-4-1492 and captured Raichūr and Mudgel which had been taken over by Tammadeva of Vijayanagar at the instance of Qasim Barid, the conqueror probably annexed them in the name of the Sultān and sent costly presents to him at Bidar (*Ferishtah*, II, 7).
- (3) In 1493 the Sultān sent an appeal to all his governors for help against Bahādur Gilāni and both the rulers of Ahmadnagar and Berar sent their forces. The Sultān was himself received right royally by Yusuf 'Adil at Bijāpūr. The whole campaign was undertaken in the Bijapur territory and ended in Bahādur's death on 5-1-1494 (*Bur.* 153; *Fer.* I, 370).
- (4) In 1496 the Sultān ordered Yūsuf 'Adil to help him in putting down the rebellion of Dastūr Dīnār; Yūsuf 'Adil fought the rebel at Mahendri on the Sultān's left. (*Bur.*, 145, *Fer.*, I 37).
- (5) In August 1498 Yusuf 'Adil and Qutbu'l-Mulk were

summoned to the capital and besieged Osa, which was Qāsim Barid's jagir (*Bur.* 158).

- (6) In 1503, when Qāsim got himself reappointed Prime Minister, Yūsuf 'Adil and Qutbu'l-Mulk marched on the capital and defeated Qāsim, but paid homage to the Sultān at the end of the battle. (*Bur.*, 158, 159).
- (7) In 1505 it was Qāsim's turn to move against the capital, defeat the royal forces, pay homage to the Sultān and be appointed Naib Barbak. (*Bur.*, 158, 159; *Munt.*, III, 129).
- (8) On death of Yūsuf 'Adil it was the Sultān who confirmed his son Ismā'il to the Government of Bijāpūr giving him the title of 'Adil Khān, while he appointed 'Alau'd-dīn Daryā Khān to the Government of Berar and gave him the title of 'Imadu'l-Mulk. (*Bur.*, 161; *Fer.* 1 373).
- (9) In 1517 the Sultan ordered the mobilisation of troops from different parts of the kingdom, and the rulers of Ahmadnagar, Parenda, Bijapur, Golconda and Berar all came and paid homage to their sovereign lord (*Bur.*, 164).
- (10) The same year Amīr Barid persuaded the Sultan to march against Yūsuf 'Adil and a battle was fought at Alandpūr at which the royal forces were worsted and Amīr Barid took to flight. The Sultān was wounded in the affray and was taken to Bijāpūr with all respect and treated there. (*Munt.*, III 129; *Fer.*, II 16.)
- (11) As far as we know there is no evidence that the first three rulers of Bijapur even coined money and it is not till 1539 that Ibrahim 'Adil, the fourth ruler, calls himself Shah. This date may be taken the date of the Wāhyu'l-lāh's death. (*Mem. Arch. Survey of India* No. 49, p. 47).
- (12) 'Imadu'l-Mulk had *Khutbah* read in his name for the first time in 1529 (*Zafaru'l Walih*, 170).

Thus there is ample evidence that what happened in 1486-1490 was that the defiance to the state of affairs at the capital became more pronounced, but the spirit of loyalty to the Throne was persistent, and neither the ruler of Bijapur nor his contemporaries at Junair and Berar really unfurled the banner of independence. As far as Ahmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk is concerned, he did exactly what his great namesake, Nizāmu'l-Mulk Asaf Jah I did two centuries later, for both became disgusted with the spirit rampant at the capital and both became virtually anto-

nomous while remaining steadfastly loyal to the person of their sovereign. The Bahmani kingdom from 1486 right up to its extinction was like the Mughal Empire after 1764, when the ruler was utterly impotent, and while the vassals did not declare their independence in so many words they (like the European Companies of later days) carried on their work, and perhaps even issued coins in the name of the sovereign without any fear of interference from the centre.

INTER-STATE RELATIONS IN THE DECCAN SECTION I (1294 to 1347)

BY

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First Period: Period of Muslim Imperialism and Hindu Reaction (1294 to 1347)

The opening decades of the Fourteenth Century witnessed the subversion of the three Kingdoms of the Yadavas, the Hoysalas and the Kakatiyas by the conquering hordes of Islam. The people of these contiguous states had much in common, in spite of linguistic differences. They resembled each other in manners, religion and degree of social improvement. If their rulers fought with each other, they were actuated more by personal and dynastic ambitions than by any ideological differences.

The Muslim invasions inaugurated an era of bitter conflict and exterminating warfare. The Hindus of the South saw in the advance of the Crescent a grave threat to their faith and to all they held precious in life.

The intermixture of religion and politics became unavoidable. Religious interests acquired a dominating influence. The inevitable consequence was an outburst of fanaticism unparalleled before or since. Massacres and reprisals stained the course of history.

The reaction of the Deccan to the menace of the Crescent is one of the complex facts of history. The age was essentially a secular age. Neither in the bosom of Islamic society nor in the varied ranks of the Hindu world was there any intrinsic religious impulse finding outward expression in a great movement of religious revival.

The advance of Islam was due to an inevitable imperialistic impulse. Having practically completed the conquest of the North,

the Muslim conquerors turned their attention to the south. Sordid rapacity whetted their desire to carry their banners forward. The Hindus, on their side, fought for the preservation of their *Dharma* only when they gradually began to realise the extent and nature of the peril. There were, of course, other factors too goading them to resist,—a tenacious love of the homeland, and unflinching personal loyalty to their chiefs.

Alauddin Khalji was a bloody and unscrupulous tyrant who openly scoffed at religion holding that religion was only the business, or rather the amusement of private life. Malik Kafur was a daring raider, but a disgusting specimen of humanity, Mahomad Tughlaq was an accomplished scholar, deeply learned in the humanities, who held liberal and enlightened opinions. None of these was a religious enthusiast who felt called upon to lead a crusade against the infidels.

The wave of desolation that swept over the Deccan, convulsing it from end to end; was a savage ebullition, foreign to the genius and soul of Islam. It only discredited the cause of religion.

The Hindu monarchs of the time, too, were not religious fanatics but men of the world who did not scruple to war with kings of their own faith. Even in the presence of common peril, they did not unite against the foe; and as soon as the invader turned his back, they felt to fighting with each other again. Ballala III temporised with the enemy, purchasing immunity for the time being by abject surrender. The Yadava ruler even co-operated with the invader supplying him with military contingents when he attacked Warangal. Pratapa Rudra wasted the years of respite between the invasions in aggressions against neighbouring Hindu rulers. None of these Hindu sovereign seemed to have understood the nature and extent of the peril. Or, they would not have been so short-sighted as to quarrel among themselves. When they resisted, they, indeed, fought with the courage of despair, realising that there could be no truck with the enemy. Hara Pala met with a frightful end. Pratapa Rudra preferred suicide to disgrace. Ballala redeemed the honour of his family by death on the field of battle. But each one of them fought the enemy alone.

When the rulers fell, the people rose in their might. They mobilised themselves under the spontaneous leadership of their chiefs who vied with each other in valour and patriotism in that hour of supreme peril. Baser motives were brushed aside for the time, and these chiefs placed themselves at the service of any intrepid commander who could lead them against the dreaded armies of the Crescent.

A supreme effort was put forth to hurl back the tide of invasion. Seventy-five chiefs followed the banner of Kapaya Nayaka.

on whom had devolved the mantle of leadership in his part of the country. That redoubtable warrior repelled the invader and freed the land; re-established Hindu Sovereignty and earned the title *Andhradesadhiswara*.

Simultaneously, in Western Telangana, the War of Liberation appeared to have been directed by Kotiganti Raghava and Somideva who defeated and drove back the invaders, pushing forward their sway ultimately up to Kalyani.

Warangal was laid prostrate by the invasion of 1323, but its ashes continued to smoulder. Pratapa Rudra became a legend. Princes of a later day traced themselves back to him, and kept alive memories of Kakatiyam freedom.

Meanwhile a great Power had risen which was to remain a bulwark against Muslim aggression for two centuries and more. On the banks of the Tungabhadra was founded the imperial capital that became the sentinel of the South, ever vigilant to receive the first brunt of attack, and hurl back the invader.

Great nations rarely belong to any one race exclusively. And Vijayanagara certainly did not. That great Polity came into existence on the surge of a movement which was truly "national." The whole of the south, all the forces of Hindu society, co-operated in the great enterprise of preservation.

The origins of Vijayanagara are still shrouded in mystery and obscured by bitter controversy. It is not here intended to wander unawares into that debatable ground. Whether the Founders were feudatories of the Kakatiyas or the vassals of the Hoysalas or governors of the Emperor of Delhi who apostatised from Islam, their career subsequent to the establishment of an independent kingdom shows them as the champions of the cause of Hinduism, and their achievements have a common significance to all the peoples of the South. It was the Call of Religion, and every consideration was waived aside.

The Hindu sovereign had by now learnt the very necessary lesson of unity. A grand Confederacy was organised in 1344 Al Harihara of Vijayanagara, Prolaya Vema Reddi of Kondavidu, the Kakatiya Prince Krishna, and possibly the Hoysala Prince Ballala also, all combined to drive the Muslims out of South India. Religion was undoubtedly the one bond of union of this great Coalition.

The Muslim invasions of Telangana evoked the incipient consciousness of nationality in a people with hoary antiquity and glorious traditions. Alongside of religion, it was this national feeling that roused them to heroic sacrifice and stubborn resistance. The preservation of their ethnic, linguistic and territorial integrity was the ideal for which they fought. In their success, they gratefully hailed their emancipator as *Andhradesadhiswara*, a term pregnant with its manifold implications.

**Second Period : Period of Dualism. Bahamani *versus* Vijayanagara
(1347 to 1482 A. D.)**

The rise of an independent kingdom in 1347 A. D. created a new situation. Hitherto the Muslim was a "Foreigner in the land," and the Hindu sovereigns of the south fought to drive him out. But now the new kingdom was a Deccan Power. That was an unalterable stubborn fact which necessitated a transformation in the relation of the Powers.

Religion continued to be a dominant influence in the earlier years of the period. The rival rulers believed, or wished to be believed, that they were fighting for the vindication of faith. Sages like Vidyaranaya or Madhavacharya counselled and inspired the foreign policy of the sovereigns of Vijayanagara. Whatever their past had been, in this great crisis of South Indian history, they were conscious of a mission, and they rallied under their banner all the Hindus of the South.

Alauddin Hasan, the Founder of the Bahmani dynasty, was a bigoted Muslim who ruthlessly slaughtered Hindu infidels. His son, Muhammad Shah, took the solemn vow that he would never sheath the sword of holy war until he had slaughtered one hundred thousand infidels. His achievements, indeed, far exceeded this modest resolve.

The Hindu ruler, on the other hand, commanded Brahmins to deliver sermons every day to the troops on the meritoriousness of slaughtering the Muhammadans who indulged in the butchery of cows, the destruction of sacred temples and images.

There can be no doubt that massacres and reprisals were inspired by religious fanaticism. Neither Hinduism nor Islam would ever have sanctioned them. Even at this early period, however, other factors were slowly modifying the foreign policies of the Deccan States. We find the rulers of Warangal and Vijayanagara contemplating and proposing an alliance with Firuz Tughlaq of Delhi who could be prevailed upon to create a diversion. This was perhaps in accordance with the maxim that the enemy of the enemy should be cultivated as a friend. The Hindu rulers on the eastern board of Telangana, although co-religionists, fell to fighting among themselves. Dynastic ambitions evidently proved stronger than the nobler consideration of religion and nationality. In the case of one of these rulers, it is even said that he attacked the Rajah of Warangal while the latter was engaged in a war with Muhammad Shah Bahmani, probably in league with the Muslim king.

During the whole of this period, Warangal was fighting desperately to oust the invader. In 1364, Raja Vinayaka, who is described as a grandson of Pratapa Rudra, was taken captive by Mahommad Shah Bahmani and put to a horrible death by

being shot into a hot furnace from a catapult-like machine. Warangal could not even then be subdued, but rose in revolt again and again. It must have enjoyed independence for some time. In 1419 war broke out when Firuz Shah attempted to reduce Panagal which belonged to Warangal. We find its army swelling the forces of Vijayanagara on the banks of the Tungabhadra in 1422. As a consequence Ahmad Shah Bahmani sent his general in 1424-25 on a punitive expedition against the old Kakatiya capital. The fort was stormed, its ruler killed, and the place sacked.

Once again, however, Telangana revolted, inspired by the successes of the Gajapati King Kapilesvara. In 1459, Warangal passed under the sway of the Gajapati and continued under Hindu sovereignty for a while. It was reconquered by the Muslims only in the reign of Mahammad Shah Bahmani during the regime of the famous Minister Mahmud Gawan. But Warangal continued to be a storm-centre during the last years of the Bahmani Sultanate and throughout the reign of Sultan Quli, the Founder of the Qutb Shahi Kingdom of Golconda.

There were six great wars between the Kingdom of Vijayanagara and the Bahmani Sultanate. Deccan politics were reduced to a continuous duel between the two States. The first of the great wars was in 1367, and the causes that precipitated it were certainly of a mundane character. It was in no sense a *Jihad* or Holy war, although fanaticism ran riot in its course. Muhammad Shah was an epicure who in an intoxicated mood issued the famous "drunken draft" on the treasury of Vijayanagara; a wanton, insolent and insensate act that could only mean bitter war between the two States. Even the hostilities of the earlier period were due, not to religion, but to the just grievance of the Bahmani Sultan that the Hindu bankers in the Deccan were melting down the gold coins of the Muhammadan kingdom thus giving effect to what we now call Gresham's Law. Another time, hostilities between the Bahmani Sultanate and Warangal broke out on account of horses that were brought to the Muslim king for sale.

The war of 1406 was brought about because of the infatuation of the Vijayanagara King for the daughter of a poor goldsmith of Mudgal. Religion had nothing to do with this "War of the Goldsmith's daughter".

One other cause of belligerency between the two Powers, Bahmani and Vijayanagara was the Raichur Doab, whose possession was coveted by both. This land changed hands often and became a sort of Belgium of the Deccan.

A very interesting incident of this period which is an index of the change that had come over the main actors in the human

drama may be noticed. This is the marriage of Firuz Bahamani with a Princess of Vijayanagara, the one Muslim and the other Hindu.

One more interesting fact may be noted. This was the Pact between Muhammad Shah Bahmani and the Hindu sovereigns to spare non-combatants in future. The arguments with which the Pact was advocated are interesting. It was pointed out that no religion sanctioned the punishment of the innocent for the crimes of the guilty, and particularly helpless women and children. Moreover, since the Bahmani Sultans and the Hindu Rajahs might long remain neighbours, it would be advisable to avoid cruelties in future quarrels, and that a Treaty should be made not to slaughter the helpless inhabitants. Muhammad Shah accordingly took an oath to observe the Pact which was to be binding on himself and his successors. The Pact was scrupulously observed, and from Muhammad Shah's time, it was the general custom in the Deccan to spare the lives of prisoners of war and not to shed the blood of an enemy's unarmed subjects.

Third Period: Period of Hindu Imperialism. (1509 to 1529)

The Fifteenth Century had demonstrated the futility of the Muhammadans and the Hindus attempting to exterminate each other. The incontrovertible fact came to be recognised by either side that they were bound to be neighbours, for good or evil. The Hindu subjects of the Muslim State, with the notable exception of Telangana seem to have generally acquiesced in Muhammadan sovereignty. The Hindu rulers, on their side, saw the wisdom of employing Muslims in their service and giving to them all the rights and privileges that the Hindu subjects enjoyed. They were allowed freedom of worship and to build their mosques.

The closing decades of the Fifteenth Century and the opening decades of the Sixteenth Century witnessed the rise of the military spirit in Vijayanagara. This was perhaps contributed by the system of military tenure. Saluva Narasimha Raya, the Minister of Virupaksha, was a powerful *Nayaka* and provincial satrap before he was invited to usurp the throne. Narasa Nayaka of the Tuluva Dynasty was the Minister of Immadi Narasimha, and had held many military and administrative posts. It could not have been accidental that both the usurpations in the Vijayanagara State were by the greatest generals of the Empire. On both occasions, it was the great *Nayakas* of the State that effectively intervened on behalf of these usurpers. The influence of the warlords must have been considerable.

The military spirit found its culminating expression in the imperialism of Krishna Deva Raya, the Great, and his *digvijaya dandayatra*s or expeditions to conquer the Four Quarters.

Religion was no longer the dominant factor. On the eastern board of Telangana, indeed, it continued to be still a live force. In 1477 Muhammad Shah destroyed temples and erected mosques in their place at Kondapalli. Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, throughout his reign, relentlessly suppressed the Hindus of Telangana. At Devaraconda, he consumed temples to ashes and built mosques in their place. This he did in other places too. But Sultan Quli himself was no Crusader, and the Muslim soldiers who followed his banners were mercenaries who were tempted more by prospect of booty or loot than by any spiritual merit to be acquired in Jihads. The Sultan himself fought not only with Hindus but also with contemporary Muslim Sultans of the Deccan.

The Rulers of Vijayanagara had by now adopted a definite policy towards their Muslim subjects. This was one of favour and patronage. They sometimes even endowed the religious establishments of the Muhammadans. Vira Narasimha Raya gave many villages in gift to Babaya Darga at Penukonda. This is an amazing provision because the Darga was a Hindu temple converted into a Muslim's tomb.

The Age of Krishna Deva Raya has been described as the Augustan Age of Telugu Literature. It was remarkable for its literary and cultural activity, but not for religious movements. Krishna Deva Raya was himself a great poet. His *muktamalyada* deserves to rank as a great Classic. It contains cantos dedicated to Politics and Statecraft. Indeed he says in it that forts must be entrusted only to Brahmin governors. But this is no indication of theocratic influence in the State.

Krishna Deva Raya was a great warrior. He fought with both Hindu and Muslim rulers because his ideal was to establish a great Empire embracing the whole of the South. He waged war with the Gajapati of Orissa although a co-religionist, and humbled him; but he rushed to the support of the Chiefs of Telangana to help them in their wars against Sultan Quli. In 1512 he had siezed Raichur, and again in 1520 he organised a great expedition against Ismael Adil Shah of Bijapur to wrest Raichur which had meanwhile again passed into the possession of the Adil Shah.

The attitude of the Deccan Sultanates shows how little they understood the peril from Vijayanagara at the time. Kasim Barid of Bidar, the inveterate enemy of Yusuf Adil Shah, had in 1492 urged Narasimha Raya to attack Bijapur. In 1520, Krishna Deva Raya secured the neutrality, and even the approval of the Sultans except of Burhan Nizam Shah when he attacked Bijapur. The Deccan Sultans continued to intrigue against each other all the time. Sometimes we find the Qutb Shah, the Adil Shah and the Imad Shah in a sort of Triple Alliance against the Dual Alliance of the Nizam Shah and the Barid Shah. Other

times, a reshuffling of Powers is effected, and as a result we have a new grouping.

Evidently the five great nobles of the Bahmani Kingdom who had declared themselves independent were more concerned for the time being with securing their own positions than with the problem of the overwhelming power of Vijayanagara.

JEWS IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA AS MENTIONED BY WESTERN TRAVELLERS

BY

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I. Introductory Notes

1. It is not the author's intention to the problem of the Jews in India, or in Malabar a problem which has already been so well analysed by numerous authors.¹ It would therefore, also seem unnecessary to explain here or even to mention such problems as the immigration of the Jews either in the time of Solomon, (possible quotations in the Holy Bible of Jews in India based on philological grounds²) or from Persia in the VI Century B. C. or on the West Coast of Peninsular India just after the destruction of the second temple by the Romans in 70 A. D., or perhaps their second immigration from Chaldaa or of those who were carried into captivity by Nebuchadrezzar, the problem of the issuing of privileges on copper-plates, according to tradition in 231 A. D. and 490 A. D., and most probably received but by the king of Malabar Bhāsara Ravi Vama, the problem of the activity of the Jews in Malabar where they could live in peace under the care of the local *rajas* or *zamindars* and where they had their own jurisdiction, well-known rabbis etc. upto the time of the settling of the Portugese on the Malabar coast and of the destruction of Cranganore, the problem of shifting to Cochin, immigration of Jews from Europe, setting up by the Portugese inquisitional courts in India, setting up of the Jews' Town at Mattancheri, the settling place of the so-called "Black Jews" and "White Jews" who also use to live in Tritur, Parur, Chenotta, Maleh, etc., etc.

1. Asiatic Journal N. S. Vol. VI. p. 6, etc. various histories of Jews; G. Raes The Syrian Church in India, 1892; Buchanan's Christian Researches in Asia, 1814; C. Ritter's Die Erdkünden von Asien, 1835; Ch. Shweston's A Memoir of the Primitive Church of Malayala, JRASI p. 173 sqq., etc.

2. Tukki-im of Dravidian origin.

The author's aim is the collation and critical interpretation of all quotations about Jews in Mediaeval India by Western travellers. It is, of course, very difficult to confine oneself only to the notes of travellers and, therefore, it was necessary to base this dissertation upon the notes of some mediaeval geographers or merchants. Sometimes it was also necessary to refer to post-mediaeval authors even if they did not mention Jews in India.

2. Probably the first of the Mediaeval authors to mention Jews in India was Abu'l Kāsim Ubaidullah 'Abd Allāh b. Khurdādhba, who in his book "Ways and Kingdoms" (ca 817 A.D.) makes certain references to Jewish merchants trading with India and travelling through India (*Goeje's Livre des Routes et des Provinces in Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, Leyden 1889*).

Abū Said-al-Hasan l'Abd Allāh b. al-Marrubān Siraft and his contemporary Ibn Vahab of Bassora give in the IX Century some accounts of the Jews in India and Ceylon (*E. Renaudot's Ancient Accounts of India and China, C. Ritter's Die Erdkunde, von Asien*).

The well-known Muhammadan geographer Abu'l Raihān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Al-Birūnī in his work on India (X-XI Century) seldom mentions Jews in India although he gives a full account of the geography and peoples living in India (*Sachah's edition and translation of Alberuni's India*).

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idris, the Edrisi of most European writers, the famous Muhammadan geographer and historian of the XI-XII Century (1099-1154) gives some accounts of the places in India and Ceylon where Jews dwelt. *A. Jaubert's Geographie d'Edrisi translation in French, Paris 1836*).

The accounts of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, Jewish traveller and writer on geography, history etc. are very valuable (1150-1173) in particular, those describing the dwelling places of Jews in various countries and *inter alia* in India too (*Asher's edition and translation London; M. N. Adler's Adler's edition and translation in Jewish Quarterly Review Vol. XVI-XVIII, T. Wright's Early Travels in Palestine, London 1848*).

Of other travellers or merchants of the XIII Century the "Igeret Teman," letter by R. Mozes ben Maimon to the congregation of Yemen and in particular his brother David's travels to India, as well as a letter written by a Jew from Malabar to his business correspondent in Cairo (from the Cairo Geniza) must be mentioned. These letters show that Jews used to go to India and trade with this country although it is queried whether they relate to India proper or to Ethiopia.

Zakāriya b. Muḥammad b. Mahmūd al Qazwini Abū Yahyā called Kazvini (or Qazvin), a Muhammadan geographer etc. (1233-1283) is probably the only one who mentions Jews in the

vicinity of Bombay (*J. Gildemeister's Scriptorum Arabum De Rebus Indicis loci et opuscula inedita recensuit et illustravit, Bonn 1838*).

Marco Polo, the greatest Christian traveller of the Middle Ages (1254-1324) mentions only some Jews in the Southern most part of India (Latin Codex in the Cathedral Library at Toledo ed. by A. C. Moule and P. Pellit, London 1838; Sir H. Yule's the Book of Sir Marco Polo the Venetian, London 1903).

John of Monte Corvino (1247-1328), Franciscan missionary, traveller, founder of Catholic mission in India, was almost a contemporary of Marco Polo, as far as his journey to India is concerned. His scanty accounts on Indian Jews are only known from an Italian transcript or version made by the Dominican Friar Menentillus of Spoleto who forwarded a copy of a letter from John de Monte Corvino to Friar Bartolomeo de Santo Concordo, dated 22nd December 1292 or 1293 (*H. Yule's Cathay and the Way thithers; Beazley's Dawn of Modern Geography*).

Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Talib al-Anṣārī al-Sufī Shams al-Dīn Dimushqū, a Muhammadan cosmographer, (1320) gives us some details about Jews in Malabar (*M. A. F. Mehren's Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen Age, Copenhagen 1874*).

Odoric de Pordenone, a Franciscan Friar, missionary, traveller and explorer (1286-1331) who visited India gave a splendid and valuable account on Jews on the Malabar coast. (*Sopra la vita C; Viaggi del Beato Odorico da Poodenone..... Studi Puediti dal C. F. Fr. T. Domenichellisollo la direzione del P. M. Civedda MO in Prats 1881; Elogio Storico alle gesta del Beato Odorico, Venice 1761, H. Yule's Cathay and the Way thither, Cordier's Les Voyages en Asie au XIVe siecle du bienhereux frere Odorc de Pordenone, Paris 1891*).

Almost contemporary with Friar Odoric was the French mission leader, traveller and explorer Jordanus de Severac (1321-1330) who in his small booklet "*Mirabilia*" although he does not mention expressis verbis Jews in India, gives some details on their dwelling places (*Coquebert—Montbret's edition of Mirabilia Descripta per Fratrem Iordanum, translation by H. Yule in Hackluyt's Society (1863)*).

Abu'l Fidā, Ismā'il b. Alī b. Maḥmūd b. Omar b. Shāhanshāh b. Aiyūb 'Imad al-Dīn al Aiyūbī—the bulleda of most European writers—the Muhammadan geographer and historian (about 1330) mentions in his geography Jews in Malabar (*J. Gildmeister's Scriptorum Arabum De Rebus Indicis ed opuscula inedita recensuit et illustravit, Bonn 1838*).

Abū 'Abd Ullāh Muḥammad, Ibn Baṭūṭa, the greatest Muhammadan traveller of the Middle Ages 'the traveller not of an age but of Islam' (1325-1355) mentions and describes in his "Travels

in India and Africa" Jewish communities in Malabar (*C. de Fre-mery's and B. R. Sanguinetti's Voyages d'Ibn Batutah texts Arahe, accompagn d'un traduction, Paris 1853-1858, Ibn Batutah's Travels, transl. by Lee; by H. A. R. Gibb.*)

John Marignolli, Franciscan missionary, traveller and diplomatist, Papal legate in Asia (1338-1353) though not mentioning Jews in India gives certain interesting details on the Jewish populated town Shinkali (*Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum Vol. III, H. Yule's Cathay and the Way thither*).

Sir John Mandeville or Maundeville, the well-known compiler and plagiarist (1357-1371) quotes other travellers and, in particular, Friar Odoric's de Pordenone observations on Jews in Malabar (*S. O. Halliwell's The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, Kt., reprinted from the edition of A. D. 1725, London 1839*).

In 1438 Elijah of Ferrara, a Jew, in a letter to his friends Israel Chaim and Joseph Baruch mentions a king in India who reigns over Jews only. It is not certain, however, whether he means India or Ethiopia (*E. N. Adler's Jewish Travellers, London*).

These are the Western travellers of the Middle Ages who mention Jews in India. The Eastern travellers such as the Chinese Shih Fa Hian, Sung Yun, Hiuen Tsiang etc., do not once mention Jews in India.

3. The Western Travellers who came later *i. e.* along with or after Vasco da Gama's Arrival in India, often mention Jews in India. Particular interesting are the accounts given by Gaspar Corres, Barros, Osorius, Castanheda regarding the Granadine or Polish Jew of Goa who had to accept the Christian faith and received the name of Gaspar da India (*Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama, Lispoa 1861, E. J. Stanley's the three Voyages of Vasco da Gama from the Lenda da India of Gaspar Corres, London 1869*) as well as the accounts of the autodafes organized by the Portugeese and the stories of Jews who arrived in India from Europe (Spain, Portugal, etc.) and, interesting accounts of the Jews in India are also given by Duarte Barbosa (1516), David Reubeni (1522) Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1569), F. Bernier (1656-1668), and others. (See also *Livro de Duarte Barbosa, Lisboa 1812* and in *Ramusio's Delle Navigationi e Niaggi 1606. Dr. Neubauer's Anecdota Oxoniensa; E. N. Adler's Jewish Travellers; Jan Huygen's van Linschoten's Itinerarie Voyage after Schipvaert, Amsterdam 1596, transl. by Burnell and Tiele; F. Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire, Westminster 1891 etc.*)

Of the other travellers of the Middle Ages who visited India and do not mention Jews but give accounts of their dwelling places the following should be mentioned Rashid-ul-Din Tabil, Muhammadan statesman and historian (1300), Nicolo Conti, Venetian

merchant and traveller (1430), Abdul-Razzāq Kamāl-al-Dīn Ben Ishāq-al-Samarqandī, traveller and mission leader to the king of Vijayanagara (1442), and of the post-mediaeval travellers there are Lionardo Ca Messer, (1506), Ludovico de Varthema (1510), Luiz da Camoes (1572) etc. (See: *Rashiduddin's Histoire des Mongols de la Perse* by Quatremere and in *Elliot's History of India*, Poggius' *De Varietate Fortunae*, Framton's *Edition of Nicolo Conti's Travels* and *R. H. Major's India in XV Century*; "Abdul Razzaq's transl. *idem*; *Relazione di Lionardo Ca Messer in Archivio Storico Italiano*, G. P. Badger's edition and T. W. Jones' transl. of travels of Ludovico de Varthema; L. de Camoes' *Os Lusíadas*; see also *Tuhfutu-l-Mujahidin* in *Elliot's History of India* and transl. by Lt. M. J. Rowlandson; *Sommario di Tutti li Regni...* in *Ramusio's Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Vol. I; Ch. Lassen's *Indische Altertumskunde*; G. M. Rae's *The Syrian Church in India*; C. Buchanan's *Christian Researches in Asia*; C. Ritter's *Die Erdkunden von Asien*; Graetz's, Reinaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde*; *Memoire Geographique historique, of scientifique sur l'Inde*, *Question scientifique* dtto *Description des Monuments Musulmans*. Renaudot's *Ancient Accounts of India and China*; Ch. Swanson's *A Memoir of the Primitive Church of Malayala* in *JRAS* I. 173; H. Yule's *An Endeavour to Elucidate Rashid-ud-din's Geographical Notes of India* in *JRAS*. NS. IV. and Hobson-Jobson; Mc. Crindle's *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, *Ancient India as Described by Ktesias the Knidian*, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*; Baldaeus' *A Description of East In-Coasts of Malabar and Cormandel Viaggis alle Indie Orientali Fra Puolino da S. Bartolomeo's*¹ *Diego Ribeiro's Map of the World 1529*; Menon's *History of Kerala*; Beazley's *Dawn of Modern Geography*; G. H. T. Kimble's *Geography in the Middle Ages*, Bean's and Phillott's *Mediaeval Geography*; L. Lelewel's *La Geographie de Moyen age*; C. Schoy's *The Geography of the Moslems of the Middle Ages*).

II.—Principal Dwelling Places of Jews in Mediaeval India.

4. The travellers of the Middle Ages who mention Jews in India stated that they stayed in various parts of India, their principal dwelling places being on the sea coast *i. e.* on the West coast as well as on the Coromandel coast. Some of them also mention Jews in Kashmir and Ceylon.

Western Coast.

A. Cyngilin.

5. Their centre was undoubtedly between two places called by Friar Odoric Cyngilin and Flandrina. The first was quoted by

1. Translated by Dr. Foster who quotes on Portuguese work entitled *Noticias dos Judeus de Cochim*.

mediaeval travellers and in various MSs. and takes different forms. Cyngilin takes in the Friar Odoric's Ms. in Concina Collection the form of Cinghilin, and in the Venice Italian Ms. No. 1 the form of Gingilin, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela has Gingaleh (Al Gingaleh), Friar Odoric in the Hakluyt printed Latin text-Cyncilim in Ramusio's Italian version-Ziniglin, in the Ms. in the British Museum and in Bibliothque Imperiale-Zinglin and Cinglin respectively (also Zingelyn), in Sir John Mandeville's Travels-Zinglantz, in the Friar Odoric's Venice Latin MS. No. 26 and Farsetti-Canglin, in John Marignolli's accounts-Cynkali, in Abulfeda's Geography and al Dimashqui's Ms.-Shinkali or Shinkli, الشنكلي, in Rashid-al-din's Ms. Jangli, in Friar Jordanus' *Mirabilia*-Singuyli, in David Reubeni's accounts-Singoli, in Friar Odoric's Old Italian Ms. in the Bibliotheca Palatina at Florence-Sigli, in Assemanus' *Notitia Ecelesiarum*...Scigla, etc.

Although *e. g.* the form Gingilin is not very similar, at a first glance to Scigla, if we go through these names in the order given above, we shall see a continuity between these different names.

6. It is evident from the narratives of the Mediaeval travellers that Cyngilin was a town in Malabar (Shāliyāt and Shinkalā are towns in Malabar states Abulfeda in his *Geography*). Rashid-ud-din states that Cyngilin is situated on the shore and, therefore, we must consider this town as a port. John de Marignolli states that Manzi (China) was formerly called Cynkalam, *i.e.*, "Great India, for *kalam* signifies great. And in the second India which is called Mynibar there is Cynkali which signifies 'Little India' for *kali* is little". John de Marignolli made a small mistake as in Arabic not *kali* but *qalil* (قليل) means little. In any case it is evident from his statement that Cyngilin (Cynkali) was at that time a very well-known town as he compares it with Cynkalam "a noble port and city" and mentions among the towns of Mynibar (on the Malabar coast) at the premier place. The importance of Cyngilin can also be deducted from the fact that Friar Jordanus enumerates the king of Cyngilin (Singuyli) besides the king of Molebar (Malabar) who reigns over the whole coast.

In addition we know that the town of Cyngilin was situated near or in the peper-forest which was so large that it extended for an eighteen days' voyage (*Nemus enim in que nascitur piper continet bene in se XVIII dietas. En in ipso nemere sunt duae civitates, una nomine Flandrina, altera vero Zinglin*¹). Sir John

1. Friar Odoric in the MS. in the Bibliothque Imperiale : "*E la selva dura per diciotto giornate, e a tutto il mondo non nasce pepe altro che qui. Quivi sono due citadi, una che si chiama Filandria e l'altra Sigli.*" (Friar Odoric in the Old Italian MS. in the Biblioteca Palatina at Florence). "*In quello bosco sono due citta, l'una che si chiama Flandrina et l'altra Zingilin* (Friar Odoric in MS. Magliabechiana XIII.681).

Mandeville states similarly: "In that Lond growe the the Peper, in the Forest that men clepen Combar; and it growthe no where elle in alle the world, but in that Forest, and in that dureth wel an 18 journeyes in lengthe. In the Forest ben 2 gode cytees; that on highte Flandrine and that other Zinglantz."

7. Cyngilin (Al Gingaleh) was according to Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela a 15 days' journey from Ceylon and according to David Reubeni by ten days' journey.¹

The geographical position of Cyngilin is given by Rashid-ud-din. Enumerating the ports of Malabar he starts from Sindabur (Goa) and then mentions Faknūr (Bacanor) Manjarur (Mangalore), Hili (Mount Dolly), Sardasā (Flandrina), Jangli (Cyngilin) and Kulan (Quilon).² It is, therefore, clear that Cyngilin was situated between Flandrina³ and Quilon. It was certainly a port situated in a pepper forest so large that 18 days was needed to cross it from one end to the other. In the South this forest reached Quilon.⁴

Abulfeda in his *Geography* mentions Shāliyāt and Shinkali next to each other. It is to be supposed, therefore, that these two towns must be situated close to each other. In this connection the Southern limit can not be far away from Shāliyāt. The latter's position is given clearly in Tuhfutu-l-Mujāhidi, i.e., two *parasangas* (seven and a half miles) South of Calikut. The position of Cyngilin is indirectly indicated by Friar Odoric. We find in his accounts the following statement: "*In ista Flandrina habitantium aliqui sunt Judaei, aliqui vero Christiani. Inter has duas civitates bellum intestinum semper habetur...*"⁵ If constant strife (*bellum intestinum, sempre v'e guerra et battaglia*) existed between these two towns it is difficult to admit that they were situated far away from each other. The distance between them was certainly very small and, therefore, it is to be admitted that Cyngilin was a town situated next to Pandarani (Flandrina) which because of mud-banks (Ciluvion) has disappeared from the maps of today. This statement seems to be confirmed by the fact

1. Vasco da Gama (in Roteiro) states that Cranganore was three days voyage from Cyngilin by 3 days' voyage. This last statement is misleading and can also show that Cranganore was not identical with Cyngilin (see below). It must also be noted that Vasco da Gama used very large and quick ships.

2. Probably by mistake this quotation is assumed by Menon in "History of Kerala" (I-313) to al-Biruni.

3. Flandrina, as we shall see below is Pandarani which we find on the Diego Ribeiro's map of 1529 some miles to the North from Kalikut between Cannanore and Kalikut, near Quilandi of today.

4. *A capite nemoris istius versus meridiem civitas quaedam habetur nomine Polumbu n* (Friar Odoric).

5. Or "*inter has civitates semper bellum geritur*", or "*fra queste due citta sempre v'e guerra et battaglia*."

that on the map of the Malabar coast in *Baldaeus' A Description of East India Coast of Malabar and Cormandel* (London 1703) we find to the North of Kalikut on the place of Quilandi (near Pandarani-Flandrina) a place called Cugnali, which is, most probably identical with Cynkali-Cyngilin.

8. Generally it is admitted, however, that Cyngilin is identical with Cranganore. This seems to be evident from the fact that it is certain that in the Middle Ages Cranganore was the center of Jewish communities in India and Cyngilin was also described in the Middle Ages as a town mostly inhabited by Jews (see below). It is difficult to prove on ethymological grounds any similarity between these two names. It must be noted that Cranganore was then known under the Malayalam name—Kotan-nalūr from kotao (West) Okovilo (palace) oūr (village), Koḍungal-lūr, or Koḍunrilūr. We find this town in the copper charter under the name Muyirikkodu. It is undoubtedly identical with the Movzipis of Ptolemy, Pliny and the Periplus, well-known in ancient times as a great emporium and pirates' nest. In the copper-charters we also find the names Kodungallūr and Grānganūr. We also find the names Crongolor (Barbosa), Cranganor (Ramusio in *Sommario di Tutti li Regni*), Cranguanor (Botelho, Tombo), Crangelor (Peyton), Cranganor (Camoës), etc.¹ Observing these names beginning from VIII Century upto the XVII Century and later on, we must arrive at the conclusion that from the linguistic point of view² these two names of this town are very far away from Cyngilin and the like. It must, however, be noted that Assemanus in *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* first enumerated the three of the twenty "*celebres at firmæ*" towns of Malabar among which is also Carangol³ and in his commentary called "*Notitia Ecclesiarum Metropolitanarum and Episcopoliæ quæ sunt patriarchæ Nestoriano subjectæ*" states that "*Carangol alias Scigla and Cranganora urbs Indiac in ora Malabrica... Augemalæ sedes olim fuerat, quæ postea Cranganoram translata est sub Lusitani*". Assemanus' opinion cannot be decisive although he is the first one who identifies Carangol with Scigla (Shinkali, Cyngilin) because his work was written latter, probably when Cyngilin was as unknown as Pandarani.

1. We also find such names as Kranghir (Muhabbat Khan), Carongoly (*Assemanus, Notitia Ecclesiarum*.....), Quorongoliz (Vasco da Gama), Cadunjaloar (*Tuhfatul-Mujahidin*), etc.

2. From the ethymological point of view the transition from Cyngilin into Shinkali can be easily explained. The Malayalam name was Tirulanjikulam, almost identical with Rashid ul-Din's Jang (a) li (Cinkali, Chinkali, Shinkali.)

3.Malabar.....habet., viginti circiter urbes quarum tres celebres sunt & firmæ : Carangol, Palor, Colam and aliae illis proximæ accedunt.

Those who would like to prove that Cyngilin is identical with Cranganore can base their statement on the fact that according to Abulfeda's Geography Shinkali was situated near Shāliyāt, i.e., in the vicinity of the Cranganore of today, that Cranganore was described in the post-mediaeval period as one of the best ports and towns¹ and above all because both these towns were dwelling centres of Jews-Cyngilin in the Middle Ages, according to Mediaeval travellers, and Cranganore in Modern Times, according to travellers who visited the Malabar coast in the XVI Century and later.²

9. At the beginning of the XIV Century Shemseddin Dimishqui states that in Cyngilin (Shinkali) the majority of the population was Jewish. In the beginning of XVI Century David Reubeni states that there are many Jews in Cyngilin (Singoli). Abulfeda (XIV Century) states in his Geography that of Shāliyāt and Cyngilin (Shinkali) the second one is inhabited by Jews, and Benjamin of Tudela (XII Century) states that there (Al Gingaleh) are one thousand Jews. It must be noted, however, that Rashid-ud-Din (beginning of XIV Century) mentioning cities on the Malabar coast states that the population of these countries are Samanis, i.e., Buddhists. It is clear that the latter sentence refers to the whole of the Malabar coast and not to the town of Cyngilin or the like.

As far as the problem of Jews in these regions is concerned the most interesting narratives, as usual, are to be found in Friar Odoric's accounts. He states: "*In ista Flandrina habitantium aliqui sunt Judaei, aliqui vero Christiani. Inter has duas civitates bellum intestinum semper habstur, ita tamen quod Christiani semper superant et vincunt Judases*".³ In my "*Gujerat, as known*

1. e.g. Ramusio in *Sommario di Tutti li Regni* (I-332): *Cranca-nor fu antichamente honorata, e buon porto.....la citta e grande, et honorata con gra traffico, anati che si facesse Cochín, co la venuta di Portoghesi nobile.*

2. The distance between Cyngilin and Calicut which amounts according to David Reubeni to a ten days' journey has no value for the designation of the position of Cyngilin, because as it was shown above this statement is misleading, as and probably based on a mistake according to Vasco da Gama the same distant was overcome in three days.

3. MS. in the *Bibliothèque Imperiale*. In the *Magliabechiana* MS. XIII-681 we read: "*In questa Flandrina quegli che v'habitano alchuno e giudeo alchuno e cristiano. Fra queste due citta sempre v'e guerra et bartaglia. Ma pure del continuo e cristiani vincono et soperchiano e giudei.*" In the Old Italian MS. in the *Biblioteca Palatina* at Florence it says only: "*Quivi sone due citadi, una che si chiama Filandra e l'altra Sigli.*" There is no mention of any struggle of Christians and Jews. In another MS. the same story is related but instead of Jews Indians are interpolated. It says there: "*In Flandrina Christiani habitant in alia vero Indi. inter has civilates semper between of gerit temeh in nod Cristiani plus Indos superant ef seviment.*

to *Mediaeval Europe*" I tried to prove that Sir John Mandeville did not base accounts on the old Italian MS. but rather on the first named. Sir John Mandeville interpreted, probably rightly this text when saying: *In the Forest ben 2 gode Cytees; that on highte(?) Fladrine, and that other Zinglantz. And in every of hem, duellen Cristene men, and Jews, gret plentec(?)*". From the Friar Odoric's Latin MS. it is not clear whether Jews lived in Flandrina as well as in Cyngilin, or in Flandrina only. However, from the context it seems to be clear that they dwelt in both these places. This was also the interpretation of the text by Sir John Mandeville who adds, perhaps on the basis of other sources, that they were in "*gret plentee*". The commentary by Friar Odoric that in this struggle the Christians always overcame the Jews is too characteristic of a missionary—to be interpreted more extensively.

As far as the position of Jews in Cranganore is concerned, as described by travellers of the XVI century, it must be added that Duarte Barbosa in 1516 stated that in grangalor there are Jews, Indians, Muhammadans, Christians, etc. We read in Tuhfutu-l-Mujahidin that prior to the introduction of Islam into India a party of Jews and Christians had settled in Cadungaloor. Muhabbat Khān in Akbari (in *Elliot VIII-388*) writing on events in the XVI Century states that the Jews of Kranghir observing the weakness of the rāja (Sāmūri or Seimuri-Zamorin) "made a great many Muhammadans to drink the cup of martyrdom."

The Jews in Cyngilin had probably her own chief or king. This is not clear, but David Reubeni asked whether there were many Jews in India replies that there were very many in Singoli and questioned further as to whether the Jews had kings replied in the affirmative. This reply is not necessarily connected with the first question regarding Singoli, but it is probable, the more so as Fria Jordanus also mentions a king of Singuyli, although he does not say anything about Jews in Cyngilin.¹

B. Fladrina.

10. The second great centre of Jews in Malabar was Fladrina, quoted by many travellers. Flandrina is also known under various different names. Friar Odoric in the Latin MS. in the Bibliotheque Imperials calls it Flandrina, in Ramusio's Italian version it is quoted as Alandrina, in the MSs. Magliabechiana (XIII-68) and Merciana as Frandrina, and in the old Italian MS. in the Biblioteca Palatina-Filandria. In Tuhfatu-l-Majahidin according to Rowlandson we find the word Fundreesh, in the letter

1. *In ista Maiori Yndia sunt XII reges ydolatrae et plus, nam est ibi unus rex potentissimus, ubi nascitur piper, cujus regnum Molebar vocatur; est etiam rex de Singuyli et rex Columbi.*

of King Emanuel of Portugal (in *Humboldt's Exam. Critique*)-Funderarene, in the Fra Mauro's map we find the name-Fenderena; the most common name is Fandaraina or Fandarainah (فندرينا-Edrisi, فندرينا Ibn Battuta) namely in Edrisi's Geography and Ibn-Battuta's travels. Same as Fandaraina is the Chinese name Fantalaina (as in Chinese the sound "r" does not exist and is replaced by the sound "l") which we find in the Chinese Annals of the Mongol Dynasty (1296 quoted by *Pauthier's Marc Pol*). In the middle of XV Century the initial "F" changes into "B," or "P." In 1442 Abdul Razzaq quotes Flandrina calling it Bandarānah (not Bendi-naneh as quoted in *Mayor's India in XV Century*) and afterwards we find the best known name in Europe for Flandrina-Pandarani (same as Abdul Razzaq's Bandarānah, Pandaranah) Pandarani. This name is quoted by Vasco da Gama (1498), Ludovico de Varthema (1506), Duarte Barbosa (1516), in Diego Ribeiro's map of the world (1529), Barros (1552), etc. as well as Pandarane or Pandanare quoted by Correa and in the Lisbon edition of Duarte Barbosa's travels, or Pandirani quoted by Leonardo Ca Messer, or Pantalayini in the Chinese Chronicles quoted by Mr. W. Rockhill in his notes on the Relations and Trade of China in Pong Pao (Vol.-XV. p. 425 sqq.).¹

It is, therefore, doubtless that Flandrina, Fandaraina is identical with Pandarani quoted so often from the XVI Century.

11. Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485-1557). Italian historian, geographer and greatest collector of travel narratives quotes the "*Sommario di tutti li Regni*" by an anonymous author, where we read. "*Li porti di mare in questa provincia nelli quali vi siano luoghi habitati & vi arriuiuo nauì sono li seguenti...Cori, Bairacona, Cola il cual chiamano Pandarani, Capocar, Calicut, Chalia, Parapuram, Coritanor, Panane, Belianchor Chetna, Cranganor, Cochim, Caicolam, Colam, Beliaiam, Camorin.*" These are the ports on the Malabar coast upto Cape Comorin. It is evident from this list that in those times two different Colam were known in Europe i. e. "Cola, which is called Pandarani" and Colam situated between Cochin, (Caicolan) and (Beliaiam), Comorin. These two Colams were, probably very often confused by the commentations of the mediaeval and post-mediaeval travellers and it seems to be correct to admit that Benjamin of Tudela mentioning Qulam or Qaulam meant not Quilon of to-day (i. e. the Colam of the "*Sommario.*") but our Colā-Pandarani i. e. Flandrina. This statement seems to be evident from the fact that Benjamin of Tudela considers Qulam or Qaulam as the central dwelling place of Jews in India and we shall see below that the same was Friar Odoric's opinion on this

1. Under Sardasa quoted by Rashid-ul-Din we must understand Fandaraina, Flandrina, as it is rightly shown by H. Yule in "*An Endeavour to Elucidate Rashidud-din's Geographical Notices of India*" in JRAS. NS. IV. p. 340. (Also in other MSs. مندر لسا or فندرينا).

problem. In addition Benjamin of Tudela mentions another Khulan which is probably identical with Kulam i. e. Quilon of today; this can also be followed from some inaccuracies relating to distances between some of the localities mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela.

Reading Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela's Travels one fact strikes us, which has not yet been stressed, namely that in one place he states that in Qulam several thousand Jews live and in another that no Jews dwelt in Khulan. However, Benjamin of Tudela speaks about two different places. In the first place he speaks about Qulam or Qaulum ()¹ in other MS. Qolam ()² Hulam or Haulam ()³ or even Hakholam or Hakhlam ()⁴. In another place we find the the word Khulan ()⁵ and again in other MS., probably by mistake—Bhulan () instead of⁶ or even Qulnū or Qolno, etc., ()⁷.

The problem whether Benjamin of Tudela was in India or not, was extensively interpreted in scientific literature.⁸ In 1906 in the "Jewish Chronicle" (19th October 1906) an article on "Malabar Jews" and signed "A Cochin Jew" appeared. His arguments were afterwards repeated by Dr. A. Simon in the articles "Did Benjamin of Tudela visit Malabar?" in the "Jewish Advocate" (January 1945). In these articles the authors express the opinion that Benjamin of Tudela was never in India and that Qulam is identical with Hulah situated 100 miles inland from El Quatiff in Arabia. The assumption is undoubtedly right that Benjamin of Tudela was never in India and China, this fact being uncontroversial, although what he narrates about India and China was what he

1. M. N. Adler's edition in Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. VIII. July 1906 p. 664 (koph, aleph, vav, lamedh, mem).

2. Roman MS. in the Casanatense Library, Rome No. 216. (koph, vav, lamedh, aleph, mem).

3. Asher's text (cheth, aleph, vav, lamedh, mem).

4. In the MS. in Mr. Epstein's of Vienna possession (he, kaph, lamedh, aleph, mem).

5. M. N. Adlers's Edition (see above) and Asher's text (kaph, vav, lamedh, nun).

6. In Roman MS. in the Casamatense Library, Rome No. 216. (beth, vav, lamedh, nun).

7. In the MS. in Mr. Epstein's of Vienna possession (kaph, vav, lamedh, nun, vav).

8. It can be said that Benjamin of Tudela speaks primarily about the whole country and secondly about the town itself which bears the same name, however, this argument does not seem to be convincing, because Benjamin of Tudela would not include the whole country by the same name if Jews did not dwell in the town. Should they live all over the country, they would live in the town too, the more so as the Jews used to settle down principally in towns and seldom upcountry.

heard in Persia and Arabia. (In these times many myths and fables about India—many of them being incorrect—were narrated and then brought to Europe).¹ On the other hand the arguments for this assumption, as given by the two authors quoted above, are laic and some times erroneous. We find, for instance, the argument that "there is not even a tradition that Jews ever colonised Quilon". This is erroneous because Marco Polo in 1298 distinctly states that in Coilum (undoubtedly Quilon of today) there are some Jews. When referring to Coilon he says: "*Gentes adorants ydola sunt etiam ibi xpistianj and Judie....*" This account was written not very much later than that of Benjamin of Tudela and before Ibn Batuta had been in Malabar. The latter's accounts were written nearly 200 years later. It must also be noted that Ibn Batuta states that he met with some Jews half way between Kalikut and Quilon*.²

Similarly, the statement that the Hindus were never sun-worshippers is incorrect. In this connection an extract from the "*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethic*", by Hastings, Vol. XII p. 83 sqq. should be quoted: "Solar worship has been described as the real religion of India... In the ancient verse of the Gayatri every Hindu begins his day with prayer and ascription of praise to the sun... In his mid-day devotion also he remembers and renders homage to the same deity...".³ Although this worship of the sun was not exclusive in India the observations of Benjamin of Tudela or his informers were correct, the more so as Kṛṣṇa was worshipped by some as a solar deity and in Rgveda Sūrya, the Sun, was worshipped under many names and forms. Probably Benjamin of Tudela mentioned the sun-worshippers (Sauryas) about whom Saṅkara in the X. Century states that they collected in distinct sects, were accustomed to carry branded on their foreheads and breast the symbol of their deity. Among Dravidians, who inhabited the Malabar coast sun-worship was much more open and confessed. The sun was widely invoked as Paramesvara, etc. It is erroneous to interpret Benjamin of Tudela's statements on the basis of observations of today.⁴

The same applies to the burying of the dead. Prof. G. S. Ghurye in his article on "Funerary Monuments of India" (in "Man in India", Vol. VI. p. 26 sqq.) draws attention to the close affinity "that the Malabar tombs bear to its Egyptian prototypes". He also states that the constructors of the rock-cut tombs "meant to provide for their deceased relatives dwellings as comfortable as

1. Dog-headed men and many others.

2. See below.

3. A. S. Geden.

4. See also "On the Worship of the Sun-deity in Bihar, Western and Eastern Bengal" by R. K. Bhattacharyya in "Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay", Vol. XIII, No. 4. p. 313 sqq.

they had been accustomed to in life. This strangely recalls the Egyptian conception of the house of the dead which was regarded as a representation of a dwelling-house and hence contained not only a bath-room but sometimes even a dummy latrine..." In addition, a few references to practices connected with embalming are met with in Sanskrit literature. They were collected by Prof. G. S. Ghurye in his article on "Egyptian Affinities of Indian Funerary Practices" (in "Anthropos" 1923).

In connection with these discoveries we can admit that the burial rites even by Benjamin of Tudela as met with in the Malabar coast, really existed in the XII Century. Though this practice is unknown today, it was, probably, known in the XII Century. It should be noted that Nicolo Conti rightly states that the "burial rites are not the same in all parts of India" and probably in Malabar they existed as they were described by Benjamin of Tudela. This is an additional proof that on this basis we cannot admit that Benjamin of Tudela's Qulam is not situated in India.

Dr. A. Simon is also of the opinion that in India from Passover to New Year it is not too hot. However, October and November are considered in Malabar as very hot months, and even if we come across some exaggeration in Benjamin of Tudela's accounts, it was due to the information he received in the Persian Gulf or nearby. These tales could be founded on many accounts of travellers to India who mentioned that work during the day was impossible due to extreme heat; Marco Polo states, for instance, that the heat in Southern India was so great that it almost unendurable. He says: "in fact if you put an egg into one of the rivers it will be boiled before you have had time to go any distance, by the mere heat of the sun". Mentioning Malabar he also says: "You must know that the heat here is sometimes so great that it is something wonderful". This remark is also made by Athanasius Nikitin and many others.

Dr. A. Simon's argument that the inhabitants, as well as Jews of Malabar are not all black in colour is also not convincing. Even if we admit that the population of Malabar and the Jews living there are not black in colour like negroes, they were in any case "black" to a Jewish traveller from Europe. We cannot attach too great an importance in such a narrative to the word "all"; in addition we do not know whether in these parts of Malabar the Jews then were not all black.

The argument that Qulam (Hula) cannot be reached from Qaifah (El. Quatiff, or El Katiff) in seven days is not complete. It is quite clear that Quilon could not be reached from El Quatiff in seven days, but all the commentators of Benjamin of Tudela's travels forget that, according to him, Qulam is distant from El Quatiff by 7 days' journey and from Ibrig, i. e. Ceylon, by 23 days' journey. This is one more proof of the statement that Qulam

cannot be identified with Quilon which is situated in Southern India and from which place the sea-route to Ceylon could not last as long as 23 days, in particular, when the journey from El Quatiff to Qulam lasted 7 days only. The journey of 23 days, however, was more probably from Colā-Pandarani, though as described by Benjamin of Tudela the journey to Flandrina (Pandarani) from El Quatiff is undoubtedly too short and from Flandrina to Ceylon too long. From these inaccuracies we should not come to the conclusion that Qulam is not situated in India, and is a locality 100 miles inside Arabia. The same calculation on which "A Cochin Jew" and Dr. A. Simon base their conclusions prove the contrary. Namely Benjamin of Tudela passed a very difficult, mountaneous route from Ispahan to Shiraz, amounting to circa 250 miles, in four days, so it is improbable that he travelled 100 miles, across the desert in 7 (!) days. The same applies to their other arguments, as the details given by Benjamin of Tudela cannot be applied to Arabia; it cannot be admitted that the inhabitants of Hulah in Arabia were sun-worshippers, that pepper grew in Arabia, or that the custom of embalming the dead prevailed there. If we admit that Qulam is situated in Arabia¹, so we could as well admit that it is Khaulam in the most Northern province of Yemen and not Hulah near El Quatiff. In Khaulam in Yemen many Jews used to live.

In spite of some inaccuracies, propably based on narratives of Benjamin of Tudela's informers, the following facts seem to prove that Benjamin of Tudela mentioning Qulam meant a place in India and, in particular, Flandrina-Pandarani.

(1) Benjamin of Tudela states that merchants in Qulam are very honest. This was the opinion prevailing in the Middle Ages all over the world. Already Megasthenes and afterwards Arrian referred to the truthfulness of the Indians and stated that they never lie. Hiuen Tsang referred to the straight-forwardness and honesty of the Indians and similar remarks were made by Friar Jordanus in "Mirabilia" in reference to India Minor. Similar opinions were also expressed by John de Monte Corvino (in Friar Menentillus' of Spoleto letter), Abd-ul-Razzāq, Edrisi and above all by Marco Polo who in his chapter on Lar wrote about the inhabitants, calling them Abraiāmāns (Brāhmāns), and expressed the view that they are the best and most truthful merchants in the world².

(2) Benjamin of Tudela mentions that "pepper grows in this country". In the Middle Ages India was considered as the country of pepper. This plant was already mentioned by Dioscorides and

1. Although it is difficult to agree with this statement.

2. See L. Sternbach's Gujerat, as known to Mediaeval Europe.

in the Middle Ages by many authors and, in particular, by Friar Odoric who states that pepper, above all, grows on the Malabar coast. He mentions a large pepper-forest, which extends upto Quilon and is so large that in order to pass through it from one end to the other, eighteen days were needed. This is perhaps the best proof that Benjamin of Tudela mentioning Qulam meant a place in India. Therefore, the view expressed by Dr. A. Simon that pepper found in Qulam could prove that Benjamin of Tudela meant Hulah in Arabia seems to be very strange, the more so as Benjamin of Tudela narrates how the pepper trees are planted in the fields, etc. and, as Dr. A. Simon states himself, pepper was imported to Hulah in Arabia.

(3) Ginger and other spices found "in this land" were also products for which India was famous in the Middle Ages. Marco Polo, Pegolotti, Nicolo Conti and many others stated that India was the country of these spices.

(4) Sun-worship among people of the Malabar coast, on the basis of the statement of Sankara about the sect of sun-worshippers (Sauryas), is another fact which rather proves that Benjamin of Tudela meant India.

(5) Benjamin of Tudela mentions Jews in these regions. We saw before that Cyngilin was a centre of Jews in Mediaeval India. Friar Odoric states that Jews inhabited Flandrina and it was suggested before admitting that Cyngilin was situated next to Flandrina. We shall see that other authors also mention Jews in India; in addition it is well-known that many Jews who came to India long before Benjamin of Tudela's times, were black in colour. All this proved that Benjamin of Tudela really meant India and, in particular, the centre of Jews in India, *i.e.* Flandrina-Colā-Pandarani.

12. Flandrina, as it is stated in the accounts of Edrisi, Rashid-al-din, 'Abd-al-Razzāq, Ibn Battūta, in the "*Sommario di Tutti li Regni...*", etc. was one of the 29 ports of Malabar (in "*Sommario*") built at the mouth of a river (Edrisi) and situated in a large pepper-forest (Friar Odoric). Opposite to this town, in the sea "three leagues or thereabout" was situated probably the "Sacrifice Rock" of the maps, an uninhabited island (Ludovico de Varthema). To the North of the town, full of gardens (Ibn Battūta), there was a very high mountain covered with trees; on this mountain several small villages were situated and cattle used to herd (Edrisi). Ludovico de Varthema adds that the town was not level and the land was high. According to Chinese Annals of the Mongol Dynasty Flandrina was one of the three foreign kingdoms in India with which it was prohibited to merchants who traded in fine or costly products to export any one of them to more than the value of 50,000 *ting* in paper-money. This shows that at that time (1296) Flandrina was an independent kingdom and one of the most important ports of India. In

later times Flandrina was subject to the king of Cannanore (*Sommario*) and then to the king of Calicut (Ludovico de Varthema).

It can also be seen from Edrisi's Geography that Flandrina was in the early Middle Ages a flourishing port. He says that vessels from India's islands and Sind cast anchor at Flandrina. Duarte Barbosa saw many ships in Flandrina and says that it is a place of great trade. The same opinion is expressed by Edrisi and Leonardo Ca Messer. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa states that Flandrina is a great and fine town with Bazzars, and Edrisi states that its markets are well supplied and its inhabitants are rich. We hear from Leonardo Ca Messer that from Flandrina traders use to sail to Arabia (Mecca); The chief exports were kardamon (Edrisi), pepper calamus and ginger (Benjamin of Tudela) and sapphires (Duarte Barbosa).

It is evident from Ludovico de Varthema's narrative that even in the early years of the XVI Century there was a very large fleet in Pandarani. A fleet in this port is also mentioned in Tohfatu-l-Mujahidun.

Upto the end of the XV Century Flandrina was a famous and good port and ships arrived there from the West and East to cast anchor and shelter there (*os navias que vinham a esta terra pousasem alii poe estarem seguros in Roteiro of Vasco da Gama*). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa states that at this town the Chinese vessels "pass the winter" *i. e.* probably the S. W. monsoon. Also ships (junks and kakams) on which Ibn Battuta was due to sail cast anchor in Flandrina¹. This was due to an extraordinary feature on the coast *i. e.* the occurrence of mud-banks from one to six fathoms of water, which have the effect of breaking both surf and swell to such an extent that ships can run into the patches of water so sheltered at the very height of the monsoon, when the elements are raging, and not only find a perfectly still sea, but are able to land their cargoes (from the letter of Lt. Gen. R. H. Sankey of 13th February 1881, Madras, quoted in H. Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*). This occurrence of mud-banks was, probably, the reason why in the XVI Century Flandrina began to lose its importance and why finally Pandarani disappeared completely from our maps. Even in the early years of the XVI Century Ludovico de Varthema wrote that Pandarani "is a wretched affair and has no port,"²

13. As far as the population of Flandrina and its environs are concerned we know from Benjamin of Tudela's accounts that

1. ".....another junk whose owner had decided to pass the winter at Fandaraina and the kakam referred to.....".

2. However, in Barbosa's and Correa's accounts, as well as in Tuhfatu-l-Mujahidun and others we find quotations from later dates from which it is evident that still many ships cast anchor in Pandarani.

they were black in colour, honest as merchants, and sun-worshippers¹. He also says that the temperature (heat was very high there).

From the notes of Mediaeval travellers we can determine accurately the situation of Flandrina. Rashid-ul-Din states that it is situated between Jungli (Cyngilin) and Hili, (Mount Deli) Ibn Battūta states it lies between Buddfattan (Puddupatan of today, situated between Cranganore and Calicut) and Calicut; according to "*Sommario di Tutti li Regni*" in Ramusio it lies between Bairocono (probably Badagara) and Capooar (Capucate in D. Barbosa's travels *i. e.* Kappat between Quilandi and Calicut). Finally D. Barbosa states that Flandrina is situated between Tircore (*i. e.* Tikkodi or Trikkodi) and Capucate (*i. e.* Kappat).

The distance between Bān (*i. e.* Thāna) and Flandrina amounted to 4 days' journey; between Flandrina and Jerab (Jirbata) to 5 days' journey, and between Calicut and Flandrina to one day's journey. According to Benjamin of Tudela erroneously the distance between El Quatiff and Flandrina amounted to 7 days' journey and to 23 days' journey between Ibrig (Ceylon) and Flandrina.² It is, therefore, clear that Flandrina was situated not far away from Quilandi of today.

As H. Yule writes, the name Pandarani does not appear upon modern maps "but is still attached to a miserable fishing village...Pantalani (approx. 11-26") a little way North of Koilandi-Quilandi." A similar opinion is expressed by Menon (History of Kerala, Vol. I. p. 15) who identifies Flandrina with Kollam 1½ miles North of Kaval-Kandy or Quilandy (Quilandi).

14. Only Benjamin of Tudela and Friar Odoric mention Jews in Flandrina, and Sir John Mandeville repeats Friar Odoric's statements. It is clear from Friar Odoric's account that Flandrina was a town populated by Jews,³ who were always involved in a struggle against the Christians in Cyngilin.⁴

As far as the problem of Jews in this country is concerned Benjamin of Tudela's notes are more detailed. He states that in Flandrina (Qulam) and its environs some thousands of Jews are dwelling, who are all black in colour. This does not mean that all Jews were really black in colour, however, it shows that he meant the community of the so called 'black Jews' in Flandrina

1. He also gives some customs relating to burying of the dead.

2. Quoting Benjamin of Tudela I admit here that his Qulam is identical with Flandrina.

3. "*In ista Flandrina habitantium aliqui sunt Judaei*" or "*In questa Flandrina quegli che v'habitano alchuno e giudeo alchuno e cristiano*".

4. See above.

in the beginning of the XII Century. These Jews, about whom he says, that they are good and benevolent, knew "the laws of Moses and the prophets and to a small extent the Talmud and Halakhah." That is all we know about Jews in Flandrina according to Mediaeval travellers. Unfortunately, no accounts exist from these sources about their political, social and religious organisation.

C. Maravel.

15. If we leave Flandrina and go to the North, we come, according to Mediaeval travellers, to the third centre of Jews on the West coast *i. e.* to Maravel. This place is not extensively described by them, probably because this village was of no greater importance in the Middle Ages and was only a suburb of a better known place—Mount Dely (Barbosa, Correa), also known under the names Deli (de la Valle), or Delly (Hamilton), Helly (N. Conti), or Hili (Ibn Baṭṭūta, Abulfeda), or Eli (M. Polo), etc. Mount Deli, Mount Delly of today, situated between Mangalore and Cannanore, was, according to Correa, the first Indian land seen by Vasco da Gama on the 18th May, 1498.

In Malayalam Mount Deli is known under the name Elimala which means a high mountain.¹

Mount Deli was a well-known landmark for a great hill projected into the sea (Abulfeda); this hill was also described as a round mountain, very lofty in the midst of a low land (Barbosa, Correa, etc.). Mount Dely was renowned for its good port (Marco Polo, Barbosa, Mandelslo, etc.). Close to the foot of this mountain to the South, Duarte Barbosa states, is a place called Maravel (or Marave, or Maranel) "an old town prosperous and well furnished with food". The Keraloppaṭṭi (The Malayalam History of Malabar) mentions Māṭayeliankotta from *mada* Eli-Perumal kotta-fort. In the Tuhfutu-l-Mujāhidin we find the state *Hili-Marawi*. It is also called Marabia (river) by Barroa, Vincenzo, and, probably, Heribalca (from Heri (Heli) (Balca) in "*Sommario di Tutti li Regni*" quoted by Ramusio.

Marabia or Marawia, Marawi is preserved in Mādai, which is a village situated, even today, a few miles East of Mount Deli. "In within the Madai township—writes Menon in his "History of Kerala" Vol. I. p. 15—is the hamlet of Payangadi or Palayangadi (old town or market) with an old tank known by the name of "The Jewish Tank" near which stand the ruins of the old fort or palace of the Eli or Kolattiri Rajas".

16. None of the Mediaeval travellers mentions Maravel. At the beginning of the XVI Century only Duarte Barbosa

1. Not "Rat-Hill" or "Seven Hills" as "eli" is "a rat" and "elu" is "seven". Mount Delly (*Eli*) is written in Malayalam "*eli*".

describes Maravel¹ and ending his narrative mentions the population of this village. He states that Maravel is peopled by Muhammadans, Heathens and Jews "who speak the country language and have long dwelt there". As Duarte Barbosa states that Jews dwelt in Maravel for a long time, and Benjamin of Tudela not only mentions the town of Qulam but also country situated around Qulam, we must admit that the Jewish community in Maravel existed in the Middle Ages, at least from the XI Century. Probably this community played a great role; although no Jews now live in Maravel, tradition about their staying there still exists; there still exists the Jewish Tank (Chula Kulan) which is situated on the hill, near the Travellers' Bungalow. These Jews were certainly assimilated with the Malayalam population of the town, as Duarte Barbosa states *expressis verbis*, that they speak "the country language" *i.e.* Malayalam. It must also be noted that of the Mediaeval travellers Marco Polo, Abulfeda, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Nicolo Conti quote Mount Deli, but do not mention Maravel and Jews dwelling there or in Mount Deli. Probably, as in other towns under Portuguese rule, the Jews disappeared from Maravel in the XVII and the XVIII Century.

D. Goa

17. Going more to the North we come to Goa, a port on the West Coast. In the Middle Agee, Goa was famous for its good commercial port and was known under the names Sindabāra (Mas'ūdī), Sandabūr, Sindabūra, Sindalaba Sihdāpūr (Edrisi, Rashīd-ul-Din, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and many others). Some Jews dwelt there even before the arrival of Vasco da Gama to India. Under Portuguese rule they were almost completely exterminated, but still existed at the end of the XVI Century; Jan Huygen Van Linschoten wrote about them at the end of the XVI Century, saying that a great many of them lived there. It is also evident from his narrative that they dwelt there for a long time.

18. The well-known story of Gaspar da India shows that when Vasco da Gama arrived in India, Jews already lived in Goa or Angediva. According to Gaspar Correa's narrative the captain-major at sea of the Muhammadan ruler of Goa—Sabayo was a Granadine Jew. He was sent in a small fusta on board of one of the Portuguese ships in order to take them by stratagem. He anchored and speaking Spanish asked for safe-conduct. He was given the assurance, but afterwards arrested, bound by men and tortured, because the Portuguese were informed by fishermen that he had been sent by the ruler of Goa to take the ships by stratagem. In order to save his life, he disclosed that he was

1. See above.

sent by his ruler and afterwards helped the Portuguese to defeat the ruler of Goa. Later he was baptised and named Gaspar da India.

Barros tells us almost the same story, except that he was not a Granadine Jew, but a Polish Jew, as he disclosed himself when tortured. He said, pretendedly, that in 1450 the king of Poland commanded all the Jews in Poland to be baptised within thirty days, or to leave the country, or to be burned. His parents, who lived in Bosna¹, left Poland and came to Jerusalem, thence to Alexandria, where he was born, and thence to Goa, where he was in the service of the ruler of Goa. Also Osorius calls the captain-major at sea "a Sarmate" and Jew by religion, however, Castanhe-da states that he confessed to be a Levantine Christian, and later was converted, and it was said afterwards, that he was a Jew, because it was found that he was married to a Jewess from Cochin.

In particular, Correa's, Barros' and Osorius' accounts are apparently contradictory, as far as the nationality of the Captain-major at sea of the Muhammadan ruler in Goa is concerned. The fact that Barros, as well as Osorius, state that he was a Polish Jew, seem to show that their accounts are true. In those times the Polish Jew, as a persecuted being, was unknown in Europe. Poland from the time when privileges were granted by king Kazimir III., the Great (XIV Century), was considered one of the best asylums for Jews and many of them arrived in Poland from various parts of Europe. When, at the beginning of his reign, Kazimir IV, Jagiellonczyk arrived in Poznan, a fire broke out there and all the privileges bestowed upon the Jews in the XIV Century were burnt. The Jews then received new and greater privileges from Kazimir IV. Jagiellonczyk. Only after Cardinal Zbigniew Olesnicki invited J. de Capistrano to Cracow in 1453, Kazimir IV, Jagiellonczyk, in August 1454, was forced to withdraw the privileges bestowed upon the Jews some time before. Until the arrival of J. de Capistrano to Poland, the Jews were prosperous there and did not leave Poland before 1453 or 1454. Therefore, it seems that Barros' account is not quite accurate; there is a difference of three to four years. It is, however, very probable that the parents of the captain-major at sea of the Muhammedan ruler of Goa were Spaniards by origin, who because of persecutions in Spain left this country and took refuge in Poland and then, probably in 1453 or later, left Poland for Jerusalem and Alexandria and at last for Goa. Hence their son could speak Spanish, but was "Sarmate"—a Polish Jew by origin, or a Levantine one (if we admit that he was born in Poland, or Egypt, etc. respectively), who married a Jewess of Cochin. This

1. Perhaps Bochnia.

interpretation explains the contradictory narratives of Correa, Barros, Osorius, and partly of Castanheda too. However, this story does not explain whether many or a few Jews lived in Goa in the Middle Ages. It should be admitted that before the Portuguese arrived in India, Jews dwelt in Goa, but were not numerous, as none of the Mediaeval travellers, who described Goa-Sindabur mentions Jews as inhabitants of this port. Although the community was small, at least one of them reached a very high post *i. e.* of captain-major at sea.

E. Zaymur.

19. In the XIII Century al-Qazwini describes Zaymūr (زيمور), the most northern town on the West-coast, where Jews are mentioned as dwelling there,

Zaymūr is () of Ptolemy's Tables and of Periplus). Mas'ūdi and Edrisi call this place Saimur or Chaimur. It is also known under the names Jaimūr (albiruni), Chaul, Choul, Sheul, Chevul, Chivil, chival etc. Zaymūr is the Choul or Chaul (Revadanda) of our times, small place South of Bombay¹. As far as I know, al-Qazwini is the only author who mentions Jews in Mediaeval Choul. He does not give us many details about them, merely states that Zaymūr is inhabited by Muham-madans, Christians, Jews and Magis (Parsis). Probably, the Jewish community in Choul was very small and did not play any political, social or any other role.

F. Calicut, Cranganore, Cochin

20. Coming back to the principal Jewish settlements in Mediaeval India-Flandrina and Cyngilin, and going to the South, we arrive in Calicut, Cranganore and Cochin. It is well-known that Jews dwelt for a very long time in Cranganore, although Mediaeval travellers do not record this fact². The same applies to Calicut and Cochin. However, it must be pointed out that Calicut and Cochin were not remarked by Mediaeval travellers with the exception of Qalikūt (قاليكوت) mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Abd-al-Razzāq and Cochin (Cocym) by Nicolo Conti and on the Fra Mauro's map³. Both these localities existed and that Jews dwelt there is evident from the statement of Girolamo Sernigis (in the *Account of the Voyage of Vasco da Gama*), who in the closing years of the XV Century mentioned a Jewish pilot whose wife and

1. See L. Sternbach's Gujarat as known to Mediaeval Europe.

2. If we admit that Cranganore cannot be identified with Cyngilin. See above.

3. Also Cranganore is not mentioned by Mediaeval travellers, however, on the copper-plates privileges, granted to Jews, we find the name Kodungaur or the like.

children lived in Calicut and who told him that there were not many Jews in that place which was ruled by a Jewish king, of the ten tribes of the Jews who went out of Egypt. The same results are also arrived at Ludovico de Varthema's accounts, who in the beginning of the XVI Century mentions a Jew who had built in Calicut a very beautiful galley and had made four mortars of iron and who was drowned when going to wash himself in a pond. Also David Reubeni in the beginning of the XVI Century was asked about Jews in Calicut which proves that it was known to the West that they lived there. As far as Cochin in concerned, the same conclusion can be arrived at from the fact that Castanheda in the beginning of the XVI Century records that Gaspar da India was married to a Jewess of Cohin.¹ It must be pointed out again that, from other than Mediaeval travellers' sources, is clear, that, in particular, Cranganore was in the Middle Ages the chief dwelling place of Jews in India.

G. Kanjarkara.

21. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, travelling from Qalīqūt (قاليقوت) to Kawlam or Kūlam (كولام) i. e. to Quilon, did not take either the sea route or the ordinary land route but travelled through the so-called backwaters. He writes that this route lasted for ten days. Along the sea and river route were cinnaman and brazil trees which were used by the inhabitants instead of fuel. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa writes that he set out by the river and hired one of the Muhammadans to carry the carpet for him. Their custom was to disembark in the evening and pass the night in the village on its banks, returning to the boat in the morning. On the fifth day i. e. half way between Calicut and Quilon—Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived in a locality called Kanjarkarā or Kunjarkarā or the like كنجركرا "which is on the summit of a hill." As far as I know, none of the mediaeval travellers remarked on this locality, and Ludovico de Varthema who also passed through the backwaters does not mention Kanjarkarā. I did not also find any commentary on the situation of this locality which is probably situated not very near to the West coast, half way between Calicut and Quilon. It is probable that Kanjirapalli of today, situated about 25 miles to the East from Kottayam is identical with Kanjarkarā of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

22. Kanjarkarā was at the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa one of the chief dwelling places of Jews in Southern India. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa writes that it was inhabited by Jews who had one of their own members as their governor and paid a polltax to the ruler of

1. A very interesting and exhaustive account about Jews, in Cochin in the end of the XVI Century is to be found in the narrative of travels by Jan Huygen van Linschoten.

Kawlam *i. e.* Quilon. It is evident from this description of Kanjarkarā that it was a Jewish town and inhabited only by Jews. The Jews had their own elected governor-king who was tributary to the ruler of Quilon.

In addition to Cyngilin, Flandrina and Maravel-Kanjarkarā was the fourth centre of Jews in Ancient India, as described by Mediaeval travellers.

H. Quilon.

23. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa when describing Kawlam does not mention Jews there. However Marco Polo who had been there much earlier mentioned Jews in Coilum (Quilon).

Kawlam, or Kaulam, in Malayalam Kollam (from kolu-palace), is also quoted as Koulam-Malay, Kulam (Rashipal-Din, Wassaf), Kiulan (Chinese Annals), Colam (in "*Sommario...*"), Coulam (Barbosa), Coulaio (Carnoes), Coiloam (Hamilton), Colon (Varthema), Colonbio (Friar Odorick-Palatine MS.), Columbo (Pope John XXII), Columbum (Friar Jordanus), Polumbum (Friar Odoric), etc. It has been suggested to admit that two Colams existed, one Colā, "*il qual chiamano Pandarani* and the second Colam, which, according to the "*Sommario...*" *da vna banda conferma col regno di Travincor* (Travancore)..." Many quotations of various authors who quote Kulam or the like refer to the first of these Culams *i. e.* Culak-Pandarani-Flandrim, similar to the long quotation from Benjamin of Tudela's account on Qulam. In any case we know that Kulam-Quilon was considered in Mediaeval times as a very rich town and splendid port.

24. Marco Polo was the only Mediaeval traveller who mentioned Jews in Quilon. He states "*Coilon est quoddam regnum quod inuenitur versus garbin discendendo a pouincia maagabar ipsius gentes adorant ydola sunt etiam ibi xpistianj and Judei...*". It is possible that Marco Polo, whose narratives on the Western coast of India are based on hearsay, was only told that in the environs of Coilon, *i. e.* in the kingdom of Coilon, Jews dwelt and did not mean Quilon, but also Kanjarkarā. It also results from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travels, as well as from "*Sommario di Tutti li Regni*", that the kingdom of Quilon embraced also Kanjarkarā (the kingdom of which was tributary to the ruler of Quilon), the more so as between Cochin and Quilon there was the kingdom Caicolan (probably Kāyamkulam of today) which bordered on the North "*con le terre del regno di Cochin and dall' altra col regnum di Coulam*". However, we have no proof on this subject as we have no detailed news about the Jewish communities in Quilon and Kanjarkarā.

2. Eastern Coast

25. These are the quotations by Mediaeval travellers referring to Jews on India's Western Coast. As far as the Eastern

coast is concerned, the quotations are more scarce. As far as I know, only John de Monte Corvino mentions that few Jews dwell on the Western coast *i.e.* in Malabar and that they were of little weight. This quotation is known from the Italian transcript or version made by the Dominican Friar Menentillus of Spoleto who forwarded a copy of a letter from John de Monte Corvino to Friar Bartolomew de Santo Concordio. Besides him none of the Mediaeval travellers note Jews on the Eastern coast.

3. Kashmir

26. As far as the problem of Jews in Kashmir is concerned I found only one quotation in Al-Birūnī's work on India. According to Sachau's translation the inhabitants of Kashmir "are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and, therefore, take always much care to keep a stronghold upon the entrance and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people" (p. 206). From other Mediaeval travellers who describe Kashmir (Marco Polo, Chinese travellers etc.) do not mention Jews as living there; F. Bernier only relates in the XVII Century that there are many signs of Judaism to be found in Kashmir. He, however, refers to some Jesuits who had noticed the signs some time before, what could mean that these accounts might relate to former times. F. Bernier bases his statement on the fact that the inhabitants "resemble Jews"; this is also noted by some modern travellers who observed that some of the inhabitants of Kashmir have some biblical (Jewish) names etc. According to Bernier's translation of his travels in the Mogul Empire by A. Constable (Westminster 1891) "their (Jews) countenance and manner and that indescribable peculiarity which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations, all seemed to belong to that ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the Jewish appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our Jesuit Father, and by several Europeans, long before I visited Kashmir. A second sign is the prevalence of the name of Mousa which means Moses among the inhabitants of this city, notwithstanding they are all Mohomedans. A third is the common tradition that Solomon visited this country and that it was he who opened passage for the waters by cutting the mountain of Baromoule. A fourth, the belief that Moses died in the city of Kashemir, and that his tomb is within a league of it. And a fifth may be found in the generally received opinion that the small and extremely ancient edifice seen on one of the high hills was built by Solomon, and it is called the Throne of Solomon to this day. You will see then, that I am not disposed to deny that Jews may have taken up their residence in Kashemir. The

purity of their law, after a lapse of ages may have been corrupted, until, having long degenerated into idolatry, they were induced, like any other pagans, to adopt the creed of Mahomet."

Although Bernier's arguments are not quite convincing, as some of them can also refer to Muhammadans, his observations, in particular when compared with those of al-Birūnī, and the fact that in Kashmir we still come across such names like Rahimju, Lusju, Julju,¹ etc. it can be admitted that perhaps in the IX or the X Century, and may be even earlier, Jews settled in Kashmir with the permission of the rulers of Kashmir. However, they did not play any greater role. Their life, customs etc. are unknown to us.

4. Ceylon.

27. At last it has to be mentioned that we know from Mediaeval travellers, that Jews dwelt in Ceylon. We find some statements relating to Jews in Ceylon in Ibn Wahab's and Abū Sa'id-al Ḥasan Sirāṭi's accounts (IX Century), in Edrisi's Geography (XII Century), Benjamin of Tudela's narrative (XII Century), as well as in the letter from the XIII Century (found in the Cairo Geniza) of an Indian Jew addressed to his business correspondence in Cairo.²

III. General Quotations.

28. The references quoted above refer only to some specific localities in Mediaeval India, where Jews used to dwell permanently. However we know also that Jews very often arrived in various places of mediaeval India in order to do business. It must be noted that it is, in some cases, controvertible, whether the India mentioned in these accounts is proper India (India of today), or Ethiopia (Abissynia). Some facts quoted by the travellers as *e. g.* by David Maimonides that trading in precious stones existed in India, which was so famous for this country, or the reference to people who do not kill any living creature for food, by Elijah of Ferrara, show, probably that the relative quotations refer to the India of today.

29. David Maimonides, brother of the famous R. Moses ben Maimon, has been in India in the XII Century trading in precious stones. Elijah of Ferrara in his letter of July 1438 mentions an old Jew who had been in India, and Abū'l Kāsim' Ubaidullah bin 'Abd Allāh b Khirdādhba in the "Book of Ways and Kingdoms" writes already in the IX Century, that Jewish merchants, called ar-Rhadaniya embark in the Red Sea and sail from Suez to Medina

1. Rahim-Jew, Lew-Jew, etc. "Ju" might also be the sign of revention "ji".

2. This problem is too exhaustive to be described in this paper.

and Jeddah and then travel to Sind, India and China. They also journey from Baghdad to Sind, India proper, and China through the Tigris, Al-Obolla and Oman, as well as by land route from Baghdad *via* Basra, Ahwaz, Fars and Kirman.

Many of these Jewish merchants remained in India. This can be proved from a very interesting letter, in Arabic-Hebrew, written in the XIII Century (perhaps even earlier) by a Jew in India to his business correspondent in Cairo and found in the Cairo Geniza.¹ It is evident from this letter that the sender in India was prosperous, that he exported to Egypt *via* Aden, in particular, *peganum harmata, ruta, coryphyllum*, etc. and that he used to travel to Ceylon and back, that he stored the goods in Aden in order to redirect them through an intermediary to Egypt, that small parcels were sent by him through Muhammadan merchants, who, probably, came to India in order to continue trade with this country (Sheikh Joseph Abulman), etc.²

30. In the XV Century Jews arrived in India from Europe. This is evident from the fact, that, when Vasco da Gama arrived in India, he met some Jews who, according to Correa and Cabral,¹ were of Spanish descent, and according to Barros and Osorius, of Polish descent, and according to Castanheda, were Levantines³.

Maimonides wrote, in Arabic, in his letter of consolation to the congregation of Yemen, directed personally to his correspondent, but having reference to all the members (Igeret temān) that the Indian Jews "do not know the written Law. They have nothing of religion except that they rest on the Sabbath and perform circumcision on the eight day." It is very doubtful whether this para of Maimonides' letter refers to Jews in India or to Jews in Ethiopia (Abissynia). The latter supposition is more probable, as in the Middle Ages "*tres Indias*" were known⁴ and real India was very often confused with Ethiopia (Abissynia), and as this para is contradictory to a similar one in Benjamin of Tudela's travels (referring to qulam), where it is stated that Jews know the laws of Moses and prophets and to a small extent the Talmud and Halākhah. The second conclusion can emerge from the fact that David Maimonides had, probably, really been in India, in order to do business, and could narrate to his brother about Jews he met in India.⁵

31. From Benjamin of Tudela's remarks it may result that the authority of the Exilarch (Prince of Captivity) extended over

1. Quoted in "Jewish Travellers" by E. N. Adler, London, pp. 100-102.

2. History of Gaspar da India. See above.

3. *Copia di una Lettera*, p. 8 quoting a Seville Jewess in Malabar.

4. History of Gaspar da India. See above.

5. See L. Sternbach's Gujarat as known to Mediaval Europe.

the Jews of India too. Benjamin of Tudela says that the authority of the Prince of Captivity extend "as far as the frontier of the provinces and cities of Tibet and India." It is not quite clear, however, whether this included Tibet and India, or excluded it. It is more probable that it excluded it, as the Mediaeval travellers do not mention that the Exilarch exerted power over India. On the contrary we hear about Kings of Jews in India. And so Elijah of Ferrara in the middle of the XV Century says that there is "a very mighty and powerful king reigning over the Jews only," the Jewish merchant who wrote a letter, in Arabic-Hebrew, in the XIII Century to his business friend in Cairo (found in the Cairo Geniza) wrote about "My lord" who "is kind to foreigners."¹ Friar Jordanus mentions king of Singuyli (Cyngilin) which was mostly inhabited by Jews al-Dimushqi, and at the end of XV Century or at the beginning of the XVI Century Girolama Sernigi in his account on the voyage of Vasco da Gama states that he was told by an Alexandrian Jew, he met in India, that there was a king of Jews of the ten tribes of the Jewish people who went out of Egypt; we also know that at the beginning of the XVI Century David Reubeni told the king that his brother was an independent king. It is rather doubtful that they really were kings, they were, however, chieftains almost independent (jurisdiction etc.) on the basis of privileges bestowed upon them (on copper-plates) by the Perumāls.

It is evident that these few remarks are not intended as a history of Indian Jews in the Middle Ages but as a collection from notes of Mediaeval travellers in whose accounts we find references to Jews in India and their principal dwelling places.

TWO CENTURIES OF MADURA—(1334-1530)

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Madura was the southern most of the twenty three Provinces under Muhammad Ibn Tughlaq, for the administration of which a Governor was appointed. The authority of the Sultan of Delhi over M'abar was however brought to an end in 735 A. H. (A.D. 1334) by one Jalāl-ud-dīn Aḥsan Shāh, the Kotwāl of the City of Madura, who, taking advantage of the weakness of the Central Government and the rebellions in the Deccan, assassinated the

1. It can also mean an Indian Raja.

Governor and others connected with the administration of the Madura Province, made himself the independent ruler of the region, took the title of Sharif Jalāl-ud-dīn Aḥsan Shāh and thereby established the independent Sultanate of Madura. It lasted till 1378 during which period some eight Sultans ruled one after another, Jalāl-ud-dīn Aḥsan Shāh (1344-39) 'Alā-ud-dīn Udanji (1339) Qutb-ud-dīn Firūz Shāh (1339) Ghiyās-ud-dīn Muhammad Dāmaghān Shāh (1339-'44) Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghāsi Dāmaghān (1344-'56) 'Adil Shāh (1356-59) Fakhrud-dīn Mubārak Shāh (1359-'68) and Alā-ud-dīn Sikandar Shāh (1368-78).

During this period the country suffered from the effects of terrible misrule as may be inferred from the observations of the African traveller, Ibn Battata, who visited Madura during the reign of his co-son-in-law Ghiyāsud-dīn.¹ According to the *Pandyan Chronicle*, as a result of the establishment of the Muslim Sultanate at Madura "the proper tutelary deity of Madura went into the Malayalam country. Then the wall of the temple and the fourteen towers on it and the streets inside were destroyed.² An inscription at Tirukkajakkudi (Ramnad District) describes the nature of the Muslim rule at Madura some what on the following lines: "The times were Tulukkan (Muslim) times; the *devadana* lands of the Gods were taxed with *Kudimai*; the temple worship however had to be done without any reduction; the *ulavu* or cultivation of the temple lands was done by turns by the tenants of the village".³ The *Madhuravijayam* of Gangādevi, the wife of the Vijayanagar Prince Kumāra Kampana also gives a vivid, though a poetic description of the nature and effects of the Muslim rule at Madura.⁴ The Pāṇdyas whose power had not however become extinct appear to have continued to exercise some political power in the reign round the Madura Country as may be gleaned from the provenance of their inscriptions in the districts of Tinnevely, Ramnad, Tanjore, South Arcot and the Pudukkottai State.

In the meanwhile the Vijayanagar Empire had been founded in 1336 and the early rulers of the dynasty were expanding the boundaries of the empire on all sides. Kumāra Kampana the son of Bukka I, the second ruler of the Vijayanagar dynasty was responsible for the expansion of the empire in the south. After the conquest of the Rājagambhira rājya, the country of the Sambuvarāyas, Kampana marched south, restored and reconsecrated God Ranganatha in the temple at Srirangam, reached Madura and after defeating the Sultan of the place brought to an end the Madura Sultanate and restored Hindu rule in the region.

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of India*, p. 279.
2. *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, I, p. 35.
3. *MER.*, 1916, part II, para 33.
4. See pp. 69 ft,

It is however difficult to fix the exact date of Kampana's invasion and conquest of Madura. Though we get a fairly good number of coins issued by the Sultans of Madura, there is a break of about twelve years in them from 1345 to 1357. It has been suggested that such a long break could not have been due to a mere accident, that during that period Kampana must have invaded the Madura country and inflicted such crushing defeats on the Sultans of the place that they could not have been bold enough even to mint coins.⁵ But this period (1345-'57) seems to be too early for the invasion of Madura by Kampana. An inscription at Madam (North Arcot) dated A. D. 1363 would indicate that he conquered to Padaividu or Rajaganbhira rājya in about 1359-60. The earliest mention of Kampana in the inscriptions of the southern Tamil Districts is S. 1285 (1363-64).⁷ A record of the 31st year of a certain Maravarman Vira Pandya from Tirukkalakudi in the Ramnad District refers to the southern campaigns of Kampana and his destruction of the Muslim Power followed by the establishment of orderly administration throughout the country and the appointment of many chiefs (*nayakkun-mars*) for the inspection and supervision of temples.⁸ The date of this record is usually taken to be A. D. 1364. Thus it appears that Kampana invaded the Madura region about 1361-63. An inscription of S. 1293 (A. D. 1371) at Srirangam records that Gopana, the general of Kampana restored and reconsecrated the images of God Ranganatha and his consorts in the temple at the place. During the period of the Muslim invasions of the region about A. D. 1327 they had been secretly carried away from the place by the Hindu Priests to Tirupati by way of Jyotiskudi, Tirumalirunjolai, Kolikkudi and Pnuaganur.⁹ Three inscriptions at Tiruppullani (Ramnad District) belong to Kampana¹⁰ and are dated 1371 and 1374. Thus it appears that the campaigns started by Kampana about 1361-62 in the region south of the R. Kaveri were completed by 1371.

Rev. Fr. Heras thinks that Madura could have been conquered only about 1377 on the ground that we have coins of the last Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Sikandar Shah dated A. H. 779 (A. D. 1377).¹¹ But it must be noted that it is not necessary to hold that Kampana finished all his work of conquest in one expedition.

5. S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 179-185.

6. See *MER.*, 228, 266 of 1919 ; 203 of 1921.

7. V. Rangachari, *Ins. of the Madras Presidency*, III, p. 1607 No. 803 D.

8. *MER.*, 1916, Part II, para 33.

9. See *Madhuravijayam*, Intro. pp 12-25 ; Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, II, p. 111 ; S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 116.

10. *M.E.R.* 106 and 111 of 1903.

11. *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 105-06.

Even after 1371 the last Muslim ruler might not have completely disappeared from the region and therefore could have issued some unauthorised coins for a few years. But the political power of the Muslims at Madura appears to have been broken by 1371 at the latest. According to the *Jaiminibharatam* of Pina Virabhadra Kampana was assisted by one Saluva Mangu in his campaigns and that the Sultan of Madura was killed in battle. This is supported by the evidence of the *Ramabhyudayam* of Saluva Narasimha.¹² But in the light of the epigraphical and other pieces of evidence on the subject it appears that the Sultan was not killed in battle.

The overthrow of the Madura Sultanate about this period is borne out by other pieces of evidence also. The *Maduraittalavaralaru*, the *Maduraisthanikarvaralaru*, the *Madurai Pandya-rajakkal caritran*, the account of the Rajas of the Cera, Cola and Pāṇḍa countries and the *Koyilolugu*, all refer to the destruction of the Muslim power and the restoration of Hindu rule in the region.¹³ While the first four of the above works credit Kampana with that achievement, the *Koyilolugu* states that Gopana, the *Karyakkarar*, (agent) of Kampana was responsible for it. The *Jaiminibharatam* and the *Ramabhyudayam* mentioned above credit Saluva Mangu with the achievement. But the *Pandya Pratapavamsavali* says that Kampana Uḍaiyar and Yammava Uḍaiyār defeated the Muslims and set up their rule.¹⁴

According to the Tamil chronicles that deal with the history of Madura, between S 1293 and 1327 (1371-1405 A. D.) the Madura country was successively ruled by the Vijayanagar Viceroys Kampana Uḍaiyar, his son Jammaṇa Uḍaiyār also called Yammaṇa Uḍaiyār, Ommaṇa Uḍaiyār and Empaṇa Uḍiyār and later by the latter's brother-in-law Porkāsuddaiyār.¹⁵ In some inscriptions of the period Kampana is said to have ruled from Madura 'he being pleased to conduct the rule of the earth on a permanent throne.'¹⁶ Kampana appears to have ruled till 1374 in which year he evidently died and was succeeded by his son Jammaṇa. His inscriptions bearing dates after that year have not been found so far;¹⁷ but the epigraphs of his son are dated from that year. In fact a lithic record of that year mentions a tax free gift of land by Jammaṇa for performing *adhyayama* as *sraddhanga* for Kampana.¹⁸ The overlordship of Vijayanagar was recognised

12. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp 29 and 32.

13. Taylor, *Catalogne Raisonne of Oriental Manuscripts*, III, pp. 39 and 56 8.

14. Taylor, *Ibid.*, III, pp. 435-6.

15. Nelson, *The Madura Country*, III, p. 82.

16. *MER*, 18 of 1899.

17. The last of them is 114 of 1903 (S. II, VIII, No. 400, dated 2nd October, 1374).

18. 1573 of 1902; S. II., VIII, No. 164; dated 17th December, 1374.

by South India till 1385 when the region appears to have got out of the control of the imperial ruler Harihara II (1376-1404). Hence Virūpākṣa son of Harihara II reconquered South India, reimposed the Vijayanagar overlordship over the Tundina Coḷa and Pāṇḍya countries and ruled over them.¹⁹ Evidently the Governor at Madura was under his control. But we do not know how long Jammaṇa was the Governor at Madura. There is no reference to his brother-in-law Porkāśudaiyar in inscriptions. However, "the establishment of the power of Vijayanagar in Madura proved to be the beginning of the end of Pāṇḍyan rule in the city where, except for relatively short intervals, the Pāṇḍyas had held sway from the earliest times to the fourteenth century."²⁰

The chronicles relating to the history of Madura mention that Kampaṇa after his conquest of the place installed one Somaśekhara Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍyan throne, he being the rightful claimant. Some among them state that during the period of the Muslim rule at Madura he had fled to the Malayalam country, and that after it was brought to an end by Kampaṇa he claimed back his kingdom, while a few others record that Kampaṇa was ordered by his overlord, one Basavadeva Mahārāja, to restore the Pāṇḍyan throne to its original claimant. But neither Somaśekhara Pāṇḍya, nor anyone bearing a name similar to that, is known to epigraphy. Further the accounts contained in the Madura Chronicles are too confused to be accepted unless they are confirmed by other sources.

According to the *Madurai Halavaralam* and the *Madurai Sthanikar varalaru* Madura was under the rule of two persons Lakkanna and Mādanna for a period of forty-eight years between 'S 1327 and 1375 (A. D. 1405 and 1453). This is confirmed by the evidence of inscriptions. In 1438 Lakkanna (Lakṣmaṇa) Daṇḍanāyaka, the minister of the Vijayanagar Emperor Devarāya II took the title of *Daksina samudradhipati* indicative of his position as the governor of the southern region.²¹ Mādanna also is credited with that title.²²

We have no clear idea about the history of Madura after 1450 A. D. on account of the paucity of reliable evidence and the unreliable nature of the apocryphal tales contained in the chronicles of Madura. According to the latter Lakkanna Daṇḍanāyaka brought out of retirement the children of a Pāṇḍyan King by his

19. *Epi. Ind.*, III, p. 228; VIII, pp. 298-306; Alampundi and Soraikkavur plates; see also S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 53.

20. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 247.

21. *MER* 567, of 1904; 128 of 1901; S. II, VII, 318.

22. *MER* 141 of 1901.

concubine, one Abhirami, a dancing girl at Kalaiyar Koyil. The *Maduraittala varalaru* says that they were four, while the *Maduraisthanikar varalaru* says that they were six. The former of the two mentions their names, namely Mahābalivāṇādirāyar also referred to as Sundattol Mahāvilvinātharāyar and son of a Mahābalivāṇa who is said to have embraced Prabandhanic Vaiṣṇavism as taught by Maṇavaḷa Mahāmuni,²³ Kaliyār Somanār, Anjātaperumāl and Muttarasa Tirumalai Vāṇādirāyar. From their names it is evident that they belonged to the Bāṇa stock. It is not likely that they could have had anything dynastically to do with the Pāṇdyas of Madura; and the accounts in the chronicles seem to give only a confused explanation of the rise of the Bāṇarāya chieftains under Vijayanagar. They appear to have been a family of chieftains who were for a long time living on the basin of the R. Palār and during the days of the Coḷa King Kulottunga III some of them appear to have been transferred to the Madura region.²⁴

The circumstances under which they were appointed to rule over the Madura country in the latter half of the fifteenth century are not clearly known. But from a study of the political history of the region during the period the following conclusions may be drawn. After the conquest and occupation of Madura by Kampana Uḍaiyār, the Pāṇdyas retired to the far south and their political power became confined to the present Tinnevely district, their capital being Tenkāsi. Among the Pāṇḍyan rulers who ruled in the fifteenth century at Tenkāsi was one Arikesari Parākrama Pāṇḍya (1422-63). According to some of his inscriptions he secured successes against the Kings of Jaffna and Ceylon in a number of battles, such as those of Singai, the Capital of Jaffna, Anurai, the capital of Ceylon, Jrasai, Vindai, Mudalai, Virai and Vaippara.²⁵ The then King of Ceylon was Parākrama Bāhu VI (1422-68) of the Kotte dynasty. A few Vijayanagar inscriptions credit Lakkanna Dandanayaka, the imperial governor at Madura with the defeat of the Ceylonese King. In 1435 he is said to have fitted out a cavalry force for destroying Iyāl pānam. Napatamanam, (Napattanam) and Ilana and for the success of same an endowment was made as *sumudra yatrādana*.²⁶ He was evidently successful in the expedition and hence in 1438 he assumed the title of *Dakṣinasumudradhipati*.²⁷ and Devarāya II took the title of *Ilamtirai Konda*²⁸ (one who took tribute from Ceylon). The reference to the conquest of at least a part of

23. MER 307 of 1930; 85 of 1929; 1 and 12 of 1932.

24. R. Satyanatha Ayyar, *The Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 78-79.

25. Travancor Archaeological Series I, M.E.R. 4 of 1912. T.A.S. II, pp. 95-8.

26. S.I.I. VII, 778.

27. 141 of 1903.

28.

Ceylon by Lakkanna Daṇḍanāyaka in some inscriptions, and by Arikesari Parākrama Pāṇḍya in some other inscription, is very probably to the same incident. It is reasonable to assume that Arikesari Parākrama as a loyal feudatory and ally of the Vijayanagar house cooperated with Lakkanna Daṇḍanāyaka and actively participated in his campaigns against the rulers of Jaffna and Ceylon, and hence it is, both of them claimed success in the battles. Arikesari by his loyal and devoted service to the imperial house seems to have won the confidence of the authorities. It is possible that under the circumstances he could have been restored to his ancestral territory, the Madura country. But soon he became so overconfident of his position and importance that he began to issue independent coins from his 25th year. Not only that. It is not improbable that he, taking advantage of the looseness of the imperial control over the far south after the death of Devarāya II in 1447, could have attempted "either to regain their (Pandyas' independence or to increase their patrimony by taking advantage of the difficulties of the Vijayanagar Empire".²⁹ This naturally roused the anger of the Vijayanagar house and hence Narasā Nāyaka an imperial general was sent down to establish in a strong manner the imperial control in the far south. According to the Kṛṣṇapuram plates of Sadāśiva Rāya Narsā Nāyaka brought under his control one Manabhūṣana the ruler of Madura.³⁰ He has been identified with Arikeśari Parākrama Pāṇḍya for he is known to have borne such titles as *Manabhusana*, *Manabharana* and *Manakavaca*. The *Varadambika Parinayam* of Timmalāmbā says that Narasā Nāyaka, after taking the Cola country entered the town of Madura and was presented by its ruler with valuable articles.³¹ The *Acyutarayabhyudayam* of Varadāmbā mentions that Narasā Nāyaka captured Madura after defeating and killing its Marava ruler in battle.³² But in the light of the details contained in the first two of the above three sources of information the evidence of the last work regarding the manner of the capture of Madura cannot be relied upon. The net result of Narasā Nāyaka's expedition seems to have been the removal of Arikeśari Parākrama from Madura to distant Tenkāśi and the appointment of the Māvalivāṇādirāyars to be in charge of the administration of the Madura country. If the Madura Chronicles may be believed it is not improbable that Lakkanna Daṇḍanāyaka would have helped Narasā Nāyaka in the re-organisation of the Government of Madura. All these must have happened about A. D. 1453 for an inscription of that year mentions that one uranga Villidāsan Mahābalivāṇan, doubtless a Bāṇa chieftain³³ was in the possession of the old Pāṇḍyan capital.

29. R. Satyanatha Ayyar, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

30. *Epi. Ind.* IX, p. 330, *T. A. S. I.* pp. 52-3.

31. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 171.

32. *Ibid.* p. 108.

33. *MER* 577 of 1926.

Some of the inscriptions issued by the Bāṇas of Madura of this period are available. An epigraph of 'S 1386 (A. D. 1464) refers to one Tinmalirunjolai niran Māvali vānādi rayan Uranga Villidāsan³⁴. In S 1399 (A. D. 1477) a Tirumalirunjolai Mahabalivāṇa is said to have been ruling from Madura³⁵. Again an inscription of 'S 1410 (A. D. 1488) refers to a Mahābali Bāṇā-dhiraya as ruling from Madura³⁶. Some thirty-one years later (S 145(5) A. D. 1533) a lithic record at Devipattanam (Ramad District) mentions a Bāṇa chieftain Sundattoḷuḍiaya Mahabali vānā-dhirayar.³⁷ Thus the Bāṇas appear to have been in charge of the administration of Madura in the latter half of the fifteenth Century by reason of which they were known as *Madhurapuri mahanayakkar*.³⁸ They appear to have been known also as Valivānāthrayars.³⁹ Their assumption of the titles Sundarat-toḷuḍaiyān and Tirumāliarunjolai ninran is significant. The god at Tirumalimunjolai (Alagark-yoil Madura District) is referred to in Tamil literature as Sundarattoḷuḍaiyān, and the taking of that title by the Bāṇa chieftain was probably due to the fact that the God of the Alagar hills was their tutelary deity. The title Tirumāliarunjolai ninran also assumed by Bāṇa chieftains makes us infer that they could have ruled from the Alagar Hills also. In fact throughout their chequered history extending over centuries they seem to have ruled from the hill regions. We do not as yet know if they had anything to do with the Pāṇas referred to in ancient Tamil literature.

According to local traditions the Bāṇas made substantial additions to the big temple at Madura and constructed four *gopurams* for it. As said above during the period of the occupation of the city by the Muslims (1335-1371) the whole temple except the two inner sanctums were destroyed. The architectural features in the *mantapas*, pillars etc., in the first *prakara* around the two sanctums bear the characteristics of the fifteenth century style of South Indian architecture. Likewise the general architectural features of the *gopuras* inside what are now called the *Adividhis* lend support to the accounts that they were all constructed by the Bāṇa chieftains of Madura in the fifteenth century.

During the days of the Mallikarjunarāya and Virūpākṣa rāya at Vijayanagar (1448-'85) the imperial government was weak. The period was one of internal rebellion and external aggression. Taking advantage of this condition of affairs in the north the

34. MER 307 of 1930.

35. V. Rangachari, *op. cit.* II, p. 1131 No. 178 c

36. T. A. S. I, p. 53.

37. MER 121 of 1903.

38. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 672.

39. V. Rangachari, *op. cit.* II, p. 1181 No. 177.

Bāna chieftain who ruled in 1469 marched as far as Conjeevaram and occupied the city. An inscription (dated S 1391 A. D. 1469) of a ruler who is mentioned by his *birudas*, *Bhuvanaikavisa* and *Samarakolahala* records the grant of two villages named Samarakolahala nallūr and Bhuvanaikaviranallūr in the Pāṇḍyan country to the temples of Ekāmrānātha and Kāmākṣī at Conjeevaram.⁴⁰ It has been surmised that the ruler who bore the above titles was a Pāṇḍyan King.⁴¹ It is argued that "many coins of his containing the legends of *Samarakolahalam* and *Bhuvanaikaviran* on the reverse and the figure of a *garuda* kneeling on a fish (the Pāṇḍyan emblem) show that he must have attempted to regain a little of the ancient glory that belonged to his royal house."⁴² But it is evident that the terms *Samarakolahalan* and *Bhuvanaikaviran* are only titles and not names of persons. The same inscription credits the chieftain with two more titles, *Vediyar Kavalam* and *Virakancukun*.⁴³ It is interesting to note that an epigraph at Nekkonam in the Pudukkottai state dated A. D. 1483 refers to a Virapratapa Sundarattoḷudaiyān Mahābali Vānādhirāya with all the above four titles. Therefore it is possible to infer that the chieftain referred to in the Conjeevaram record was not different from the one referred to in the Nekkonam inscription. If this be accepted the person who occupied Conjeevaram in 1469 was none other than the Bāna Chieftain Virapratapa Sundarattoḷudaiyān Mahābali Vānādhirāya. The emblem of the Bānas appears to have been that of the *garuda* as may be inferred from the title *Garudaketakan* mentioned for the Bāna chieftain in the Nekkonam record. Some coins of the Bānas contain the figure of Garuda kneeling on the fish, the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas. Probably coins of that type were issued by the Bānas apparently in commemoration of their success over the Pāṇḍyas in battle or in power. They were evidently issued to mark the displacement of the Pāṇḍyas from the Madura country and the coming to power of the Bānas in their place. Thus when the Bānas were occupying the region round about Madura it could not have been possible for the Pāṇḍyas who were far away in the south, to have occupied Conjeevaram about 1469. Therefore there cannot be any doubt about the fact, that taking advantage of the weakness of the imperial hold over the Provinces, the Bānas seized Conjeevaram in order to gain much political power. But they did not remain in possession of the city for a long time for, in the course of a year or two after that the hold of Vijayanagar

40. MER, 25 of 1890, S.I.I. IV; No. 348.

41. MER, 1907 para 57; Mysore Gazetteer (New Edn) Vol. II, Pt. iii, pp. 1604-05.

42. MER, 1890 para 2

43. MER 25 of 1890.

44. Pudukkottai State Inscriptions No. 672.

was once again established around Conjeevaram as is well borne out by the imperial records at the place dated 1471 and 1472.⁴⁵

But they appear to have continued to exercise political power in the Madura region under the overlordship of Vijayanagar till about the commencement of the sixteenth century. Later, probably an account of the failure of heirs in the direct line of the Bānas the administration of the area was taken over by Narasānāyaka, the imperial general who remained governor for some time, after which one Nāgammā Nāyaka succeeded him. He was in power till the foundation of the Madura Nāyakship under his son Viśvanātha Nāyaka towards the closing years of the reign of Krsnadevarāya of Vijaynagar.

KAPILESVARA GAJAPATI AND VIJAYANAGAR RULERS

BY

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The Sanskrit work 'Gaṅgavamśānu Charita'¹ mentions campaign to the south, of Bhānudeva the last of the Gaṅga rulers of Kaliṅga. But the exact date of this campaign and of its immediate causes are not mentioned.

South of Kaliṅga the Reddis of Rājahmundry were holding sway; to the west was the kingdom of the Velamas, with its two capital Devarakonda and Rājukonda ruled over by chiefs of two collateral branches. The authority of Rājukonda extended as far north as Godāvari so as to include Warangal, which became a sort of a secondary capital to that kingdom. Bitter enmity existed between these Velama Chief and the Reddis of Rājahmundry. Mādāya Linga, the contemporary Chief of Devarakonda overran the territories of Rājahmundry reaching Simhadri in the north.²

But by 1530 A. D. only two major powers dominated Deccan politics; the Rayas of Vijayanagar and the Sultans of Gulbarga each struggling with the other for the possession of the east-coast. But soon there arose a third power under Kapileśvara Gajapati.

45. MER 39 of 1890 (S. I. IV No. 362); 613 of 1919; 9 of 1911.

1. Kalingadesa Sanchika.

2. Velugotivari Vamsavali edited by Dr. N. Venkata Ramaniah.

In this confused state of political affairs, Bhanudeva is said to have marched to the south and it was during this campaign when the king was away from the capital, the ministers made Kapileśvara king at Cuttack³. The Inscriptions of Kapileśvara, who thus became king, commence from Saka 1356 (1434-35 A. D.). From this we are led to believe that the campaign of Bhanudeva might have taken place in that year. The existence of two inscriptions dated Saka 1356 at Simhādri recording new gifts and restoration of old ones by Vema and Virabhadra of Rājahmundry shows that this part of Kaṇṇa was conquered by them. To ward off this Reddi attack upon Kaṇṇa in Saka 1356 Bhanudeva might have come down to the south. During his absence Kapileśvara established himself on the throne of Cuttack, and soon joined issue with those two major powers; the resultant 'Oddiyan galabai' was felt continuously for years so far south as Tirukkoiyular and Jambai.

Vijayanagar was ruled by Devaraya II from 1422-46. During his reign the influence of Vijayanagar reached Simhāchalam right across the Rājahmundry kingdom. Even by 1429 the Reddi kingdom of Konḍavidu⁴ was brought under his rule and the friendly Reddis of Rājahmundry must have felt glad to see Telungunarya the Vijayanagara General, at Simhāchalam marking victory over the Gajapati with a gift to God Narasimha.⁵ Rājahmundry Reddis however survived as allies of Vijayanagara till Saka 1366 (1444 A. D.) as is evidenced by the Dāksharāma Inscription of Devaraya II dated in that year. This influence of Vijayanagara was supreme in the east coast until the death of Devaraya II in 1446-6⁶.

Like the Rāyās of Vijayanagar the Sultans of Gulbarga also tried to take advantage of the rivalry that existed between the Reddi houses of Rājahmundry and Konḍavidu. Firoz Shah Bahmani had vainly supported Konḍavidu as against Rājahmundry

3. 'कुत्वा राज्यमकरटकं किलसमां कण्डूं मुजादयडयोः
इतुं निर्यति तत्र दिग्जय कुतेणद दुर्वारदोर्विक्रमे ।
शून्याय नृपनिर्गमे सुचिरं साराजवानीकृता
तत्तस्यां कपिलेन्द्र देव मनघं भूपव्यधुर्मेनत्रिणम् ॥

4. Vijayanagar, as an ally of Rājahmundry against Konḍavidu began to extend her influence on the coast at the expense of Konḍavidu kingdom, which was finally annexed to Vijayanagar sometime before 1429 A. D. as evidenced by the inscription of Devaraya II (Loc. Rec. Konḍavidu p. 325) on the door jamb of Kailasa raya temple at Konḍavidu recording gifts of land to a Brahman. Probably after the annexation of the Konḍavidu kingdom Vijayanagar had established a viceroyalty at Vinukonda (Vallabharaja's-Kridabhiramam).

5. M. E. R. 293 of 1899.

6. Epi. Car. Vol. Sr. Bel. 125, p. 2.

so that he might extend his influence towards the coast.⁷ His successors Ahmad Shah (1422-35) and Alā-ud-din (1435-75) also continued this policy. Ferishta writing about the history of Ahmad Shah Bahmani, records an invasion of Kherla in 837 A. H. by Hushang Shah of Malwa ; and "not long after this (invasion of Hushang) the king marched into Telingana to check the insurrections of some powerful hindu chiefs whom he reduced into obedience".⁸ Bunhan-I-Ma'asir refering to this incident says, when the country was fully brought under his control the Sultan returned to Bidar leaving behind Ibrahim Sanjar Khan on whom he confined the Jagir of Bongir 'to conquer the country and conciliate the people'.⁹

Ahmad Shah Bahmani died in 1435 A. D. and was succeeded by "Alā-ud-din II. During his reign also the Sultans of Malwa and Khandesh continued to menace the kingdom from the North. He could not follow the vigorous policy of his father in Telingana and as Prof. S. K. Ayyangar observes 'Ala-ud-din's wars against the Mahammadan neighbours of Khandesh and Malwa, and sometimes even Gujrat almost undid the work of his predecessors in the east.'"¹⁰

Kapilesvara who started the 'Solar dynasty' ¹¹ was a very energetic ruler. Immediately after coming to power, he put down with a strong hand all opposition inside the kingdom. After consolidating his power, with the help of Gopinātha Mahāpātra and others started systematic conquest of neighbouring kingdoms.

He directed his armies against the the Reddis of Rajahmundry who extended their kingdom into the very heart of Kalinga.¹² He drove away the Reddis from Kalinga and by Saka 1365 as his Korukonda Epigraph¹³ testifies occupied as far as Vizagapatam district. Then he marched upon the very capital of the Reddis namely Rajahmundry. As has already been mentioned Rajahmundry had the support of Vijayanagar. Devarāya II sent forces under Mallappa Vodeya to support the Reddis. This explains the existence of Vijayanagar Inscription ¹⁴ at Dakshārāma dated Saka 1366 (1444 A. D.). In this attempt on Rājamundry Kapilesvara seems to have suffered a defeat at the hands of Vajayanagara forces under Mallappa Vodeya. This finds ample corroboration in

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7. Velugotivari Vamsavali by Dr. N. Venkataramanaiah p. 27.
 8. Brigg's Ferishta.
 9. Burnam-i-Ma. A. Sir (Ind. Ant. XXVIII. p. 216).
 10. Sources of Vijayanagar History. p. 5.
 11. Kondavidu Plates of Ganadeva. Ind. Ant. XX. 390.
 12. Nos. 1168, 1169. S. I. I. Vol. V.
 13. Elliot's Collections, Vol. I. p. 177.
 14. M. E. R. No. 442 of 1893.

Gangādāsa Pratāpavilasa.¹⁵ Therein it is stated that Hayapati and Gajapati invaded Vijayanagar to "*wipe off the former disgraces.*" This '*former disgraces*' might have befallen Kapilesvara sometime between 1443-1446 at the hands of Devarāya II himself.

Kapilesvara sought to "wipe out this disgrace" subsequent to Devarāya's demise in 1446. But Mallikārjuna, Devarāya's successor, "came out of the city" like a lion-cub from a mountain cave upon a herd of elephants and drowned the armies of Hayapati and Gajapati in the flood caused by his sword. Both the Gajapati and the Kananpati fled each by himself alone back to his kingdom.¹⁶ (स्वदेहमात्रावशेषः)

Decline of Vijayanagara power begins from this date notwithstanding the boasted success of Mallikārjuna over the armies of Gajapati and Hayapati. Kapilesvara's annexation of Vijayanagara territory begins from 1448 A. D. onwards.

With the withdrawal of supporting hand of Vijayanagar Rājahmundry became an easy prey to the invading Orissa forces. Kapilesvara conquered Rājahmundry and annexed it to his kingdom by 1448 A. D.¹⁷ A later inscription¹⁸ mentions a minister of Kapilesvara ruling at Rājahmundry.

The Orissan forces had at their head 'Kumār Hamvira' son of Kapilesvara in their campaign to the South. As illustrated by the Anantavaram plates of Pratāparudra, Hamvira carried his arms successfully to the Southern sea, when he has washed his sword stained with the blood of enemy kings.¹⁹ Some inscriptions²⁰ of this prince are found in Kistna district recording gifts of land to Gods.

The earliest Gajapati record²¹ in Guntur district was found at Chintapallipādu. This record dated Saka 1376 (1454 A. D.) mentions on Gānadēva as Viceroy of Kondavidu, Addanki and Vinukonda. Another record²² of this Governor came from Kondavidu dated S 1377 (1455 A. D.). These records enable us to conclude that Kapilesvara's authority extended as far as Gundlakama in the south by that time.

15. Sources of Vijayanagar History. S. K. Ayyangar.

16. Eggeling's Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office. Part VII. p. 1610.

17. Mac. Mss. 15-4-4. Kapilesvara's Inscription at Penukonda in Godavari District dated S. 1379.

18. 494 of 1893.

19. Anantavaram plates of Pratāparudra Andhra Patrika, annual, 1927.

20. 148 of 1913 ; 157 of 1913.

21. 70 of 1917.

22. Ind. Ant, Vol. XX, pp. 390.

Telugu Literature mentions a Kṣatriya family called the 'Pūsapātis' who worked as right hand men to Kapileśvara in his conquests. Tammabhūpati, the contemporary chief of this family was described as an officer under Kapileśvara. He claims victories in several battles to have been fought by him for Kapileśvara. It is very likely that he might have been kept in charge of a portion of the Orissa forces.

USHABHYUDAYAM AND VISNUBHAKTI SUDHAKARAM,²³ unpublished Telugu works describe his achievements as follows :—

Among them Tamma, by dint of his valour took the forts Bellamkonda, Rangarajukonda, inflicted a crushing defeat upon Rao Singa at Pedavidu, gave protection to Bahatikhan who submitted to his authority and captured Odapalli. Another Cātu verse, gives a list of places conquered by Gajapati which include among other Bezwada, Warangal, Tondamarāya Guḷḷa, Mādes, Māhur, Kambham, Delhi, Devarakonda and Kondavidu. Gajapati conquest of Kurnool District finds corroborations in an inscription²⁴ found at Vyyālavāda in Koilakuntala taluk of Kurnool District. This fragmentary record mentions of some gifts made for the merit of Kapileśvaradeva-Maharāya by some subordinate.

At this stage one might question what was Mallikarjuna doing when Kapileśvara was taking his kingdom bit by bit? By this time the kings of Vijayanagar appear to have lost also all their power and many of their subordinates became independent. Mallikarjuna though powerless, tried to check the advance of Kapileśvara. Transfer of Saḷuva Narasiṃha from the middle region to the Telingana frontier, was done as Prof. S. K. Ayyangar²⁵ observes, only to oppose Kapileśvara. Mallikarjuna's going to Penukonda in S. 1381 (1459) on 'Rajakārya' with Danayaka Timmana, might be to make the necessary preparations for opposing the Orissan ruler. But as later events prove nothing came out of the talks except, rise of Saḷuva Narasiṃha to prominence and his ultimate usurpation of Vijayanagara throne.

Notwithstanding the attempts of Vijayanagar rulers, Orissan forces conquered a large portion of Vijayanagar kingdom. Several Inscriptions in the Tamil districts refer to this 'Oddiyan Galabai' or Oriya conquest of the south. An inscription from Mannūr in South Arcot district, mentions one 'Dakṣhina Kapileśvara Kumāra

23. I am greatly indebted to Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya of the Madras University, who kindly gave me the two verses.

24. M. E. R. No. 277 of 1935-36.

25. S. K. Ayyangar, Little known Chapter of Vijayanagar History, p. 10.

Mahapatra son of Hambira,' who was previously Governor of Kondavidu was then in 1464 ruling over several places including Chandragiri and Trichinopoly. As he was there as 'Pariksha' in 1464 the conquest should have preceded the appointment. What is the exact date of these conquests? How long were they under Gajapati rule? These questions are to be answered now.

"No. 93²⁶ of 1906 dated during the reign of King Virūpaksha and Saka Samvat 1395, the cyclic year Nandana corresponding to A. D. 1472-73 refers to the confusion caused by the Oddiyan and the consequent cessation of festivals in the Siva temple at Jambai in the S. Arcot districts for ten years. No. 1 of 1905 dated during the reign of Saluva Narasimha also refer to this Oddiyan disturbance."

For ten years the temples could not be repaired. This necessarily implies Orissan occupation of the country for that period. We know from Inscriptions that the reconquest of the Tamil districts by Saluva Narasimha began sometime about 1466 A. D.²⁷ In the Velagalani plates,²⁸ we come across Navakoti Karnāta Kalavanagesvara' assumed by Kapilesvara. This record is dated 1458 A. D. The title implies his victory over the rulers Karnāta and Gulbarga. From 1458-1466 for about eight years till their reconquest, the Tamil districts might be said to be under Orissan rule. By 1464 Kapilesvara was the undisputed ruler of the east coast extending as far as Jambai in South Arcot District. As suggested in the Gopināthpur inscription²⁹ he was enjoying the 'Sri' of the Karnāta ruler.

Thus was the Gajapati domination writ large over the Telugu uninterrupted by for over twenty years until Saluva Narasimha came upon the scene in 1466 A. D. and effectively thwarted Kapilesvara's designs of further expansion.

WHEN TULUVA NARASA BECAME REGENT

BY

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Srimad Rājādhirāja, Rājaparameśvara, Praudhapratāpa, Saluva Narasinga Rāya began to rule from Vijayanagara in the

26. Para 56. Annual Report on Epigraphy 1905.

27. M. E. R. No. 53 of 1919.

28. M. E. R. C. P. No. 17 of 1934-35.

29. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX Part I, p. 173 ff.

year 1486 A. D. The inscription from Tumkur¹ giving him the supreme titles of sovereignty is dated in November 1, of that year, while the last of the Sangamas, Devarāya Mahārāya Virūpaksha Praudha deva Mahārāya appears to have been still ruling in July of 1485 A. D.² The Saluva usurpation in Vijayanagara must have, therefore, occurred sometime within those two dates. The master architect of Saluva ascendancy was Tuluva Narasa Nayaka, who captured the capital city for his master, the reigning monarch having fled the city,³ Saluva Nṛsimha came to recognise in Narasa Nayaka the main pillar of his empire. He had helped him win the vast kingdom at the point of the sword. And if the past glory of the empire were to be restored and its unity perpetuated, the empire would stand in no small need of the warrior and minister, Tuluva Narasa Nayaka.

There was soon occasion for calling on Narasa Nayaka to undertake this great responsibility. Saluva Nṛsimha's conquests had almost all been made before he became king. If there were any subsequently effected, they were not of the character to have made him the undisputed sovereign of all the lands that had originally belonged to Vijayanagara. Besides Goa and the surrounding territory, there still remained three important fortresses to be taken—"Rachol, Odegary and Conadolgi."⁴ These had large and rich territories and were the principal forts in the kingdom. But, for Saluva Nṛsimha, the time for their capture was past. For his end draw near. And "this king (Narsyngua), before he died, sent to call Narsenague, his minister, and held converse with him, telling him that at his death, he would by testament leave him to govern the kingdom until the princes should be of an age to rule;..... and the king begged him to keep good guard over the kingdom and to deliver it up to the princees, to which ever of them should prove himself most fitted for it. And after the king's death this Narsenague remained as Governor, and soon he raised up the prince to be king, retaining in his own hands the treasures and revenues and the government of the country."⁵

Thus began Tuluva Narasa Nayaka's regency of the Empire. But we have still to light upon that eventful year which saw the close of the effective rule of the Saluvas and in which the beginnings of yet another usurpation, this time by the Tuluvas, were so innocently made. The consensus of opinion is that Saluva Nṛsimha reigned as emperor for about seven years and died either

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1. E. C. Tumkur No. 54.
 2. E. C. Mulbagal 104; See *Ibid* 194 also and M. E. R. 593 of 1902.
 3. Nuniz, F. E., p. 307; *Parijatapaharanamu*. Sources, p. 107.
 4. Raichur, Udaygairi and probably Kondavidu.
 5. Nuniz, F. E., p. 308.

at the end of A. D. 1492 or at the beginning of the following year, at any rate before January 27, 1493 A. D.⁶ The available evidence, however, seems to point to a slightly different conclusion and we have to assign the death of the first Saluva monarch to the first half of 1491 A. D. In this connection, inscriptions are uncertain guides and a mere similarity of name or title is no safe basis for purposes of identification. We have to look into them carefully for greater number of details about the persons, whose names look so alike. For the inscriptions of this period are so deceptive with a similarity of names and titles of kings and chiefs in whose name or time they were issued. Hence we have to look for other sources of information, bearing on our present enquiry. Nuniz and Ferishta alone make some attempt to depict the history of these difficult times. Even there we find statements contradicting one another. Within this resultant maze, therefore one has to strive at historical fact-finding.

In the last moments of his life Saluva Nrsimha was apparently a helpless witness to the great changes that were rocking the neighbouring Bahmuni kingdom. Consequent on the assassination of Khwajah Jehan Muhammad Gawān in 1481 A. D., the two factions of the Dakhanis and the Habshis joined battle over who should seize the government, now so loosely held by the young Sultan Mahmūd Shah. The latter was unable to resolve the conflicts. At last he entered into a treaty with Kasim Barid giving him the rank of Mir-i-Jumla and making him the virtual ruler of the Dakhan. This was the signal for a general revolt and of the destruction of the Bahmuni kingdom as such. We have it from Ferishta⁷ that Yūsuf Adil Khan caused the Khutba to be read in his name in A. H. 895 i. e. November 1489 November 1490 A. D. Yūsuf followed this up to wrest many forts from the Governors of Mahmud Shah and he subdued all the country from the river Bheema to Bijapur.

This rise of Yūsuf to independent power, was utterly disagreeable to Kasim Barid, the *de facto* ruler under the Sultan. For he had himself entertained hopes of founding a kingdom at Bijapur. He now wrote to the Rāya of Vijayanagara that Mahmūd Shah Bahmuni would willingly cede him the forts of Raichur and Mudkal if he would wrest them from Yūsuf Adil Khan. He had at the same time addressed letters to Bahādur

6. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar : A little known chapter in Vij. History, pp. 54 and 63. See also Sewell, J. R. A. S. 1915. Mr. C. Hayavadanarao, the editor of Mysore Gazetteer, believes that Saluva Nrsimha died about 1498 A. D. See Op. cit., Vol. II pt. III. Chap. XI, pp. 1693-1710. Mr. S. Subrahmanya Sastry argues that Saluva Nrsimha was no usurper at all, (see T. T. D. Report, pp. 146-147) and that his rule extended to 1498 A. D.

7. Briggs, Vol. III, pp. 9-10.

Geelany who possessed Goa and Concan, inviting him to invade Yūsuf's territories.

Kasim's invitation was most welcome for Vijayangara. But the Rāya was "a child"⁸ and could not personally lead the expedition. But he would not let go the great opportunity. So with great despatch an army was collected and Timraj, one of the generals of Vijayanagara led them northwards.

An unqualified success attended the Vijayanagara arms on the occasion. As Ferishta writes "Timraj, the general of the Roy of Beejanuggur, having crossed the river Toongbudra, laid waste the country as far as Moodkul and Rachore; and Bahādur Geelany reduced the fortress of Jumkindy. Yoosoof Ādil Khan was too weak to repel these attacks by force. He accordingly made peace with Timraj, and expelled Bahādur Geelany from his dominions; but without attempting to recover Jumkindy, led his army, composed of eight thousands foreigners, towards the capital against Kasim Bereed."⁹

Yūsuf's assertion of independence, his conquests of a wide region, the settling up of the whole area, all these are ascribed by Ferishta to the year A. H. 895 (November 1489 to November 1490 A. D.). At the end he adds that Yūsuf being "*subsequently* joined by many Deccany officers, who had formerly deserted him on his retiring from Ahmadabad Bidur, *his power daily increased.*"¹⁰ These events as is suggested by the words in italics must have occupied not only the whole of the year, A. H. 895 but some of the initial months of A. H. 896 as well. Kasim Barid's invitation to Vijayanagar must, therefore, be ascribed to A. H. 896. In that year, presiding over the extensive dominions of the Vijayanagara empire there was, according to Ferishta, a mere "child".

Robert Sewell resolutely disputes Ferishta's observation that at that time the Rāya was so small of years.¹¹ To agree with Ferishta in this particular would be to concede that by A. H. 896 Saluva Nrsimha had already been dead and one of his sons occupying the throne. But in fairness to Ferishta we must

8. Scott translates Ferishta thus: "The Roy, being a child his minister Heemraaje, sent an army."—Quoted from Sewell, F. E. p. 111. Brigg's trans. is slightly different. It is stated there that the Roy, being a child, he sent his minister, Timraj, Vol II, a. 537.

9. Brigg's, III. p. 10.

10. *Ibid.* pp. 9–10.

11. J. R. A. S. 1915. Here Sewell discusses Immadi Nrsimha's age and maintains that he was already a father, ruling over the Tippur Sima. He takes this stand on the basis of inscriptions, E. C. X, Gd. 80 & E. C. IX, D-B. Nos. 42 and 45. Sadhu S. Subrahmanya Sastry holds similar opinion of Immadi Nrsimha's age on the basis of T. T. Inscriptions No. 197—See T. T. D. Report, p. 147.

observe that he was not insistent that the prince was so very tender of age. For according to the same writer, by February of 1493 A. D., scarcely two years later, the ruler was old enough to be "young."¹² Yet, the exact shade of this tenderness of the king's age is not very material for our argument. On both the occasions, both in A. H. 896 and in A. H. 898, whether he were a child or a youth, one and the same individual was ruling over the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Ferishta would have him young. And by no stretch of imagination, could Saluva Nṛsimha, be termed a young man, were he still alive and reigning in A. H. 896. Whoever was the king, he could not be Saluva Nṛsimha.

Here we may suggest that Ferishta read with Nuniz would simplify the problem a good deal. We have already seen how Yūsuf lost to Vijayanagara the fortresses of Raichur and Mudkal in A. H. 896 or 1491 A. D. Vijayanagara enjoyed undisturbed possession of these forts until the beginning of 1493 A. D. But in that year, Ferishta informs us, Yūsuf "marched to retake Rachore"¹³.

Now, according to Nuniz, Raichur was one of those three forts which Saluva Nṛsimha had longed to possess, but failed to, for, for him, time was too short and fleet. Nuniz writes, "At the death of that King, there remained three fortresses which had *revolted* from his rule, and which *he was never able to take*, which were these Rachol, and Odegary and Conadolgi, which have large and rich territories and are the principal forts in the kingdom."¹⁴ The term "Revolt" need not at all mislead us. It could not have occurred subsequent to A. H. 896. For had Raichur revolted after that date, Nṛsimha "was never able to take" it back. And wherefore should Yūsuf try to recover it in the very next engagement over Raichur in 1493 A. D.? Nor could the revolt have taken place prior to A. H. 896 either. For in that case, Nṛsimha was able to take it in A. H. 896. Then why those regrets during his last converse with Narasa Nayaka that for him the time for its capture was past? Anterior to this year, throughout the long career of Saluva Nṛsimha as General, minister, semi-independent ruler and the *de jure* sovereign, on no occasion do we find him opposed to the Bahmuny or any other Moslem forces, with the seizure of Raichur as his objective. The "Revolt" therefore, was merely theoretical in that Vijayanagara had always claimed sovereignty over the whole of the Kṛṣṇa-Tungabhadra doab with its fortresses of Raichur and Mudkal. In that sense, therefore, Raichur remained in revolt until after the death of Saluva Nṛsimha, when Narasa Nayaka effected the seizure of the fort in 896 A. H. It stands to reason, therefore, to presume that Saluva Nṛsimha must have died about the first half of the Xian year 1491.

12. Brigg's, III. p. 11. Referring to 1493 A. D. Ferishta styles the king "the young Ray".

13. *Ibid.*

14. F. E. pp. 307-308.

Inscriptions of the period, wholly bear out our conclusion. An inscription from Chaulikere of the Udipi taluk in S. Kanara¹⁵ refers to Narasingaraya Maharaya as the reigning king. It is dated in Saka 1412 (exp.) Saka 1413 (current) Sadhāraṇa Kartika, Su (Λ) October 14, 1490 A. D. From Bowringpet hails a record dated in Saka 1412, and referring to one "Kaṭṭari Sāluva."¹⁶ This title was borne by Sāluva Nṛsimha, the father of Immadi Nṛsimha. Later kings and even Chiefs took the same title. But since no earlier inscription of Immadi Nṛsimha with that title is yet available, we may assume that by "Kaṭṭari Sāluva" of the Bowringpeta inscription is meant Sāluva Nṛsimha I. He was still reigning on 14th January, 1491 A. D.,¹⁷ and upto that year we find no inscriptions that mention any of his sons, either as ruler or as a provincial governor. In this latter capacity appears Sāluva Immadi Nṛsimha in an inscription found in the Chenna-keśava pagoda, Chāgalamarri in the Sirvel taluk of the Kurnool District. It appears to have been of the first of his records and is dated in Saka 1413, Virodhikṛt (March 10, 1491 to Feb. 27, 1492)¹⁸. By Jan. 27, 1493 A. D. we obtain several inscriptions mentioning Sṛīmān Mahāmandaleśvara, Paścima Samudrādhipati, Kaṭṭari Sāluva Yimmadi Narasinga Rayaru.¹⁹ Evidently his elder brother was in Vijayanagara getting himself initiated into statecraft under the expert guidance of Tuḷuva Narasa Nayaka. If this be the position then, the interval between 14th January 1491 and the cyclic year Virodhikṛt that begins on march 10 of the same Xian year must have seen the last days of Sāluva Nṛsimha's reign and also the rise of Tuḷuva Narasa Nayaka into power as the Regent of the empire of Vijayanagara.

KAMPANA AS VICEROY OF VIJAYANAGAR

BY

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Introduction :—

Kampana was the Viceroy of the Vijayanagar Empire under his father, Bukka I, between 1341 and 1375 (roughly).¹ Till 1361

15. M. E. R. 269 of 1931-2.

16. No. 14, E. C.

17. M. E. R. 414 of 1918-29

18. Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency : V. Rangachari, Vol. II, Kurnool 602

19. Mg. 54 and 56. See also Kolar 34 ; Mg. 50 ; 736 of 1909 and 516 of 1906.

1. Kampana's earliest inscription is dated 1343. This comes from the Malur Taluk. Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1913 1914, p. 46, Lewis

the viceroyalty included only the Mulbagal Province.² Even though the Tondaimandalam part of the Tamil country had come under the Vijayanagar Overlordship as early as 1352 with its conquest by the Vijaynagar princes, it did not come under Kampana's rule but remained under Savanna's till 1361.³ Therefore for a period of nearly a decade (1335-1361) the occupied part of Tamil country formed part of the Udaigiri viceroyalty. The period between 1352 to 1361 was in a sense a period of Double Government, the vassal and the overlord ruling side by side.

Kampana was the most powerful viceroy of Bukka and the imperial position that Vijayanagar attained was in no small measure due to him. That he had won the affection and regard of all is patent from many records of his.⁴ His wide popularity was due to his many qualities and accomplishments. He was "a sun in unbounded valour, a unique treasure of music, a tree of paradise to the learned, intent on establishing dharma, lord of the goddess of sovereignty, with a name renowned among kings.⁵ A lover of justice, he never swerved from the path of dharma. He thus combined in himself all the qualities that went to make up an ideal ruler and no wonder he was able to establish the Vijayanagar rule on an alien land with the willing consent of the people of the land. The people of Tondaimandalan seem to have willingly acknowledged him as their ruler and the absence of any reference to disturbances shows that the people did not regret the extension of the Vijayanagar rule in their country.⁶ Unfortunately, only stray references to certain details of Kampan's administration are available and this makes it impossible

Rice, to whom we owe a lot for unearthing many a valuable record, says that Kampana II's viceroyalty began about 1355. A. D. This is based on a wrong understanding of the epigraphs of the period prior to 1356, which he thought belonged to Kampana I. Kampana I was never the viceroy of Mulbagal for his seat of Viceroyalty was Udaigiri, his jurisdiction extending over the Nellore and Cuddapah districts. (See Arch. Sur. of India. Annual Rep. for 1907-08, pp. 237-238. A note by H. K. Sastri.)

2. Mulbagal is mentioned as Mulavagil in some inscriptions. Ganga Devi refers to it as Kantakanana, which is but a Sanskrit translation of the Tamil rendering of the Karnatic name.

3. The chapter on 'Invasions of the Sambuvaraya territory.'

4. E. C. Vol. X, Kl. 222.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Cf. Madhura Vijayam: "When he was ruling at Kanchi his subjects thought he was another incarnation Vishnu that had come down to this earth, because he was so victorious and such a favourite of Gods and virtuous men. His prowess had wide recognition. His activities were always fruitful. He always employed peaceful arbitration in deciding issues. He was highly intelligent and politic. There was something original in his statesmanship which showed that he was real master." (Canto V).

for us to treat the subject in a systematic and detailed fashion. However, it is worthwhile noting the stray details.⁷

Taxation :—

An important aspect of his administration about which we have some information is taxation. Besides the tax on land he collected various other taxes, a poll-tax; a tax on each loom in possession of a weaver; a tax on mills; a tax on vacant house-site; a house-tax; an excess profit tax (ayam); a tax on each plough, a tax on fishing and a tax on markets and fairs. The poll-tax was perhaps not levied on all people but only on those engaged in some paying profession. Besides these there were taxes on exports and imports.⁸ Total remissions and concessions of these were granted if circumstances demanded them.⁹ As usual the *devadana* lands were tax-free.

Villages Assemblies ;—

We do not know if the village assemblies functioned with the same vigour as they did during the Cola and Pandya periods. But it is certain that they ceased to be a power in the government for we rarely get any reference to the transactions of the assembly in the records of Kampana. We cannot however hazard the conclusion that they had totally disappeared.¹⁰

7. These details are contained in epigraphs found both in the Mysore and in the Tamil regions. After his conquest of the Tondaimandalam country Kanchi became a secondary capital of the Mulbagal viceroyalty. The Mulbagal area was under the immediate supervision of a representative of Kampana by name Kattaya Nayaka. Saluva who was perhaps a son of Kampana. An inscription from the Bagepalli Taluk (Mysore) refers to this Kattaya Nayaka as "the son of Kampanana Udaiyar, who was the son of the Champion over kings who break their word and swerve from truth, Kattari-Saluva, Vira Bukkanna Udaiyar."

8. No. 170 of 1932-33.

9. A. R. E. No. 170 of 1932-33 from Tirukkalukkunram in the Chingleput district records the fact that Kampana granted exemptions from payment of the following taxes to the Kaikkolas living in the place: Pattadai, Nulayam, Attaichchammadam (?) per Chchammadam; Madaiviratti and Adiyamandam (except Nos. 1 & 2 which mean a tax on silk cloth and a tax on thread, we do not understand the exact meaning of the others.) The Kaikkolas had not to pay anything in excess of 70 panam which had been agreed upon as the lump sum payable on the "exports of pudavai (sarees) to Pattinam (Sadras?) and the imports of several divisions. Also refer to the Madhura Vijayam which refers to Kampana's imposing a light tax on the people. "The system of light taxation, he practised extremely pleased his subjects on earth and earth herself showed her complete satisfaction by the excellent yield of corn and other produce." (Canto V). Also cf. A. R. E. No. 130 of 1933-34.

10. A. R. E. No. 389 of 1923; and No. 390 of 1923.

As a consequence of the decay of most of the assemblies,¹¹ a practical difficulty arose *viz.* in receiving and communicating royal orders to villages. We know that when the assemblies were functioning these orders were communicated to the assemblies which in turn communicated to the people in the village. But in the absence of these assemblies, some arrangement had to be made by which royal orders could be communicated to the respective villages promptly. The arrangement that Kampana made was that he appointed a number of 'communicating officers' whose duty it was to go to the village and read out the royal order to the people, perhaps in a common place like the temple. An inscription from Madam contains an order of Mahapradani Somappa issued under the authority of Kampana to the village and its temple. This order was personally conveyed to its destination by a communicating officer by name Adaippan Nagappan and read out to the villagers.¹² Adaippan is referred to as the Anavalu which means in Telugu an 'evidence' or 'credential.' Perhaps it means here that the record mentioned the *bona fide* of the person. Or *anavalu* might itself have been the designation of the officer, being a parallel to the *ajnapati* of the earlier Eastern Ganga and Chalukyan grants. After communicating the order and enforcing it, the above named officer had it engraved on the wall of the temple.

Currency:—

We do not know about the currency system of Kampana. The Vijayanagara coins might have been in circulation in the Mulbagal territory but not in Tondaimandalam in which the currency system of the Sambavaraya rulers was continued. A number of transactions are reported, and the records mentioning these refer to the Sambuvaraya coin, Vira Champan Guligai.¹³ References are also made to the Kasu and the panam.¹⁴ The Mysore inscriptions mention a coin called Gadyana.¹⁵ We do not have any information regarding the metal of which these coins were made or the relative values of these.

11. Though some village assemblies continued to function for some period after the establishment of Vijayanagar rule in the Tamil country they were having only a shadowy existence.

12. A. R. E. No. 203 of 1921.

13. A. R. E. No. 373 of 1921 ; (See the section on Vira Champa in the chapter on 'the Sambuvarayas.' Also cf. A. R. E. No. 45 of 1922 (Tiruvamattur).

14. A. R. E. No. 149 of 1923 (Chingleput District).
No. 110 of 1821 (North Arcot Dt.)
No. 389 of 1923 (Chingleput Dt.)

15. E. O. Vol. IV part II, page 41, (No. 32 dated 1372.)

Some aspects of Justice :

We possess some interesting details regarding some of the punishments meted out to people who broke the law. One of the ways by which a person was punished for not paying taxes and dues, was declaring him an outcast.¹⁶ This was resorted to only when extraordinary dues were not paid. A person scaled the fort in Heskote and slipping, fell down and died of wounds. Perhaps he had undertaken that risky job only at the instance of the residents of the place. A fee of one (hanam) panam was levied on every villager for setting up an image in memory of the victim." He who does not pay shall be an outcast from the nadu, the assembly, the parai and the eighteen nadus".

Disobeying or slighting royal order was sometimes punished with banishment¹⁷.

Documentary Procedure :—

We get an interesting glimpse into documentary procedure as it was followed during Kampana's viceroyalty. In a sale transaction both the buyer and seller had to meet at the 'seat of justice' for a discussion and final settlement of the transaction. A receipt was given to the purchaser of the land soon after the purchase of the land. A witness signed at the end of the receipt. Here is a typical instance¹⁸.

"On the date specified, (all those concerned) having assembled at the seat of justice in the Sembiswaram Udaiyar gave the following grant to Somanadevar.

"I, the Tanapati, Tambana-jiyar, having received full payment in gold, gave, with pouring of water, full possession of one third of the lands...to Somanadevar.

Witness : Hariappa Rayar."

16. E. C. Vol. I, pp. 100 and 101.

17. An inscription from Gundlupet Taluk of Mysore dated 1372 (E. C., Vol. IV part II, page 41, No. 32) contains an order of Kampana by which Brahmins who slighted or opposed the measure of the ruler by which he appointed some dancing girls were to be banished. All the Brahmins of the great agraharam of the seat of learning, Prasanna Vijayapura, agreeing among themselves made a grant as follows for the support of these dancing girls : For the 30 gadyana to be given every year for the dancing girls the following is the arrangement ; the sudras will pay 1 hana (pana) for every plough used ; the remaining labourers without saying "this is mine, that is yours" will pay $\frac{1}{2}$ pana for a family. "We will pay the thirty gadyana in three instalments. Whatever Brahmins oppose this are out of the Brahmin community and banished from the village."

18. E. C., Vol IX page 14, No. 67. A document of 1372 from Gundlupet E. C., Vol. IV p. 41 mentions the elements as witnesses, "for these know a man's actions."

Measurements :—

There are stray references to two measuring rods ; perhaps employed in measuring lands before assessment.¹⁹ One of them is called Rajavibadan Kol and the other Gandargandan Kol. We do not know to whom these titles refer for except the inscriptions referring to these rods, no other inscription refers to these titles or associates them with any ruler.

Temple Administration :—

The administration of the temple and its precincts was directly in the hands of the ruler.²⁰ The appointment and dismissal of the various temple officers was also in his hands.²¹ But he never misused the powers because these concerned the temples and injustice in temple affairs would lead to eternal damnation. The ruler often took in the help of the weavers (kaikkolars) who were perhaps the most important occupants of the Tirumadaivilagam²².

Kampana removed many of the old superintendents in the temples and appointed new ones²³ Among those he appointed for supervising the temples one Alagiya Tiruchchirrambalamudaiyan deserves special mention as he was requested to be in charge of a number of places.²⁴ This person was the son of Bhuvaneka-

19. A. R. E. Nos, 107 of 1923 and 357 of 1928-29.

20. Page 108 of A. R. E. for 1922 (para 4).

21. Inscriptions refer to a number of changes he made in the personnel for temple administration. Cf. notes Nos. 21 & 22 of this chapter.

22. The ruler is mentioned in records as having taken the advice of the Kaikkolas in regard to temple affairs. In the dispute concerning the Devaradiyars etc. to which a reference has been made in this chapter, Vittappat, the treasurer of Kampana took into his confidence the Kaikkolas and profited much by their valuable advice and evidence.

23. A. R. E. No. of 1916 gives the reason for this change of personnel of "Kampan appointed many Nayakkarmar for inspection and supervision in order that the worship in all temples might be conducted regularly as of old." In certain cases superintendents were appointed for the first time after the period of confusion in the Tamil country. (250 of 1906 ; 243 of 1919.) A Little Kanchipuram inscription (No. 27 of 1921) gives the interesting fact that in 1367 Kampana, while seated in the Janaki Mandapa of the Yadotkari temple granted to one Parakala Nambi, the title of 'Karunakaradasan' with certain honours, and privileges. He was also given a dwelling house for looking after the temple affairs.

24. A. R. E. Nos. 1 of 1921 ; 52 of 1921 ; 230 of 1910 ; He was appointed supervisor for the following temples : The Jwara-hareswara temple at Kanchipuram ; all the other temples in Big and Little Kanchipurams including those of Tiruvirattanam Udaiya Nayanar, Mutti Kodutta Nayanar and Sri Karniswaramudaiya Nayanar, the last being in Magaral (Chingelput).

bahudeva whom Rajanarayana's records mention as an accredited Maheswara of the temple. Bhuvanekabahudeva played an important part in settling the famous dispute among the temple servants and also in detecting corruption in temples during Rajanarayana's period.²⁵ He had also given evidence of his piety and loyalty on many an occasion and he was richly rewarded for these.

Kampana also revived worship in many of the temples in South India which had remained in a decadent condition during the Muslim rule.²⁶ He also revived the various activities connected with the temple. Again, he settled some of the long-standing disputes among the temple servants and tried to redress their grievances.

The taxes paid by the occupants of the Tirumadaivilagam were not paid to the state treasury. They straight went to the temple treasury. The amount collected from the Tirumadaivilagam was spent on the various activities of the temple.²⁷ Besides the taxes paid by the occupants of the temple precincts, the temple had other sources of income. They had rich endowments which yielded them a good annual income. Again, the king assigned taxes collected from certain places for certain items of expenditure in the temple.

The following is an example of a charter granted to a temple. By this the ownership of the entire village of Mandambakkam was transferred to the temple of SIRRERI ALUDAIYA Nayanar. The charter was issued by Vittappan, the treasurer²⁸.

"This village, the whole village which is the sacred holding of this God, limited by its four boundaries including the village waste, wet-land and garden-lands with all its income from such taxes as tax from those who live outside, poll tax, fees on cotton-looms, taxes on oil-mills,²⁹ fishing rights, market fees and other taxes new or old which may hereafter become due from each tenant,

25. A. R. E. No. 212 of 1912 (127).

26. The revival of worship in the Madura temple is mentioned in Taylor's O. H. Mss; Also refer: A. R. E. 155 of 1929-30; No 199 of 1928-29. (Vasantotsavam); No. 203 of 1931-32; 40 of 1922 (Sankranti) 172 of 1919;

27. Cf. foot-note No. 18 (in this chapter).

28. A. R. E. 324 of 1911. The epigraphist refers to "obligations and limitations imposed on the temple." We do not exactly understand what he means by these terms. But it is evident he had misunderstood the word Kadamai which means tax and translated it as "obligation." The above translation of the charter is an amended version of epigraphist's translation in which Kadamai has been consistently translated as obligation.

29. Certain unintelligible names of taxes have been omitted.

we have given for worship and repairs as a Sarvamanya to this temple in order that it may last so long as the sun and the moon endure."

All the officers and servants of the temple were provided quarters (not free) within the temple precincts and they were paid their salaries both in cash and in kind.

Kampana thoroughly reorganised temple administration in the Tamil country after taking possession of it. He effected very radical changes in the personnel.³⁰ The idea behind these drastic measures seems to be that the temple affairs had not been previously properly looked after by the various officers and their servants. The Muslim invasion of South India of course threw everything out of gear but even in Tondaimandalam into which the Muslim rule had not actually spread and where the Sambuvarayas were ruling, things were in chaos so far as temple administration was concerned. Lapses of an impardonable nature have been mentioned in the records of the Sambuvarayas which go to prove that the system required through overhauling. For example an inscription of Rajanarayana records that a land which was a tax-free devadana of a temple was paying taxes till the seventeenth regnal year of the king and being found out to be a rent-free land of the temple in the eighteenth regnal year of the king was ordered to be so treated and from that year a register was maintained for tax-free land.³¹

The favourite method of settling temple disputes during the period seems to be the method of arbitration. The most important dispute settled by this method was that concerning the Devaradiyar and Ishabhattaliyilar and the Padiylar.³² This dispute began during the fifth regnal year of Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya and loomed large for a very long time.

The three groups of servants who were concerned, were the Padiyilars, the Ishabhattaliyilar and the Devaradiyar. It is likely that these three groups refer to three grades of Devadasis, the Devaradiyar being at the lowest rung and the Padiyilar being at the top. During the period of confusion preceeding Venrumenkondan's rule many of these servants had either died or left their services having been reduced to straitened circumstances. During the fifth year of Rajanarayana an enquiry was instituted into the affairs of the temple servants and it was found that there were some grievances among them, the chief of them being that all of them were doing more work than usual on account of great reduction in the numbers. Another grievance related to precedence

30. Cf. foot-notes Nos. 20 and 21 in this chapter.

31. A. R. E. No. 396 of 1910 (p. 118 of 1910.)

32. A R E No. 208 of 1912 (p. 29) ; No. 195 of 1912. No. 196 of 1912.

in the order of services which the various servants were doing. Thereupon the Maheswarar, the trustees, the Nattars, the accountants and the Kaikkolars of the temple met in the Grammar Instruction Hall at Truvorriyur and made the following arrangements:—(1) The Ishabhattaliyilar were to assist the remaining Padiyilar (2) The Devaradiyar were exempted from menial work and given the work of Padiyilar (3) The Ishabhattaliyilar were also to perform dance but they were exempted from carrying chauris etc.

This settlement made by Rajanarayana was found to be unsatisfactory during the period of Kampana's rule.³³ Kampana therefore ordered his treasurer Vittappa to investigate into the matter and effect a satisfactory settlement. Vittappan made some settlement which also did not satisfy the servants. The aggrieved servants of the temple at once struck work.³⁴ Kampana was vexed with the whole affair and appointed a new officer to look into the matter and make a final settlement.³⁵ The opportunity was taken advantage of to settle various other disputes, among other servants.³⁶ The effect of the settlement was that the Ishabhattaliyilar were required to serve in the shrine of the God and the Devaradiyar in that of the Goddess on festive occasions when festivals were celebrated within the temple. A different procedure, the full details of which are not available, was to be adopted when the gods were taken in procession through the streets into Mandapas, gardens, tanks or other sanctified spots and when minor deities including Manikkavachagar, as when he heard the Tiruvembavai, were taken through the streets.

Even this settlement proved useless and the entire problem cropped up again during Harihara II's reign.

The period of Kampana's rule in South India witnessed great commercial activity. There were colonies of merchants both in the Tamil country and the Karnata country.³⁷ These were known

33. A. R. E. No. 208 of 1912. "The order of precedence in service to be followed by Ishabhattaliyilar and Devaradiyar as settled in the 5th year of Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya by the Mudaliar of Melaimadan in being found unsatisfactory Kamarasa Vittappa of Anaigundi enquired into the affairs and instituted necessary changes."

34. A. R. E. No. 195 of 1912.

35. *Ibid.*

36. "The question was decided not only at between the Ishabhattaliyilar and the Devaradiyar but concerned also the Sokkattaliyilar (?) Multukkar, Viranukkar and the Kaikkolar."

37. An inscription of Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya refers to "the Uravar and the merchants of the eighteen Vishayas." E. C. Vol. X, No. 95 of Chintamani (pp. 262-63). Also A. R. E. No. 173 of 1932-33. Reference to exports and imports, In Sadras called

as the paradesis and nanadesis. The local merchants were known as uravar. Periodical fairs in which these merchants met with their merchandise in one place, seem to have been a feature of Kampana's rule. There is a reference to a cosmopolitan fair in an inscription of Kampana found in the Kolar district.³⁸ This was organised at the order of the Mahamandaleswara by one Balumanna Raju assisted "by all the farmers and subjects of the great Kayivara Nadu and adorned with all names and titles all of both sects of Nanadesis in Pekkundra and of the eighteen castes."³⁹ After the organisation of the fair, which seems to have lasted a long time, one Periya Nayana was appointed as the superintendent of the fair. Evidently he proved an able officer and in recognition of his services he was given a plot of land, specially chosen for him, free of all imposts.

Kampana's services to art were equally noteworthy. A number of temples were either renovated or built during his rule.⁴⁰ The most important of them was the Rameswara temple he built at Gundlu-pet in 1387 in commemoration of all his valiant acts. It is among the most beautiful temples in the region, though it is not in good condition now. About the temple we get the following information from the Report of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore.⁴¹ "In size and plan it resembles the Vaidyeswara temple at Talkad. The plan is squarish showing a Gurbhagriha, Sukhanasi and a four-pillared navaranga with an entrance porch to the east and one to the south. The tower is of brick and the rest of the building of granite. The pillars of the porches and of the navaranga are square at the bottom, the shaft of each being firstly octogonal, then sixteen-sided with flutings, and lastly thirty-two sided. A broken image of Virabhadra is placed in the navaranga. The sculptures in the pillars mostly represent dancers, drummers, musicians, and acrobats. The dimensions of the building are generous and around the Garbhagriha on the cornice are several Kannada inscriptions." Rameswara was the Gramadevata in the days of Kampana,

Chadiravachakanpattinam (also known previously as Rajanaryanapattinam) there were colonies of foreign merchants who have been referred to as paradesis and nanadesis. (Paradesis means foreigners; 'nanadesis' means merchants from various places.)

38. Cf. No. 95 of Chintamani in E. C. Vol. X.

39. 'The eighteen castes' mentioned here might correspond to the eighteen vishayas of Rajanarayana's inscription quoted in foot note No. 34 of this chapter.

40. Besides these, 'Kampana had to renovate, repair and remodel a number of temples which had suffered during the Muhamadan days. He seems to have been responsible to some extent for enlarging the structure of the Bhineswara temple at Kaivara (near Chintamani)'. Cf. Arch. Survey of Mysore Annual Report for 1935, p. 35.

41. Report of the Arch. Sur. of Mys. for 1934-35.

Kampana's promotion of such fine arts as dancing and Music are manifest not only from the sculptural representations in his Rameswara Temple but also from explicit references in his inscriptions.⁴² Thus for example a Mysore inscription of his dated 1363 refers to the provision made among other things "for dancing and vocal music."⁴³ We also come across such terms as Sandikkunippam, Idavu, Malippu, Sindukku and Vari, whose exact meaning we do not know though we can say from the contexts in which these are used that these were items of religious dance and music⁴⁴.

Himself a finished scholar,⁴⁵ Kampana patronised learning, though unfortunately we have only one literary piece composed during Kampana's rule, viz. The Madhura Vijayam of his queen. But inscriptions refer to a poet by name Bayakara Allalanatha patronised by Kampana.⁴⁶ We do not know anything about the proficiency of the Allalanatha as a poet. The inscriptions refer to him as "the court poet of the king." The period of Kampana, however, as undoubtedly a period of literary greatness. The great Madhava Vidyaranya lived during the period at his father's court and it is not unlikely that Kampana, during his early days, received the wholesome influence of the great scholar. In the Tamil country there was Vedanta Desika whose literary genius was on a par with Kalidasa's.⁴⁷ His Vairagya Panchaka, a series of five stanzas, are believed to have been addressed by him to Madhava Vidyaranya. We know that at least one of the stanzas on Gopanna inscribed on the Srirangam temple is Desika's⁴⁸.

42. An inscription refers to the fact that Kampana was himself a great exponent of Music. It describes him as 'a unique treasure house of Music.' E. C., Vol. X., page 64, Kl. 222

Also Cf. E. C., Vol. X. Kl. 101 p. 31. The palace manager Abhiya Garuda Narayana Chakrakola Vijaya Chudamani Duggana deputed by the king made provision for these items. The expenses for these were to be met from the income from certain lands and such taxes as tax-on-loom and oil mills in Velliyur.

43. E. C., Vol. X, Kl. 101.

44. Cf. C. 117-18 of A.R.E. 1913.

45. Ref. to the Madhura Vijayam: "The Prince became proficient in all the arts and the humanities without much help and tuition from Gurus in his case was more or less a luxury." A Kolar inscription refers to him as a "tree of Paradise to the learned." (E. C. Vol. X., Kl. 222).

46. This poet shines in the records more by his charity than anything else, (e.g.) A record from the Punganur Taluk states that this poet "prepared" a new stone image of Selvanarayana perumal and "installed it in the Amarabharana Caturvedimangalam."

47. There is a readable article on Desika in the J. R. A. S. B.

48. The verse beginning आनीय. This is mentioned by Anantarya the author of Prapannamritam. (Sources, p. 40).

This is all the information we get regarding Kampana's viceroyalty.⁴⁹ His otherwise peaceful period of viceroyalty was marred by a small, but significant, event. About 1370, during Kampana's absence at the Tamil country, the Kaikkolars in a village in the Mysore territory ran amuck.⁵⁰ We also do not know what the occasion for it was. It appears that the Kaikkolars had for a long time nurtured a cruel hatred towards the excise officers of the Government who were strict in the collection of the grazing fees collected from people who made use of pasture lands for grazing their cows. For sometime they were annoying these officers who in turn tried to keep them under check. The result was disastrous. The Kaikkolas became lawless and committed "adultery, theft and injustice"—very serious crimes indeed. They were brought to book and fined heavily. A representation seems to have been made to the persons acting in the province on behalf of the ruler who pardoned them and issued the following order: "The Kaikkolars will pay to the excise officers whatever tax is due according to custom. The fines imposed on the Kaikkolars for faults, annoyance, thefts and adultery are all remitted. Those who keep cows shall pay a tax of half Gadiyana according to custom. All cows that come may graze freely."

The most interesting part of the order was that none should cast any blame or aspersion on the officers in the discharge of their duties.

49. We possess very scanty information about the army. The Madhura Vijayam of course refers to the vast army of the Empire but it does not tell us about the administration of the department. The elephants still seem to have played an important part though horses had come to be employed in greater numbers than before. The Madhura Vijayam says that Kampana did not sit on a decorated elephant as was the custom during earlier periods but sat on his agile horse and led his army. The reference to a "proper dress" worn by the soldiers, suggests the adoption of a uniform by Vijayanagar troops. Relevant extracts from the Madhura Vijayam on this topic have been given in their translated form at the end of the chapter on "Invasion on Tondaimandalam."

50. E. C., Vol. IV. part 2, No. 97, page 13.

THE DIAMOND THRONE OF VIJAYANAGAR

BY

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One of the most celebrated objects of interests in the royal palace of the Vijayanagara monarchs in the capital city of Vijayanagara was the diamond throne which was seen by two foreign witnesses 'Abdur Razāk and Paes.' The former, who visited the imperial capital during the reign of Deva Raya II (1419-1441), and who was in the city from November 1443 till April 1444,¹ writes thus :—"The throne, which was of extraordinary size, was made of gold, and enriched with precious stones of extreme value.....Before the throne was a square cushion, on the edges of which were sown three rows of pearls. During the three days (of the Mahānavami) the king remained seated on this cushion. When the fate of Mahānavami was ended, at the hour of evening prayer, I was introduced into the middle of four *estrades*, which were about ten *ghez*, both in length and breadth (about seven yards or twenty-one feet). The roof and the walls were entirely formed of plates of gold enriched with precious stones. Each of these plates was as thick as the blade of a sword, and was fastened with golden nails. Upon this *estrade*, in the front, is placed the throne of the king, and the throne itself is of very great size."²

About eighty years later (1520-22), Domingo Paes saw the same celebrated throne about which he writes thus :—

"Returning to the feasts, you must know that in this House of Victory the king has a room (*case*) made of cloth, with its door closed, where the idol has a shirne ; and in the other, in the middle (of the building), is placed a dais opposite the staircase in the middle ; on which dais stands a throne of state made thus,—it is four-sided, and flat, with a round top, and a hollow in the middle for the seat. As regards the woodwork of it, you must know that it is all covered with silk clothes (?*soajes*), and has lions all of gold, and in the spaces between the cloths (*soajes*) it has plates of gold, with many rubies and seed pearls, and pearls underneath ; and round the sides it is all full of golden images of personages, and upon these is much work in gold, with many precious stones. In this chair is placed an idol, also of gold, embowered in roses and flowers. On one side of this chair, on the dais below, stands a head-dress ; this is also made in the same manner ; it is upright and as high as a span, the top is rounded, it is full of pearls and

1. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar*, p. 87.

2. Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 95.

rubies and all other precious stones, and on the top of it is a pearl as large as a nut, which is not quite round. On the other side is an anklet for foot made in the same fashion ; it is another state jewel, and is full of large pearls and of many rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, and other stones of value ; it will be of the thickness of a man's arm³.

The question with which we are concerned is this—In whose reign was this diamond throne manufactured and by whom ? The answer is found in an interesting stone inscription found in a field to the east of the village of Gaunivaripalle, Hindupur taluka, Anantapur district, Madras Presidency. It is a record that is slightly damaged at the beginning and at the end. The date of the record is Saka 100, 30, 39 (i.e., 1339) Hemalambi, Phālguna, ba. 10, Guruvāra which corresponds but for the week day that happens to be Wednesday, to A. D. 1418, March the 2nd. It refers to the reign of Emperor Deva Raya, the son of Harihara Raya, who was the son of Bukka Raya.

The inscription registers the confirmation of an earlier gift by which Harihara Mahārāya had exempted the Pāncālas of the six Darśanas, by Deva Raya. The relevant portion in the record reads thus :—

Bhīṣavṛth Deva-Raya Maharayaru yappattu-nalku ahanada Pāncalakke kot (t) a s (s) asanakramavent-endare munna Ariara Maharayaru Bhīksavṛiti Tattayyaru aru darsana adi nentu (hadinentu) samavya muntagi Pāncalake hajara-simhasanava madidalli ma (n) nisidanta..."⁴

Therefore, the Pāncālas had manufactured the diamond throne in the royal court (*hajara-simhasana māḍi dalli*), and as a reward for their work had received some exemptions of taxes on bullocks, buffaloes, jewels, etc. from king Harihara Raya. That this ruler called *Ariara Raya* was the second of that name is evident from the previous passage in the same record which runs thus :—*Srivira-pratapa Bukha (Bhukha) rayara komara (kumara) Ariara (Harihara Maharayara)...*"

This ruler Harihara mentioned in the above record is not to be confounded with Harihara Rāya, whom Rice assigns as ruling in 1442,⁵ for the following reason :—

The patron of the Pāncālas is clearly stated to be the son of *Sirman maharajadhiraja Raja paramesvara Sri-Vira Pratapa Bukha (Bukka) Ravara komara (kumara)* ; while Harihara Rāya of 1442 was the son of Deva Raya I.

3. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

4. *South Indian Inscriptions*, IX. P II, p. 447.

5. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 112.

Therefore we have to conclude that the reference is only to Haihara Raya II, who ruled from 1377 till 1404.⁶ It was during the reign of this monarch that the royal throne (*Hajara-simhasana*) was constructed by the Pāñcalas. How many years of labour it took for them to finish it, and when exactly it was completed, cannot be made out for the present for want of sufficient data. But how celebrated this wonderful monument became in the Vijayanagara Empire is evident from the many references to it in epigraphs of the latter times.⁷ Further research alone will help us to determine whether the construction of this famous throne had anything to do with the laying out of the *vajra-bayasanige* of 1382, in the reign of king Harihara Raya II⁸.

The fact that in the same year (1418) king Deva Raya II had again to confirm the original grant made to the Pāñcalas, as is proved by the Laksmīnārasimheśvara temple record found at Kadiri, Kadiri taluka, Anantapur district,⁹ proves that the Pāñcalas, who are rightly credited in the Gaunivaripalli record with construction of the royal throne, had indeed, risen to much prominence in the reigns not only of Harihara Raya II, but of Deva Raya II as well.

The Gaunivaripalle record is of value in fixing the importance of another famous monument in the great capital itself. I refer to the well known Hajara Rāmasvāmi temple which still attracts many hundreds of admirers to it. We know from epigraphs that in 1513 Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya Great the had commenced building it; but its architecture led Alexander Rea to affirm that it was not finished till a later period.¹⁰ Whatever might have been the time taken for its completion, it is clear that we have to understand by the word *hajara* "personal", that is to say, as belonging to the ruler himself. Hence the Hajara Rāmasvāmi temple was evidently the temple to which Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great and the later monarchs went to pray. We may now definitely maintain that it was the private royal temple meant only for the use of the monarchs.

6. Rice, *op. cit.* p. 112.

7. See Rangacharya, *A Topographical list of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, III, Gt. 337, 347; Ne. 477, 491, 509, 652-3, 683, 774, 775, 822, 823, pp. 783, 785, 1113, 1115, 1118, 1158.

8. *Epigraphica Carnatica*, V. Bl. 75, p. 63.

9. *S. I. I.* IX P. II. No. 438 pp. 446-447.

10. Sewell *op. cit.* pp. 161-162, 162. n (1).

11. Longhurst was doubtful about its precise nature. He wrote thus—"This temple is generally supposed to have been the private place of worship of the kings". He praises it as "one of the most perfect specimens of Hindu temple architecture of the Vijayanagara period in existence". Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 69, an *ibid* (n) for the references referred to in note (10) above. Evidently the word *Hajara* (and not *Hazara*, as Longhurst spells it) is to be traced to the Arabic word *huzur*, "Presence," personal, as belonging to the monarch.

SHEIK AZARI AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DECCAN

BY

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Shaik Azari was a great poet-historian who came to the Deccan in the reign of Ahmad Shah Wali and served the Bahmani Kingdom with his superior tastes and talent. He occupied the same place in the reign of Ahmad Shah as Moulana Isami did in the reign of Allauddin Bahman Shah I, a century earlier. So long as the Shaik remained in the Deccan, not only did he enliven the Bahmani Durbar with his excellent literary works, but in deference to the royal wish he also undertook to write a history of the Bahmani dynasty which is known as Bahman Nama. The history does not end with the reign of Ahmad Shah but it covers the reigns of Allauddin II and Humayun Bahmani. Although Bahman Nama is no longer extant; yet it must have served as a valuable basis for centuries, and its value was acknowledged by later historians. In the Gulzar-i-Ibrahimi and Burhan-e-Maathir are quoted Azari's couplets.

Even the full name of Azari is not known, not to speak of his family and early life. He was born at Isfrain in Khorasan and was very fond of his place of birth.¹ He adopted his pen-name Azari after the Persian month Azar in which he was born.² He was about 82 in 1462, and therefore he must have born about 1380 A. D.³ Evidently the Shaik belonged to a learned family and grew up in a house radiant with the light of science and culture. Isfrain was a great centre of learning. According to Ferishta, the Shaik was the leading poet of his age and was reputed for his ready wit and keen understanding.⁴ Ali speaks of him in the same strain.⁵ Ferishta records one of his brilliant repartees, which had thrilled the court of Ulugh Beg at Mashhad. When asked about the wrong accent on the second letter of his pen-name, he replied at once that it had remained in humiliation for a long time; it only came into prominence on account of its association with Shaik Ulugh Beg. The courtiers were delighted at this ready reply and showered rich presents upon the poet.⁶

1. Ferishta, Lucknow edition, p. 326.

2. *Ibid.* p. 326.

3. *Ibid.* p. 326.

4. *Ibid.* p. 326.

5. Burhan-i-Maathir Hyderabad edition, p. 71.

6. Ferishta, p. 326.

In his old age, the Shaik inclined to mysticism and took to the solitary life of a recluse. Before coming to India, he had visited the Holy cities of Mecca and Medina.⁷

The exact date of Shaik's advent in the Deccan is not known. But it is certain that he arrived at Bahmani court when the Bahmani capital was shifted from Gulbarga to Bidar c. 1430. In his description of the lay-out and decoration of the new capital, Ferishta says that Shaik Azari was present in Bidar and attached to the retinue of the king.⁸

It were the literary merits of Sheik Azari which brought him to the notice of Ahmad Shah Bahmani. Ferishta says that the Sheik introduced himself to the king by presenting to him his masterly odes.⁹ He at once gained the royal favour, and he was soon raised to the position of Poet-Laureate—a high honour which was keenly contested by medieval poets. The king felt so much attached to the poet that he never liked the idea of parting from him, and declined to entertain any request of the poet to return to his native country. But in the end when pressed hard he acceded to it and much to the bewilderment of the poet he gave him a lac of rupees. The poet did not know how to carry this huge sum to his country, and he remarked that one could not carry such a huge sum except with the help of the king's conveyance. Upon this another sum of twenty-five thousands was added to cover the expenses of carriage and journey. The poet passed the remainder of his life in his native land with much comfort and happiness.¹⁰

The Sheik was, head and shoulders above the king's other courtiers scholars. He wrote many poems, at times extempore, in praise of the king, the capital and the royal buildings. These compositions bring out his command over language and beauty of expression. The following quatrain which expressed his admiration of the grand Durbar Hall, is very popular and often recited in the Deccan¹¹ :—

حیزا قصر شید کہ ز نور عظمت آسمان سده از پایه این درگاه است
آسمان هم نہ توان گفت کہ شرط ادب است قصر سلطان جهان احمد بہر شاہ است

What a grand palace and in view of its grandeur
Heaven is nothing but a staircase leading to the dias
It is not even proper to speak of heaven
This is the palace of Ahmad Bahman Shah the king of world.

7. Ferishta, p. 326.

8. *Ibid*, p. 325.

9. *Ibid*, p. 325.

10. *Ibid*, p. 325-326.

11. *Ibid*, p. 325.

The following is one of his lyrical poems which expresses his height of eloquence and sublimity of thought:—

به مجلسه که در و گنج په بها بخشند هزار انسر شاهي به یک گدا بخشند
ولا به میكد ها رز و شب گدائي كن دور که درد کشان جرعه ما بخشند
به نم ساعت هجر اذری نمی آورد هزار سال گوت در جهاں بقا بخشند

Bahman Nama was a memorable work of Sheik Azari. It was written in defence to the wishes of the king and was probably completed in two years. Perhaps it was as voluminous as the "Futuhus-Salatin" of Isami, written about a century earlier. It is likely that Ahmad Shah Wali had the work of Isami in mind and was keen to see that the history of his family was continued on the same lines.

The Bahman Nama at first, brought the narrative down to 1432 or 1433; but it was further continued till 866 A. H. 1462 A. D. when its author died, so that it practically covered the reign of Allauddin II in full and that of Humayun Bahmani in part. Even after the poet's death, the work was further supplemented by Samai and Naziri probably to the end of Mohammad Shah Lashkari's reign.¹²

Although Bahman Nama is not extant, yet it is certain that the work was fully utilized by later historians for centuries. It served as a reliable data for the later historians like Mohammad Qasim Ferishta, Ali bin Azeezullah and others. Ferishta gives a fairly detailed account of it and says that the work was mutilated by some unscrupulous authors, who palmed off some of its portions as of their own composition. He adds that the elegant style of Sheik Azari could be easily identified and distinguished from the false additions.¹³ Both Ferishta and Ali Bin Azizullah have copiously quoted from the Baman Nama to support their statements. When Ferishta found his version about Allauddin Hasan Gangu and his association with the Brahmin landlord of the name different from that in the Bahman Nama, he declined to believe in its authenticity on the ground that in that portion of the work the pen name of the Sheikh was missing.^{14 15}

In the absence of the book itself, one has to be content with the few and isolated lines which are quoted by Ferishta

12. Ferishta, p. 326.

13. *Ibid*, p. 326.

14. *Ibid*, p. 281.

15. *Ibid*, p. 353.

and Ali bin Azeezullah. They supply a clue to the style, treatment and the historical value of the work. The historical facts are described in an easy and plain language with no over statement and bias. The author seems to be a master both of language and history. Poets are generally swayed by passions and heights of eloquence, but Sheik Azari, on the contrary, uses very plain and guarded language and puts the historical accounts in as dispassionate a manner as to be true to history. Every couplet of the Bahman Nama can be safely relied upon as true. The following lines which describe different events throw light on the historical value of the extinct work. They have been quoted by Ferishta and Ali bin Azeezullah who do not acknowledge to have borrowed them from Bahman Nama; but the uniformity of style, metre, treatment and narration, from the beginning upto the last reign of Mohammad Shah Lashkari, confirm that they have been adopted from no other work than Bahman Nama.

A description of how Allauddin Hasan ascended the throne and how Gulbarga was fixed as the Capital of the Kingdom and rechristened Hasanabad is to be found in these lines;—

بقام حسن خسرو می شد تمام	جهان زیر فرمان او گشت رام
برادرنگ شاهی بر آمد پگاه	بر آورد بر سر دنانی کلاه
به شمشیر فرمان روانی گرفت	به داد و دهش بادشاهی گرفت
جهان را از شد عمارت بدید	به مهر مملکت نام نیکش رسید
همان شهر گلبرگه شد تخت گاه	عمارت بر آورد بر آرج ماه
به نام حسن شهر شد چون تمام	نهادند از آن حسن آباد نام

Succession of Mohammad Shah II.

گزارنده شرح معنی شناس	سخن را چنی می سند در قیاس
که بعد از حسن شاه تخت دکن	نوی در گرفت از محمد حسن

A description of the happy Durbar in which the Torquise Throne was placed and Mohammad Shah sat on it:—

برادرنگ نروزه به بشست شاد	به مجلس طرب را به می دادند
نشستند گردان به کرد سریر	ز شادی بزرگان روشن ضمیر

The peace policy of Mohammad Shah II:—

جوان شه به دولت جهان بر گرفت	به شاهنشاهی چتر بر سر گرفت
پس سالها در جهان کلام یافت	برادرنگ بے دزم آرام یافت

16. Ferishta, p. 277.

17. *Ibid*, p. 282.

18. *Ibid*, p. 288.

19. *Ibid*, p. 203.

The accession of Feroz Shah:—

چو فردز شه آن شه راستین بر آورده تاج و تخت و نگین
به تاند یزدان و تهرود مے تخت خداوند کشور شد و تاج و تخت
به روزه خجسته تو از مهر و ماه به سر بر نهان از کیهانی کلاه
در گنج بختیاد و تنکر بخواند به دامن زرد سیم و گوهر نشانند 20

The plan of making Bidar the new capital:—

ز اختوشناسان به پرسید شاه که گو سازم اینجا یکے جائگاه
ازد و فرد بختم به سامان بود و یاکار به جنگ سازان بود 21

A description of the war which was waged between Mahmud Khalji of Malwa and Mohammad Shah Lashkari who was still young:—

در لشکو ز مزدو دگر از کهن در خسرو یکے طفل دیگر کهن
به جنبش در آمد به میدان دوکوه زمین از تگا پوئے شان شد ستوه 22

20. Ferishta, p. 306.

21. *Ibid*, p. 325.

22. *Ibid*, p. 344.

SECTION IV
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Moghul India

BY

BANARSI PRASAD SAKSENA

I. Let me gratefully acknowledge the honour which the Indian History Congress has done me, in asking me to guide the deliberations of this section. I, however, cannot persuade myself into the belief that I can fit in well with the galaxy of scholarship and intellect of my illustrious predecessors. Therefore, with the fullest consciousness of my limitations, especially of my poverty of knowledge, and yet buoyed up by the hope that your good wishes will be with me, I undertake the task that has been entrusted to me, and muster up courage to express my stray thoughts on the study and interpretation of the history of the Moghul period.

II. Paradoxical though it may sound, it is a fact that though in point of time we are nearer to Akbar and to Muhammad Shah than to Asoka or Chandragupta, our knowledge of the age in which the former lived, is limited, at best one-sided. A number of distinguished scholars have devoted their time and attention to unfold the achievements of individual sovereigns. We have monographs on Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, and Aurangzeb. Among the distinguished nobles of this period, the lives of Burhan-ul-mulk Saadat Khan, Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang, Shujaud-dowlah and Nizamul-mulk Asaf Jah I, have been carefully narrated. Those works are of sterling merit and have received universal praise. But taken as a whole they represent the primary stage, the biographical stage in the art of historiography in our country.

III. These monographs are like brams and bricks which have been piled up by devoted and honest labourers and await the attention of deft craftsmen to arrange them into a graceful and lofty structure. The analysis of a large number of political events is there, but synthesis is conspicuous by its absence. Wars, campaigns, battles, rebellions have been described with careful precision, and abundance of detail. Enormous pains have been taken to locate and

identify places and men. But as it is, our efforts appear to be devoid of system and lacking in spirit. Every scholar has cared only for his own hero. It is an individual approaching an individual. Such an outlook is bound to be restricted and narrow. What is needed is comprehensiveness; a consideration of the totality of conditions which shaped life and actions is that age.

IV. Again, our conception of history, to a very large extent, has been influenced and shaped by our present environments. To us the empire is even now a hard reality. No wonder, therefore, that in our approach to the past, we attach too much importance to imperialism, its implications and corollaries. The Emperor looms large on the political horizon. His activities alone claim our serious consideration; his success or failure alone evoke our admiration, or provoke our criticism. He is regarded as constituting the sum-total of political life. He has, therefore, described and judged political institutions and political movements only in accordance with their capacity of helping or hindering the empire building process. Beyond that our vision does not go.

V. Also, our estimate of the achievements and failures of the Moghuls is mainly based on a close scrutiny of official histories only. Baburnamah, Humayunnamah, Memoirs of Bayazid Biyat, Akbarnamah, Ain-in-Akbari, the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Shahjahannamah, Alamgirnarah, etc., are works which were written to order. Their authors, be it noted to their credit, do not conceal their object. They extol the virtues of their respective heroes, unequivocally condemn their enemies and rivals, and pay due heed to the requirements of imperialism. They are not ashamed to gloss over the vices of their masters, nor do they feel any prick of conscience in raising flattery and exaggeration to the level of an art. True, modern writers have attempted to make allowance for these defects, but the language of Persian Chronicles is so ornate that it has not always been possible to escape its effect, which in its turn has vitiated our conclusions.

VI. The Persian language of the medieval age is characterised by an involved style; its capacity of being raised to heights of eloquence has been stretched almost to the point of absurdity. Its literal translation into English has produced an abundant crop of misunderstandings, particularly in relation to the motives underlying the political policies of the State in the 17th century. It may be

noted in this connection that though imperial politics had been secularised to a considerable extent, neither Abul Fazl on the one hand, nor Munshi Muhammad Kazim or Khafi Khan on the other has been able to avoid expressions which are evidently coloured by religious passion, and which consequently lend themselves to interpretations not intended by their authors.

VII. Official histories even memoirs written by non-officials, suffer from two very serious defects. Firstly, they are presented in a form in which sense is sacrificed to the sonorousness of diction. Secondly, like the present day official reports they were intended to, and consequently they present, only one side of the picture, the one favourable to the administration. This latter defect raises important issues, particularly about the correct and just estimate of the relationship between the State and its subjects. According to the accepted axiom, whenever the latter challenged the authority of the former, they were put in the category of rebels, whatever the motive behind their outbreak. We are taught to believe and accept that the Bundelas, the Jats, the Sikhs, even the Marathas were rebels, and hence the Emperor was absolutely justified in taking the most stringent measures to suppress them, and if necessary to destroy them root and branch. From the point of view of the State, this may be accepted as a correct version, but there is also another side of the shield. Incidentally, it may be observed that the causes of rebellion too have, in practically every case, been set down from the official angle of vision. The grievances and feelings of the so-called rebels have been entirely ignored. They are normally represented as law-breakers and the State as the aggrieved party.

VIII. But while attaching due importance to these ideas it is not possible to ignore the numerous gaps which are still to be filled up in order to complete even the political history of this period. As it is, we have only monographs of the first six Moghul Sovereigns. Irvine attempted to record the story of the Later Moghuls, and his work has been continued by the Doyen of Indian historians, Sir Jadunath Sarkar. But both these works are of a general nature. Though monuments of industry and scholarship, they suffer from the defect of diffused information. From the purely political point of view neither of these eminent scholars has kept his gaze fixed on the centre of the picture which he has attempted to point. And in either case the tendency

to run to the circumference is but too patent. Hence, we fail to get a connected and properly collated account of the deterioration which had set in the Moghul Empire.

IX. Moreover, even from the point of view of the biographical stage of historiography, the political history of this period is incomplete. Abdur-Rahim Khan Khanan, Man Singh, Todar Mal, Mir Jumla, Jai Singh and a host of other generals and statesmen who made remarkable contributions to the consolidation of the Empire, deserve a fuller treatment than has been accorded to them so far. And when we turn to the post-meridian period of the empire the number of such distinguished personalities multiplies. Jai Singh II, the Sayyids of Barah, Diwan Atma Ram, Raja Nawal Rai, and some of the prime-ministers of the later Moghuls may also be studied separately and their lives described in detail.

X. As to the history of the institutions, the late Dr. Ibn-i-Hasan's *Central Structure of the Moghul Government*, and Dr. Parmatma Saran's *"the Provincial Government of the Moghuls"* almost exhaust the list of works produced in recent times. These, however, do not go farther than the end of Shahjahan's reign. The fifty years of Aurangzeb's reign and the first half of the 18th century, roughly speaking a period of one hundred years, is yet a closed chapter to us. This is not due to any paucity of material on the subject, but, perhaps, its very copiousness is frightening. And also, because it has become customary to write and talk of the great Moghuls only and to ignore the later period altogether. It is not also unusual to think that the Mughal rule ends with the death of Aurangzeb, though the fact is that it did continue in some form or the other for another century and a half.

XI. In view of the emphasis that is generally laid on the military aspect of the Mughal despotism, is it not surprising that the study of the military system should not have attracted sufficient attention of any Indian scholar? Irvine's book sets out only the broad outlines; but since it was written a large volume of useful and relevant material on the subject has been unearthed. Nevertheless, we, cannot claim to possess a satisfactory account of even the Mansabdari system in all its bearings, or an account of the tactics or manoevers in the field of battle, or the variety and types of weapons used. We are also in the dark with regard to the conditions of employment and emoluments of soldiers and their officers. We almost know

next to nothing about discipline or other allied aspects, the cumulative effect of which was to transform the imperial army in the hayday of its glory into a powerful instrument of offence and defence.

XII. Again, in the second half of the 17th century the dimensions of the Mughal Empire increased considerably. After a continuous struggle which lasted for about a hundred years, the independence of the Deccan States was wiped off, and the country between Poona in the north, and Jinji Berad in the South was over-run by the Imperial armies. It is true that the victors were very speedily hounded out of their new possessions, but the story of their temporary sojourn and its reaction on the Deccan politics has not been clearly set forth. In fact, in the history of the Mughal Empire, the Deccan has always occupied a secondary place. This is not so, because from the political point of view the Deccan is of less consequence; but, perhaps, it is due to the partiality of the writers, most of whom belong to the north, and who, therefore, lack an appreciation of the problems of the South. This is true not only of modern scholars, it is equally true of medieval writers.

XIII. From what has been said above, it would be clear that even in the sphere of sheer military activity the story of the Mughal Empire is far from complete. As to state-craft, it is even less satisfactory. The Emperors maintained diplomatic relations with Persia, Turkey, Trans-Oxiana, Kashghar, and other Asiatic states. Continental politics as a whole did influence the course of events in India. But unfortunately Indian politics in this broad and comprehensive setting have not been either analysed or synthesised. Some thought has, however, been given to the eastward expansion in this period, but other frontiers are equally, perhaps, even more important, and therefore deserving of greater attention.

XIV. We are apt to think that the rise and fall of Empires depended on the capacity or incapacity of individuals. This is certainly exaggerating the importance of the personal equation. No doubt, military skill went a long way in shaping political destinies. But in any scheme of politics even of the absolutest depotism, the existence of parties cannot be totally ignored. From Babur to Aurangzeb the intensity of party politics is but too apparent. But little has been done to appraise the extent of the power of parties or to trace the source of their influence, with

the result that when they do emerge into more decisive prominence in the post-Aurangzeb period, it becomes difficult to understand their composition or to account for their attitude. We are told that the Irani and Turani parties came into conflict with each other, and we are, thereby, led to conclude that they were the only parties. But what about the party of the King-Makers, the Sayyid Brothers? Can we not call it the Hindustani party? Though descendants of foreigners, they had become sons of the soil in the most literal sense of the expression.

Now let us turn one attention for a while from the princes and their politics to the people. When we do so we are confronted with a very serious historical fallacy, which has become an article of faith with us; and it is that the life of the people in this country has been static, and that political changes have not reacted in a corresponding measure on social structure. Such a faith has rendered the task of historians comparatively easy. When he has described the achievements of a sovereign, his wars and campaigns, he thinks he has completed his work. None-the-less in certain cases, there is faintly visible on the part of modern writers, a lurking desire to write of the people. In such an eventuality, a meagre chapter on the life of people is added. But such appendices are not very satisfactory. Moreland has in his two volumes attempted to visualise the economic factors as affecting the life of the people, but unfortunately, he has used his vast fund of information and his keen and penetrating intellect in presenting only one side of the picture, with the object of bringing into bold relief the contrast between the poverty and squalor of the Mughal period and the so-called prosperity and affluence which we enjoy under the benign rule of the English. Professor Radha Kamal Mukerji, in a series of articles in the Journal of U. P. Historical Society has dealt with the very same subject. But like an objective economist he has collected statistics and has arrived at certain conclusions with regard to the economic conditions. These conclusions are valuable, but they lack human touch and are devoid of consideration of numerous social factors which shape economic tendencies and which make up the economic status of the people. Though the learned professor, unlike Moreland, has extended his period of inquiry to the end of the 18th Century, but divorced from historical approach as it is, his treatment has become sketchy. It is, however, capable of further elucidation, and may serve as a plan for more intensive study.

XV. From the sheer economic point of view the history of the seventeenth century and of the first quarter of the 18th century is of paramount interest to us. In this period wealth flowed into India in almost unending stream from most of the western and some of the Easter countries. Trade and commerce prospered. But we are yet in the dark with regard to the organisation of trade and commerce of this period. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan's book is a masterly analysis of the British side of the case. He has brought out with commendable care the reactions which the outgoing trade of India had on the political and social life of England. The late Dr. Bal Krishna collected figures to indicate to us the volume of this trade. But both of these scholars have concerned themselves with the activities of the English East India Company. The Dutch, the French, the Portuguese, the Danes and others attract scant notice. But more than that, we simply pine to know how this increasing wealth affected the standards of the people. Trade and commerce were essentially the people's concern. The state had very little share either in its organisation or in its regulation. A large portion of the country's income passed into the hands of the people. Does it not, therefore, stand to reason to presume that increasing wealth, even among a restricted section of the society, must have had repercussions on the general trend of politics in India as was the case in England? What those were we are entitled to know and to understand.

XVI. Again, the growth of trade and commerce presupposes extension of means of communication and other facilities for merchants. The authors who have incidently touched this subject dilate upon dangers which then beset and actually obstructed free movement of commodities. But this is merely the negative side of the picture; it tends to convey to us wrong impressions. We are asked to believe that security in India was an exceptional rather than normal feature of life. Can this be a correct reading of the situation? Kabul, Lahore, Agra, Delhi, Patna, Rajmahal, Dacca, Burhanpur, Ahmedabad, Golconda, and numerous other towns were connected with one another by a network of roads. We have records of distances, and also of comforts provided by the state. These have to be unearthed and shown the light of the day. Also, it would be interesting to assemble together a description of the various types of transport that were in vogue in that age. Ever since the discovery of the circular wheel speed has been the craze of man. What were the dimensions it attained under

the Mughals will form an illuminating and instructive study both in relation to the activities of the State and the life of the people.

XVII. But it is not of the economic aspects alone that our knowledge of this period is deficient, it is more so in case of its purely social side. There is ample material to yield a vivid picture of customs, manners, pastimes, fairs, festivals, popular religious beliefs, social relationship among the various sections of society, dress, ornaments, food, drink, etc. But we have not taken up courage to tap it and to utilise it for advancing the bounds of historical information. Even the profoundest scholars of this period find themselves at a loss when a layman asks them about the ordinary equipment of an average individual in this period. The consequences of our neglect may ultimately prove to be disastrous. We may completely lose the record of the development of our arts and crafts in the past and thereby may end our moorings asunder. It may even retard our further progress.

XVIII. The period under review is reputed for its intense literary activity. Prof. Ghani has given us a resume of Persian literature, and Mr. S. M. Jaffar has discussed in two or three chapters the system of education as it obtained then. Professor Sharma in his address at the Aligarh session referred to Sanskrit works from which we may glean information about the Moghuls. A number of Hindi scholars like the late Pandit Ram Chandra Shukla of the Benares Hindu University and the late Rai Bahadur Babu Shyam Sunder Das, of Benares, Dr. Ram Kumar Varma, and Dr. Rama Shankar Rasal, both of the Allahabad University, and Sj. Brij Ratan Das have written histories of Hindi Literature. Nor have the scholars of Urdu lagged behind in this direction. Dr. Ram Babu Saksena, Dr. Muhiuddin Qadiri, Maulana Abdul Haq and others have enriched Urdu literature by their critical and voluminous contributions. The same, I venture to think, holds true of Bangali, Gujrati, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu literatures. These works are extremely valuable in their own sphere. But though they do indicate the trends in literacy thought; we do not get from these scholarly epitomes any idea of the reaction of literature on the lives of the people and vice versa.

XIX. The foregoing limitations and gaps in our study and interpretation of the history of this period are due to our two cardinal articles of faith; firstly, the exag-

gerated importance of the Empire and all that it stood for; and secondly, the so-called static character of the life of the people in this country. Enough has been said above to show that the Empire and the Emperor were not the only realities, and that in the normal scheme of things the people did not constitute an insignificant element. Indeed they were the life and soul of the Empire. Such being the case, faith in the static character of their life is not only absurdly preposterous, but it is a direct challenge to the canons of history. People have either marched forward in the direction of progress, or backward to the depths of deterioration and extinction. Indeed human activity has ever been moving in spirals. Men can never stand still. Then why such presumption in the case of our countrymen of the Moghul period? Two reasons may be given. Firstly, the ease with which we have been able to construct the account of imperial institutions, and our consequent inability to probe deeper and assess the importance of the main elements which constructed the Empire. And secondly, our ingrained faith in the almost miraculous powers of an individual, the king, has been responsible for the development of such an attitude on our part. But can we imagine even for a moment that the sovereigns did not react to changes in the political environment?

XX. The Moghul Kings even in the heyday of their glory and greatness were accessible to their subjects and gave patient hearing to their grievances. Numerous instances are on record to show that even provincial governors were reprimanded, removed, or transferred on the expression of popular resentment against them. Cases may also be cited in which people resorted to concerted action, and to obtain redress for their complaints they picketed the houses of high state officials. And when it can be demonstrated that the Moghul administration was a progressive administration, it would be hard to conclude that the people were left far behind. In fact, if we examine the situation dispassionately, little argument would be needed to trace out the conclusion that the outlook of the people of the 18th century was different from that to which they were wedded in the beginning of the 18th century. Who was responsible for this reciprocal change towards progressivism? Was it merely the sovereign? or were popular forces also working that way? The answer is that the result was due to the efforts of both, though the precise relationship between the two has not been indicated so far.

XXI. To illustrate the hypothesis let me take the

story of religious attitude in this period. Professor Sharma has in his inimitable manner discussed the policy of the Moghuls in this respect. But will it be reasonable to assume that the formation of this policy in the sixteenth century had no connection with the general pressure of environments that had shaped themselves in this country? The fact of the matter is that long before the advent of the Moghuls the pressure of hard realities of everyday life had formed itself into an effective weapon for welding the various communities inhabiting this country, if not into a national unit, then certainly into a well organised and fully adjusted unit, in which each had a wholesome regard for the other. In the 16th century strain in the relations between the Hindus and Musalmans had almost ceased to exist. Akbar's policy merely reflected as accomplished fact; it represented the attitude of the state towards it. Therefore, to say that religious toleration was entirely the handwork of the Great Moghul would not be doing justice to the action and interaction of historical forces.

XXII. Not was it India alone which in this period was witnessing a reorientation of the comparative relationship between religion and politics. In Europe also almost a similar process was in action. The allegiance of human spirit was being gradually transferred from the clerical to the civil authority. Luther waged an effective struggle for freedom of the Princes and Divines. His governing idea was that the actual holders of the civil power must carry out the necessary reform of the Church divines. He disbelieved in the political claims of the Church and the religious claims of monastic life. In England the Tudors trampled the Popish supremacy under foot; constituted themselves into the supreme heads of the Church and State; and gave new direction to the life of their people. Thus the 16th century in the east as well as in the west was a period of revolutionary changes in ideologies and in the calculation and adjustment of those factors which constitute life.

XXIII. Fortunately, so far as the west is concerned, the part played respectively by princes and people in bringing about these changes has been amply demonstrated. This is not so in the case of India. Reference is usually made to the teachings of Kabir, Nanak, and a host of other saint-reformers. It is also stated that their teachings captured the popular imagination. But in what manner the changed religious outlook of the people reacted on administration is an untold story. In defence of the silence

of contemporary historians and that of our own negligence, it is urged that the people had no part in the administrative machinery, nor had they any means to make their voice felt. The sovereign initiated the policy and he had every right to change it.

XXIV. And such a change did occur in the 17th century when curiously enough England and India appear to have moved almost in parallel lines. In the former country the proclivities of the Stuart Kings by bringing them into direct conflict with the changed ideals of the people, led to the growing strength of Puritanism which reached its political climax under Cromwell. In India too, the growing tendency towards narrow-mindedness is also clearly noticeable. Its spring source is sought to be identified with the personality of the sovereign. The people are altogether left out of account. It is on this basis that Aurangzeb is unhesitatingly denounced as the promoter of fanaticism and as preacher of the gospel of hatred.

XXV. In this connection I would like to refer to a collection of sanads which are in the possession of Pandit Lakshmi Narain of Ujjain. He belongs to a family which for the last several centuries has been connected with the maintenance and worship of the Maha Kal temple. The documents which he has shown me throw considerable light on religious policy of the state in the 17th century. In one of them Murad Bakhsh refers to the age long practice of allowing a fixed quantity of ghee (melted butter) for the illumination of the temple and orders that henceforward 4 Alibari seers of ghee should be given. In others we find Aurangzeb interesting himself in the fortunes of two priestly families of Ujjain for whom he fixed regular daily allowances. In Chitrakot, in Arail (Allahabad), in Benares, farmans of the Emperor are reported to be existing, which confirm or make an original grant to temples. I have in my possession photographed copy of a Jahangiri farman which relates to the grant of 200 bighas of arable land to Chandra Bhan Purohit of Tribeni on the explicit condition that Hindu pilgrims are not fleeced or molested by the priestly class. A certain Lala Dargahi Lal of Bilgram compiled and published in 1876 a history of Cawnpore. He has reproduced the copy of a farman issued by Aurangzeb in favour of Rawat Pirthwi Raj confirming him in the post of Chowdhari of pargana Shivli in the Sarkar of Shahabad Qanauj, in the Subah of Akbarabad.

XXVI. For every one of the documents cited above there will be hundreds of thousands in the possession of

private individuals who for some reason or other are reluctant to make them public. If they are collected together it is certain that we shall have to revise our opinion on many a knotty problems of this period. Not only will the religious policy of the State will have to be reassessed, but we shall be able to know more about the actual working of the state machinery, about the codes of civil and criminal procedure, about the rules and regulations of buying selling and mortgaging of property, about the art of conveyancing, in short about things that mattered with the life of the people. And some of these documents are bound to reveal social practices or malpractices. As an illustration I may refer to a small piece of paper, which evidently had been duly registered by the officers of the day. It relates to the sale of a Rajput girl by a Muslim to a dancer of Ujjain.

XXVII. It should be clear by now that the gaps in our study of the history of the Moghul period are many, and that they must be filled up with as much speed as possible. We have to switch off our attention from the mere political narrative which we have come to regard as history. Even in this respect we are far behind the time. Whereas scholars in Europe have been able to analyse and differentiate between the influence of the Church and State and to study dispassionately the process of action and interaction between them; we in India have confused the issues. In the discussion of our immediate past we have projected our present sympathies and antipathies. Indeed, we are not interpreting the past with the object of shaping the present and giving a healthy direction to the future. We are doing just the opposite. We are giving more thought to division and destruction than to unity and construction. We have poisoned the mind of the present generation, and have created conditions for prolonged bitterness in times to come. Should the glorious history of the Mughal period play this inglorious role?

XXVIII. I should be failing in my duty if I do not frankly assert that communal bitterness was the exception rather than the rule in the Moghul period. Much has been written to denounce Aurangzeb as the author of a reactionary policy and to trace to him many an evil which afflict our country to-day. Without entering into a detailed discussion of the subject let me very humbly suggest that many a politician of that age, like those of the present age used religion to subserve their political ends. But Aurangzeb's outlook was primary political, essentially secular, and only

incidentally religious. And it is from this point of view that his conflicts with contemporaries should be interpreted.

XXIX. Even presuming for a moment that he let loose forces of reaction and that he persecuted the non-Muslims, is it not upto us to examine not only the consequences of his policy but also the range and intensity of its influence? When it is stated that the Mughal administration did not affect our rural life, does it not stand to reason to conclude that a large section of our contry's population lay outside the orbit of the effects of Aurangzeb's line of action. Considering the vast extent of his dominions, the catalogue of the atrocities he is said to have committed shrinks into insignificance. Again, the so-called policy of religious persecution was not followed throughout the fifty years of the reign. It was provoked by a set of peculiar circumstances, it was limited in sphere and in application. At least it may be accepted as a ripple in the vast ocean of the normal life of this country. That its effects were temporary can be proved by events that occurred in the 18th century. The advisors of the rulers of Oudh were Hindus. In Bengal the financial experts of the Government were Seths. And in the Punjab where communal bitterness should have been at its height we read that, when the Governor Zakariya Khan died, "there was so much grief for him among all people, especially in the city of Lahore, that for three nights in succession no lamp was lighted in any house. Thousands on thousands followed his bier through the streets, lamenting aloud, beating their breasts, and heaping up flowers on his bier, till at last not a handful of flowers was left in the city." This is the testimony of a Hindu Anandram, not of a Muslim writer.

In conclusion pray let me once more urge the necessity of filling up the gaps in the study of the history of this period. Let us shift the emphasis from princes to the people, and let us collect together the enormous mass of material which is lying concealed in nooks and corners. But above all this, it is necessary to change our outlook which at the moment is coloured by narrow and offensive sectarianism. Undoubtedly our efforts should unsparingly be directed towards discovering and arriving at the truth. But such a truth should not be barren of fruits. We should try to interpret it in a manner, which may enable us to look back to our past with gratitude, to enjoy our present with a sense of pleasure and satisfaction, and to so build up our future that we may win back the leadership of the world, which we were so proud to possess in the Moghul period.

SHAIKH AHMAD SIRHINDI AND MUGHAL POLITICS

BY

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Shaikh Ahmad Shirhindi¹ was one of the greatest religious leaders of his times. His followers included some of the principal nobles² as well as a large number of common Muslims. He may be regarded as the symbol of a powerful tendency that had appeared in the reign of Akbar, the tendency of Muslim Reaction, which was strengthened in the 17th Century. He provided the ideological basis of this tendency and took an active part in furthering it. Thus even though the historical records may be lacking in my visible proof of his direct political influence, it would be interesting to study the political attitude of the Shaikh as revealed in his letters to the important political personalities of the period.³

A few words may be said about the then prevailing tendencies before we actually examine Shaikh Ahmad's ideas and teaching. Akbar's reign marks the culmination of an epoch in which a common Hindu-Muslim Culture was growing in the different parts of the country. The dominant religious tendencies, both among the Muslims as well as Hindus, had many common points. These were, as is well-known, the Sufi Movement and the Bhakti Cult. Politically, the undeavour of Akbar was to make the Mughal state the common concern of Hindus and Muslims.

But the very success of this tendency accentuated opposite tendencies. The Bhakti Movement in Maharastra assumes, at this period, an anti-Muslim character. The followers of Guru Nanak are gradually shedding away their catholicity and are gradually assuming the nature of a militant sect. Similarly, among Muslims, there was a feeling of revolt against the existing trends of Sufism with its tolerance and freedom of individual worship. There was a cry. "Islam has become impure", "Muslims are being influenced by *Kafirs*." Thus the slogan, "Back to Original Islam", was raised. The

1. Born in 1563 and died in 1624. He has been called "Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani" or the Regenerator of the second Millenneum. He was the virtual founder of the Naqshbandi order in India.

2. e. g. Murtaza Khan, Islam Khan, Mahabat Khan, Mirza Badi-uz-Zaman, Darab Khan etc.

3. *Maktoobat-i-Imam-i-Rabbani*, Newal Kishore Press, Cawnpore, 1906. 3 Volumes.

beginning of the second millennum had revived the idea of a regenerator. The Mahdavi Movement⁴, although professing a different set of beliefs, was the product of a similar trend. The leadership of this tendency was however assumed by the Naqshbandi Movement.⁵ A large number of Muslim nobles who were either dissatisfied with the growing influence of Hindu nobles or subsequently of the Persian Nobles, found themselves in complete agreement with this movement and extended to it their full support. It was precisely this group of nobles which turned the scales in favour of Jehangir during the controversy between Salim and Khusro for succession.

Dissatisfaction with Akbar's Reign :—

Shaikh Ahmad was extremely dissatisfied with the policy of Akbar. In a letter to Shaikh Farid (Murtaza Khan) during Jehangir's reign he writes, "You know what sufferings the Musalmans have undergone in the past. The conditions of the Muslims in the past ages had never been worse than this; that the Muslims should follow their creed, and the *Kafirs* should follow their path. In the previous reign the *Kafirs* became so preponderant that in the land of Islam they promulgated orders of *Kufr*, while the Muslims were unable to give Islamic orders; and if they did so, they were executed."⁶ Shaikh Ahmad was definitely in favour of the accession of Jehangir. He rejoiced in the news of Jehangir's accession, and wrote: "To-day when the news of the rise of the Islamic state and the accession of the king of Islam has reached all, the followers of Islam considered it their duty to offer their support and aid to the King and to guide him in the propagation of the faith and the strengthening of the religion—whether this assistance is given with the hands or with the tongue"⁷ Shaikh Ahmad's devoted disciple Murtaza Khan played a leading role in favour of Jehangir in the Council of nobles convened by Khan-i-Azam at the time of Akbar's death.⁸ And again it was Shaikh Farid who extracted from Jehangir the promise to defend Islam as a price of the support given by the nobles.⁹

4. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad's evaluation of the Mahdavi Movement would be found of interest. *Tazkira*.

5. Mirza Hakim, Akbar's younger brother, had organised his rebellion in 1581 on the slogan of 'the defence of religion.' Incidentally he was also a follower of the Naqshbandi order.

6. Maktoobat Vol. I, Letter No. 47. Also see L. No. 81 addressed to Lala Beg.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Asad Beg *Waqaya*.

9. Accordingly, the leading nobles (Murtaza Khan), having been sent by the others as their representative, came to the Prince and

The reactions of Shaikh Ahmad on the accession of Jehan and during the early part of his reign are worth noting. High hopes were raised in his heart that the new regime would propagate the *Shariat*. In his letters he unfolded his political ideas. The main points are summarised below :—

The Importance of Shariat :—

Unlike the Sufic preachers, Shaikh Ahmad laid great stress on the importance of the propagation of the *Shariat* by the State. In a letter to Khan-i-Azam he says : "Sages have said that the Shar 'is always under the sword, and the triumph of the *Shara'* depends on the Kings."¹⁰ He again emphasised this point in a letter to Jehangir himself when he wrote that the propagation of the *Shara'* depended on him.¹¹ He makes his argument very clear in the following words : 'The King stands in the same relation to the world as the heart stands to the body. If the heart is sound, the body is also well. If however, the heart is in a bad way, the body also suffers. Thus the welfare of the world depends on the goodness of the King.'¹²

These ideas were somewhat different from the prevalent Sufic notions. The Sufis believed primarily in their individual salvation, and in the moral persuasion of the masses. Shaikh Ahmad however holds a contrary view. He considers the scholars of *Shara'* who propagate the *Shariat* as definitely superior to the Sufis.¹³ And he holds that propagation of the *Shara'* is possible mainly with the backing of the state. To Khan-i-Azam he writes : "Khwaja Ahrar used to say that his task was to propagate the *Shariat*. That was why he frequented the company of Kings and through them propagated the *Shariat*."¹⁴ For this reason Shaikh Ahmad too maintained cordial relations with the nobles of the realm and concentrated on cultivating their friendship¹⁵.

He kept on pressing the nobles to exercise their influence on the King for the propagation of the *Shariat*. He says : "In the new regime it is the duty of the nobles and the *ulema* to restore

promised, in all their names to place the Kingdom in his hands provided that he would swear to defend the law of Mahomet... "

Du Jarric, Akbar and the Jesuits, Payne's translation. p. 204.

10. M. Vol. I, L No. 65.

11. *Ibid.* Vol. III. L. No. 47.

12. *Ibid.* Vol I. L. No. 47.

13. *Ibid.* Letter to Murtaza Khan, Vol. I. No. 48.

14. *Ibid.* Vol. I. L. No. 65.

15. e. g. He regards Murtaza Khan as a patron, he is anxious to regain the favour of Hakim Fathullah when the latter is annoyed, he humours and flatters, and at times admonishes Khan-i-Khanan and Khan-i-Azam to maintain his influence over them.

the glory of Islam. If the King is indifferent, and even his companions keep aloof from the problem, the fate of the Muslims would become pitiable."¹⁶ He is more explicit in his letter to Khan-i-Azam : "Your word is effective and your adherence to Islam is respected among your equals. You should therefore make an attempt. At least the laws of *Kufr* which are prevalent among the Muslims should be abrogated.....In the previous regime the religion of the Muhammad was looked upon with hostility. In the present regime there is no open enmity. If there is any, it is due to ignorance."¹⁷

This ignorance, therefore, he sought to combat. The elements mainly responsible for this ignorance on the part of the Kings were the 'vicious Ulema'. "The company of the wordly *Ulema* is like a deadly poison. Their mischief is contagious...In the past the calamity that befell Islam was due to the machinations of these very people. It is they who have been misleading the kings."¹⁸ When therefore he heard that the king had decided to appoint four prominent *ulema* at the court to advise on religious questions, he has very pleased. But he cautioned his friends among the nobles that they should allow only such *ulema* to be appointed as were deeply religious and strict followers of the *Shara'*.¹⁹

The main mission of the life of Shaikh Ahmad was to establish the supremacy of the *Shara'* in the Muslim state. In almost all his letters addressed to the political personalities, there is the utmost emphasis on following the *Shara'*. In a letter to Murtaza Khan on the occasion of the appointment of the *Ulema* at the court (referred to above), he says that they should "enunciate the law of Islam so that no order is passed in contravention of the *Shara'*."²⁰ Again to Khan-i-Khanan he writes that "in all matters the decisions of the truly religious *ulema* should be followed."²¹

The *Shariat* has to be interpreted by the Sunni *Ulema* on the basis of the Book (*Kitab*), the tradition (*Sunnat*) and the consensus of the community (*ijma-i-ummat*). There should be no attempt to seek rational justification of the religious laws, because one

16. *Ibid.* Letter to Sadr-i-Jahan, Vol. I. No. 195.

17. *Ibid.* Vol I. L. No. 65. Similarly to Murtaza Khan he writes : "It is expected from your gentle self that since God has given you complete nearness to the King, you will make every over and covert effort to propagate the *Shariat* of Mohammad". L. No. 47.

18. *Ibid.* Vol I. L. No. 47.

19. *Ibid.* Letter to Murtaza Khan (No. 53) to Sadr-i Jahan (No. 194)

20. *Ibid.* L. 53.

21. *Ibid.* L. No. 70.

22. *Ibid.* Letter to Khan-i-Khanan, No. 214.

who tries to do so 'denies the greatness of the Prophet.' In this connection it was imprative, according to Shaikh Ahmad, that first of all the beliefs be corrected according to the Sunni faith, and heretical tendencies be combated. In a long letter to Khan-i-Jehan, he urges him to conform strictly to the Sunni faith, enunciates its main tenets and beliefs, asks him to keep aloof from the other sects and requests him to speak from time to time to the King about it.²³ Almost the same advice is repeated to Murtaza Khan, Mirza Badiurz Zaman, Darab Khan, Hakim Fathullah, Khizr Khan Lodi, Fath Khan Afghan, Khan-i-Khanan etc. ⁴

Whenever action was taken to enforce the *Shariat*, he expresses satisfaction and appreciation. For example he thanks and praises Qulich Khan for having promulgated a number of orders in accordance with the *Shara'* and congratulates him that during his tenure of office at Lahore, 'religion has been strengthened'.²⁵ He pleads for the appointment of Quazis so that the *Shariat* may be properly enforced.²⁶ On the other hand he unequivocally condemns all state institutions in contravention of the *Shara'.* His abhorrence of such activities was so great that he even refused to visit Delhi during the season of *Naoroz*.²⁷

Opposition to Heretical Tendencies :—

The establishment of the supremacy of the *Shara'* involved, according to Shaikh Ahmad, a crusade against the heretics and the infidels. Let us first examine his ideas towards the heretics. In a long letter to Hakim Fathullah he violently attacks the non-Sunni sects, especially the Shias.²⁸ To Murtaza Khan his advice is to avoid the company of heretics altogether, as that was 'even worse than the company of infidels'.²⁹ The Shaikh also wrote a pamphlet refuting the beliefs of Shiaism, entitled "*Radd-i-Rawafiz*". Presumably this sustained campaign against Shiaism was mainly directed towards the Shiite Persian nobles. The Shaikh was keen that heresy be put down, and for this reason wanted to enlist the sympathies of the nobles. In a letter to

23. *Ibid.* Vol. II. L. No. 67.

24. *Ibid.* Vol. I. L. Nos. 69, 71, 75, 80, 94, 193, 213; Vol. II. No. 87.

25. *Ibid.* Vol. I. L. No. 76. See also letter to Sadr-i-Jahan, No. 194.

26. *Ibid.* Letters No. 103 and 195.

27. *Ibid.* L. No. 44. In a subsequent letter he repeats his arguments: "To-day when the King of Islam is no longer as kind to the infidels, the custom of *Kufr* cannot be looked upon with equanimity by the Muslims". L. No. 194.

28. *Ibid.* L. No. 80.

29. *Ibid.* L. No. 54.

Khan-i-Khanan he writes : "The followers of this (Naqshbandi) Order have become helpless in this land, and many people have fallen a victim to Shiite heresy. Your aid is solicited in this connection."³⁰ The execution of Quazi Noorullah Shustari, the Shia Quazi of Akbar's reign, was presumably at the instance of the Shaikh³¹.

Tirade Against Kafirs:—

Much more violent however was his trade against the non-Muslims (*Kafirs*). According to the Shaikh, Muslims should have no truck with the non Muslims, not even social contacts. He emphasises this point in a number of letters. For example, to Khan-i-Khanan he writes that : Muslims have been instructed to regard *Kafirs* as enemies.³² He expands his ideas in a letter to Murtaza Khan as follow : "One who respects the *Kafirs*, dishonours the Muslims. Respecting them does not merely mean honouring them, but giving them a place in one's company and talking to them. Like dogs they should be kept away and if there is any worldly business which cannot be attained without them, then without taking them into confidence, only minimum contact should be established. The height of Islamic sentiment is to forego worldly profits and have no relationship at all with them."³³

Shaikh Ahmad wanted to translate his religious hatred of the non-Muslims into the realm of politics. He considers the State ruled over by a Muslim as an Islamic State. Such a conception was fundamentally different from the theory of the Mughal state. The Mughal theory, at its best under Akbar, strove that the state should not remain the monopoly of any one religion, or race or grup. Different religions and racial groups had been associated with administration, and the affairs of the State were being run more and more in harmony with the sentiments of the different elements of society. An administration which was tending to assume the character of a non-Sectarian common concern was strongly disapproved by the Shaikh. He could not tolerate 'infidels' issuing orders of '*Kurf*' in the 'land of Islam', and considered such a state to be one of helplessness and degradation for the Muslims.

30. *Ibid.* Vol. II L. No. 62. This letter confirms the view taken by the author of Maasir-i-Umara that Khan-i-Khanan had genuinely discarded Shiaism. The Khan-i-Khanan however remained unorthodox all his life, and Shaikh Ahmad admonished him frequently cf. Vol. I Letters No. 23, 68, 214, Vol. II Nos. 8, 62 and 66.

31. Jahangir-i-Mujaddidia. p. 43.

32. *Ibid.* L. No. 23.

33. *Ibid.* L. No. 163.

He, therefore, urged an uncompromising policy. The non-Muslim should have no place in the administration, they should be reduced to a state of degradation and humiliation. Utmost harshness should be shown to them—this was, in short, his recommendation for the treatment of non-Muslims.³⁴ A few extracts from his letters will clearly reveal his main ideas on the subjects :

In a letter to Murtaza Khan he writes, "Obedience to the Prophet lies in the fact that the Islamic law be followed and the traditions of infidelity be obliterated. Islam and *Kufr* are the negation of each other...God has ordered, 'O Prophet launch a crusade against the *Kafirs* and disbelievers and suppress them'"³⁵ Again, he repeats, his ideas as follows, "launching a crusade against the *Kafirs* and treating them with harshness is one of the essential needs of religion."³⁶ His bitterness reaches a climax when he writes, "Every man has got some desire in his heart. The uppermost desire in the heart of this *faqir* is that the enemies of God and the Prophet be dealt with severely...(This writer) has repeatedly invited you to perform this function and considers it to be one of the most important duties.....Every open and hidden effort should be made for their destruction."³⁷

Views on Jizya :—

As has already been noticed, he was very keen that the infidels be kept in a state of degradation and humiliation. He looks upon *jizya* not as a monetary contribution for defence in lieu of personal service, as some jurists and writers have argued. He wanted the imposition of the *jizya* as an emblem of the subjugation of the non-Muslims. He elaborates this point in a letter to Murtaza Khan : "The main reason for taking *jizya* is to degrade and humiliate them, so much so that because of its fear they may not be able to dress well and live in grandeur.....In does not behove the kings to stop *jizya*. God has instituted it to dishonour them. It is intended to bring them into contempt and to establish the honour and might of Islam."³⁸

Appreciation of Measures Against non-Muslims :—

Any blow at the non-Muslims was deeply appreciated by the

34. The scope of the present paper prevents an examination of the factors which led to rise of this tendency, or its evaluation, or a comparison with the corresponding non-Muslim movements. The writer hopes to undertake an exhaustive examination of these points in the book he is contemplating to write on "*Some Popular Muslim Religious Movements in Medieval India*."

35. *Ibid.* L. No. 163.

36. *Ibid.* L. No. 193.

37. *Ibid.* L. No. 269 cf. L. No. 165.

38. *Ibid.* L. No. 163 cf. No. 193.

Shaikh. His letter to Khan-i-Azam is characteristic of this sentiment. He writes, "May God help you in upholding the law of Islam and give you victory over its enemies.....At such a critical juncture, we find in you a welcome personally.....the verbal crusade that you are waging is the greatest of crusades (*Jihad-i-Akbar*), and consider it to be higher than the crusade of bloodshed."³⁹ Similarly to Sadr-i-Jahan he writes, "The promulgation of Islamic orders and the news of the dishonouring of the enemies of Faith has gladdened hearts of Muslims".⁴⁰ He congratulated Murtaza Khan for having dishonoured the Hindus and destroyed their idols during the Kangra campaign. Perhaps his ideas emerge most sharply when he expresses his pleasure at the execution of Guru Gobind. He says that whatever may have been the motives of execution, it was a matter for satisfaction, since it involved the degradation of the infidels and the glory of Islam.⁴¹

Growth of Shaikh Ahmad's Influence and his Imprisonment :—

Such in brief were the ideas of Shaikh Ahmad on politics. As observed before he sought to extend his influence among the nobles and in the army. The Sunni nobles found these ideas in consonance with their political ambition. The supremacy of the *Shariat* and the subordination of the temporal authorities to the dictates of the *ulema* could act as a check on the autocracy of the king something which must have been very welcome to most of the nobles. The tirade which Shaikh Ahmad launched against those *ulema* who justified Akbar's absolutism on the basis of the legal theory which had grown during the Abbasid period, could have undermined the religious sanction of royal autocracy. And as has already been mentioned the attacks on Hindus and Shias could have helped in ousting the Persian and Hindu nobles from the much coveted higher posts. Whatever might have been the reasons, Shaikh Ahmad did begin to exercise an influence over an important section of the nobles.

In the army and in the administrative staff too, he carried on his propaganda. He appointed Shaikh Badiuddin as his chief *Khalifa* in the army. In almost all his letters to the important nobles we find that he is making a recommendation for the appointment to some post for one of his followers. Such concentrated efforts at a time when the minds of the people were only too well prepared to receive such ideas, produced effective results. His influence grew so much that even the King was alarmed, and decided to bring the situation under control.⁴²

39. *Ibid.* L. N. 65.

40. *Ibid.* L. No.1 94.

41. *Ibid.* Letters. No. 193 and 269.

42. Khwaja Kamaluddin's work *Ryuzat-ul-Qaiyyaumiya* gives a detailed account of the life of Shaikh Ahmad. This account, though

In 1619, he was summoned to the court on the charge of claiming superiority over the first Caliph, Abu Bakr. It is obvious that this was a trumped up charge. In a long letter to Hakim Fathullah, the Shaikh denied the charge and as a proof referred to the letter which he had written to the Hakim a few years before, stating that Abu Bakr was superior to very one else including Ali.⁴³ There is another proof points that the authorities knew it fully well that the Shaikh did not really consider himself superior to Abu Bakr. Shaikh Mirak, who was Prince Khurram's tutor, once went to Sirhind and questioned Shaikh Ahmad. Shaikh Ahmad denied the charge and produced the letter in question. Shaikh Mirak returned quite satisfied on that score.⁴⁴ Moreover, considering the religious policy of Jehangir, it may be presumed that the Shaikh would not have been persecuted only because of his religious pretensions, even if the charges against him were true. The Naqshbandi records also state that Jehangir hauled him for refusing to perform *Sijdah*. Probably it was to this incident that Dr. Beni Prasad refers in his book.⁴⁵ Jahangir however makes no reference to this incident in his Memoirs.⁴⁶ It is quite possible that it may not have occurred because he had already abolished *sijdah* for the *Quazis* and the *Ulema*.

The Shaikh was however sent to Gwalior prison. But even during his confinement he urged his followers not to do anything against the state, probably because the Shaikh believed that the success of his programme depended on the cooperation of the King, who was after all much more amenable to the influence of the *ulema* than his father. The statement of some of the followers of Shaikh Ahmad that he actually dissuaded Mahabat Khan from revolting on this issue is not supported by facts.⁴⁷ However, the way Jehangir mentions the occasion of the release of the Shaikh two years later ('It was reported that the Shaikh had repented') also shows that he was not dissatisfied with conduct.

The Naqshbandi writers go on to say that the king apologised to the Shaikh and promised to carry out the following programme outlined by the Shaikh: Abolition of the *Sijdah*, reconstruction of

full of inaccuracies, is substantially the same as appears in other contemporary or later works.

43. Maktoobat, Vol. I. L. No. 202. The letter referred to is No. 80.

44. Dara Shikoh, "Safinatul Auliya", Newal Kishore Press, pp. 197-198.

45. Beni Prasad, Op. citras. Appendix B, p. 383.

46. Tuzuk i-Jehangiri, Edited by Md. Hadi.

47. B. A. Faruqi also makes the same statement (Op. Cit. p. 25), The students of history need no proof of the fact that Shaikh Ahmad was released much before Mahabat Khan's *Coup de main*.

the mosques that were destroyed, permission for cow-slaughter, appointment of Quazis and Censors to enforce the Shara', introduction of *Jizya*, and suppression of heresy and innovation.⁴⁸ There is no contemporary evidence to show that either the King expressed regret for his conduct or that he gave the pledge demanded by the Shaikh. On the other hand, Jehangir writes that the Shaikh expressed regret. It is also known that no action was taken in accordance with the demands of the Shaikh as enunciated above.

The Significance of his Imprisonment and Release :—

It would not be incorrect to say that both the imprisonment as well as the release of the Shaikh was due to political causes. The dissatisfaction against the Nur Jehan *Junta* had been increasing and this dissatisfaction had assumed a religious anti-Shiite colour. The dissatisfied nobles included Prince Khurram and Mahabat Khan. The latter was closely associated with the Naqshabandi order (It may be recalled that there was trouble over the marriage of Mahabat Khan's daughter with the son of Khwaja Umar Naqshbandi). Close affinity between these dissatisfied nobles and Shaikh Ahmad is not inconceivable. The imprisonment of the Shaikh was undoubtedly done under the influence of the Nur Jehan *Junta*, and his release was one of the measures taken to assuage the agitated Sunni opinion during those troubled times. This incident is sufficient in itself to prove the influential position which Shaikh Ahmad had come to acquire as the spiritual leader of the pan-Islamic tendency.

DURRANI-RAJPUT NEGOTIATIONS, 1759-61

BY

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Through the courtesy of a friend,¹ the present writer had an opportunity of utilising a unique Persian, MS. of 69 folios of which the last 39 folio comprise a rare collection of letters and documents

48. *Rauzatul Qaiyyumia*.

1. The writer feels indebted to Prof. W. Hasan, M. A., the owner of Hasan Abadis Collection, Delhi for lending this MS. of mixed contents. The first section (ff. 1-30) contains a portion of *Padshanama* by Jalaluddin Tabatilies historian of Shajehan, while the second of this more valuable section contains the letter discussed in the paper.

relating to the faithful years, 1759-61, and apparently taken and compiled, perhaps, at the end of the 18 century, from the records of the Jaipur State of those in possession of Raja Har Sahai,² a trustworthy agent of Raja Madho Singh Sawai. The title, indicated in rubric, on F. 66, by the expression "Copies of the text of the auspicious letters of Emperor Ahmad Shah Durrani Ghazi to Sri Maharajdhiraj Sawai Madho Singh" is misleading for it is really the heading of a particular set of letters, 9 in all, but scattered and disarranged³ which the Abdali King wrote to the Jaipur Raja. While there are about 35 or 36 pieces more which though mostly devoid of any distinguished lettering have been found, after a careful study of their contents to be a Sanad⁴ for the Subah of Gujrat, an Ahadnama between the Durrani and Ahmad Khan Bangash,⁵ and letters of Najib, Shah Wali Khan, Shah Alam, Ahmad Khan Bangash, Nizam Ali, Har Sahai⁶ etc. to Madho Singh and also letters of Madho Singh to Shah Wali Khan and the Rohilla Sardars, Saadullah and Hafiz Rahmat Khan and of Shah Alam⁷ to the Abdali. These precious and unpublished materials, besides their corroborative value contains many new facts and certainly add to our existing stock of knowledge about the events and transactions relating to the Durrani-Rajput relations during the period, 1759-61.

The campaigns of the Abdali should not be regarded as mere raids; for they have great significance in relation to the History of India. The letters in the MS. show that he came to India not merely as the champion of the fellow Afghans and his co-religionists

2. There are several letters of both private and public character which Har Sahai wrote.

3. M. Waizul Huq, the scribe of Khalsa College, Amritsar who has transcribed the M. S. for O. P. L. Patna has tried with success to arrange the letters in their chronological order

4. The Royal Sanad conferring Gujrat on Murad Khan Babi, called by the Marhatas as "a usurper" is the only document in this section which does not belong to the period of the MS. Babi is said to have surrendered Ahamadabad to the Marhatas in March, 1753. As to who gave the Sanad and when it is difficult to say. Shah Alam in one of his important letters to the Abdali refers to the possibility of the Subahs of Gujarat and Malwa coming with the possession of the royal staffs.

5. There is also a letter of the Abdali to the Bangash Chief and another of the letter to the former as also an account of the Bangash having had an interview with the Abdali written by one Rai Har Prasad, a Wakil of Madho Singh on the 13th Shoaba 1173.

6. Rai Har Prasad, another agent of Madho Singh, writes a letter to the Rao of Kota for an alliance with Madho Singh and refers to Raja Har Sahai. There are letters of Har Sahai to the Abdali and his Wazir.

7. One of the letters of Shah Alam to the Abdali is a revealing document and brings out many new and interesting facts.

but also with a view to establishing some sort of political supremacy in India. That he wanted to bring a considerable portion of India in the sphere of his influence is apparent from the letters addressed to Madho Singh, and from the policy that he pursued towards the Rajputs. It is significant that none of the contemporary writers has put on record any engagement or tussle between the Rajputs and the Durrani on the occasion of his various invasions of India. On the other hand, they⁸ refer to "the ancient Rajas of Rajputana, specially the Kachhawahas and the Rathor etc.," joining hands with the Rohillas in "sending repeated letters to the Durrani" and inviting him to and "soliciting him to remain in India." Ahmad Shah himself writes in one of his letters to Madho Singh about "the affection he bore to his brother" and "the soft corner he had in his heart for the whole Rajput community" and about his having "regarded them all, because of the old connection, as sincerely attached to this God given Kingdom." Perhaps, this letter enables us to explain the reason why Ishwari Singh, the victor of Raj-Mahal, (March 1747 "turned⁹ tail at the very beginning of the fight against the Abdali at Manpure (March 1749)" and hastily retreated to his capital.' At any rate, the Abdali and his Wazir repeatedly assured Madho Singh that he would get greater honour and higher position than was the case under the Moghals. When Madho Singh wrote a letter to the Peshwa, he sent a copy of it to Najibuddaula who was with the Abdali and who approved of the contents and asked the Raja to act up to it. The Jaipur Raja was kept well-posted with all the developments and was expected to keep the Durrani fully acquainted with what was happening on his side. The Abdali never asked him to join hands with his own men either before or in the actual fight at Panipat against the Marhata though he was always asked to do what was needful by keeping¹⁰ to his place in the matter of fighting against Malhar and others and repelling them from his dominion and stopping their ways and passages to the south. Both the Shah and the Wazir definitely promise to the Kachhawah ruler that they were determined to face the inclement weather of Hindustan and after wiping out the traces of the Marhata from Northern India to proceed towards the Deccan¹¹ so as

8. Tarikh Mozaffari Mankh-i-Husan Shahi and Siyarul Muta-kherin.

9. Sarkar's F. M. E. I.

10. Is it a fact that the "Northern vassals (of the Marhata voluntarily) sat on the fence" or were not invited to participate in the battle of Panipat by the Abdali.

11. Why the Abdali failed to act up to his words in the matter of leading an expedition to the south is a question which is worth consideration. Those who try to minimise, the Marhata disaster at Panipat lay too great a stress on Abdali's efforts to effect an understanding with the Peshwa even after his decisive victory. The Abdali's difficulties with his own people and nearer home and the

to crush them completely and thus prevent the possibility of their raising their heads again. And the situation created for the Rajputs by the Southerners and their exactions was such as to alienate¹² them completely and compels them to look for support and assistance from foreigners, first from the Afghans and later from the merchant-diplomatists of Europe. Madho Singh who was at first the nominee of the Marhatas for the Jaipur throne had soon to change¹³ his policy and he began to plan to free himself from their insatiable greed. As Sir J. N. Sarkar points out, Madho Singh entered into every anti-Marhata coalition from 1754 to 1761. In 1758 he was coerced into paying 35 lakhs and the main task of Malhar's campaign in Rajputana in 1759 was to realise the heavy contributions laid upon him. But Madho Singh was "now the strongest power in Rajputana" and therefore the Durrani and the Rohilla enemies of the Marhattas were in constant communication with him. In fact, the eyes of all fell upon him for a spirited action against the heated Daccanics. It is through him that negotiations for alliance and concerted action was begun with Bijoy Singh, the Rathor Chief. Bejoy's father, Bakht Singh, had been the sworn enemy of the Marhatas and he himself had to stand out against them and was prepared to join all attempts at combinations against them. He was forced to promise 50 lakhs to Dattaji Sindhia in Feb. 1756, and the Pashwa's brother who

growing power of the Sikhs in the Punjab are facts which cannot be ignored. In a letter to Harsahai, dated 10th Rajab 1175 or 5 Feb., 1762 Shah Wali Khan assures the addressee, in reply to his letter, "If God, the Almighty, so willeth, after the restoration of the affairs of the Punjab Subah and the complete suppression of the wicked Sikhs His Majesty.....would proceed towards Sirhind on an hunting excursion and then would march towards that quarter. Set your mind completely at rest and continue to perform the task allotted to you. Send regular reports of the transactions on that side (36 F 39). The two letters of the Shah and Wazir to Sadullah Khan also refer to the troubles occasioned by the Sikhs and the Durrani's determination first to suppress the Sikhs and then proceed further" On the receipt of constant complaints of the inhabitants of the Punjab against the oppressions of the Sikhs His Majesty has turned his attention towards that side. The mischievous people would be severely dealt with and crushed."

12. Sir J. N. S. quotes from a contemporary observer, Badrinath son of Keshvadas "If only his (Abdalis) promise of safety could be relied upon, every one of the Rajahs would gladly wait upon him" and adds so greatly were the blood-sucking leaches of the south detested by the potentates of the North" F. II E. II. The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee wrote long ago "the neglect of the affairs of Hindustan on the part of the Peshwa was the real cause of the foundation of independent Mahratta states of Gwalior and Indore and the consequent annihilation of the Rajput States etc."

13. For this and the following facts see Sarkar's F. M. E. I & II.

marched through Rajputana, in June 1757, instead of pacifying the Rathor, left him in hands of the Sindhia. The other Chiefs also acting under their exactions and spoliation wanted to end the horrors of their domination. The explosion of Rajput hatred had already burst twice, first in the massacre of the Marhattas in Jaipur City on 10th January, 1751, and again, in the murder of Jayppa Sindhia, in Marwar, on 24th July 1755. But when they found that the grips of the hydra-headed southerners were growing tighter and tighter they began to look towards a deliverer from beyond the north-western frontiers of India.

The first indication of Madho Singh's anxiety to seek support from the Abdali is available in what appears to be a letter of prince Taimur¹⁴ to him, in which after acknowledging the receipt of the Raja's letter saying that he had sent his Bakhshi, Rao Sahaj Singh, to the court whose efforts should be backed, the writer says that the Rao had not yet arrived but in accordance with what he had learnt from his well-wisher, Bahadur Singh, he had already impressed the Shah with the devotion of the addressee. He says further that although he had been appointed to Lahore, the Doab and Jammu, he was leaving instructions with Rahman Khan, a constant attendant of the Shah, for promoting the affairs of the "Maharaja" (L. 5, F. 45 A)

The Abdali in a letter to Madho Singh, says that he had been informed by Najibudhaura about his "friendly disposition and sincere attachment." Then he writes that taking advantage of his absence in Iran where he had led his forces, the Marhatahs had thrown the whole of Hindustan into disorder and begun to practise oppression everywhere and, therefore, he had to turn his attention towards this country. He had crossed Gondwal on the 29th Rabi I (or 1173 or 21 or Nov. 1758.) Duttaji had already fled from Rohtas and had probably joined Janko Marhatta. But the latter was also expected soon to take to his heels. The addressee is called upon to join hands with Bejoy Singh and stop the passage of the Marhatahs towards the Daccan. The writer hopes that all the enemies would be put to the sword and he promises the addressee that he would be rewarded in proportion to his services and sincerity. (L 1 H 66 a-67b)

In another letter the Abdali acknowledges the letters of "the Maharaja" in which the latter had expected on his "friendly disposition and good faith" and his "devices and plans for the expulsion of the erring bodies of the Marhatahs," and says that Najib had already acquainted him with certain transactions on account of which the writer had become all the more desirous of extending his patronage to the addressee and, therefore, the latter should set his mind at ease and send a trustworthy agent to the court in order to submit a detailed report of the existing situation.

14. Rabi II 1170 or January, 1757.

The letter concludes "you, the devoted one, should keep to your place, repel and chastize the body of the Marhattas and always send a report of everything. The boistrous waves of my troops would be immediately turned towards that side and.....Najibdaula¹⁵.....would send a detailed report" (L. 3 ff 34-35)

The following extracts from another letter require very careful consideration : "you, the devoted one, would achieve your purpose with help of my God-given state. I bore affection for your brother and in the same manner feel affectionate towards you, the sincere one. You must take it for certain for the words of the King are undisputed. I, the Kibla of the world and of its creatures, have got in view to show favours to you and have had, from times of old, a soft corner in my heart for the Rajput community and regarded them all, because of the old connection, as sincerely attached to my God-given kingdom. If God so willeth, all will feel gratified by my favours.....Najibuddaula.....has impressed upon me your sincerity, fidelity, and devotion and, God willing, you will attain pre-eminence and distinction greater than in the days of the preceding sovereigns of Hindustan. Give concrete proofs of your sincerity and you will attain what you desire and every thing will be done as you wish" (L. 2; f 34 a b)

In another letter the Abdali appreciates the fact that "the Raja of Rajas" (MS.) had established a name by being engaged against the body of the reprobate Deccanies and informs him that he had already pitched his camp at Khizrpur Mahal,¹⁶ in the Pargana of Rupar on the 19th of Rabi II (or 1173 or Dec. 1759) and hopes that in a few days he will be able to crush Janko Marhatta. He calls upon the addressee to see him as soon as he reaches that quarter so that his "demands" should be conceded. In conclusion, the Shah asks the Raja to strike at the Deccanies who may be found on his side so that "these malevolent people" should be completely wiped out from Hindustan. (L. 19. f 31 a. b.)

15. Here it is worth while to notice two letters of Najib to Madho Singh in one of which he refers to the former's letters about the need of unity and solidarity and assures him that his aim is also to do every thing conducive to the stability of the Empire and the good of God's creatures. He refers to the detailed letter written by Raja Harsahai about the affairs of the Darbar and writes about his having been informed of the contents of the letters which the addressee sent to Pandit Pardhan (Pashwa) and hopes that he would act according to it. In the second letter Najib again refers for details to the letter of Raja Harsaha sent to Rao Ude Ram and assures the addressee of being at one with him "always and in all circumstance" (L. 7 & 8; ff. 47 6-486.)

16. A letter of the Wazir Shah Wali Khan to Madho Singh is also to the same effects (L. 10 f. 39 A.)

At this stage it is well worth re-producing the contents of a rather long letter of Najib to Madho Singh. He writes "Ere this two letters giving an account of the affairs in this quarter together with an auspicious letter from His Majesty, and another from Ashraful Wuzara, Shah Wali Khan, have been sent through your wakil, Rai Udai Ram.....As I have not heard from you for some time I feel anxious for your welfare and am expecting eagerly to get the good news. Although I feel assured on account of the ascendancy gained by your men, the defeat of the mischievous people, and the stoppage of their passages, yet on the receipt of your kind letters and detailed report I should feel doubly reassured and happy. As regards the fresh news of this quarter of this side "the oppressive people seeing the assemblage of forces on my side and the combination¹⁷ of all the chiefs and realizing their own inability to continue the struggle, felt ashamed and disgraced. Just at the time news arrived of the approach of the powerful army of His Majesty towards Sirhind and this broke their heart. Being perplexed and uneasy they became eager to beat a retreat. But "as death held them by their skirt and the time of their overthrow had come they raised the siege here on the 17th of Rabi II (9 Dec. 1759) and are proceeding to that side with heart full of fear and have arrived on the bank of the Jamuna. The Alexander and the Dara of this age are making a rapid march from Sirhind and have arrived in the vicinity of Banur¹⁸ and Chhat and is about to overtake the accursed. I, your sincere friend, have repeatedly brought your affairs into the notice of His Majesty and hope that the royal letter and that of Nawab Ashraful Wuzara would be soon received by you. This time His Majesty has come to restore the affairs of Hindustan in combination and consultation with the Chief men of this country and to chastise and overthrow the wicked people. He would also pay a visit to the Deccan lands. Orders have been issued to the Sardars and servants of His Majesty to bring their family¹⁹ and children to Lahore and increase the population thereof. Through the grace of God His Majesty is already impressed with your high dignity, Chieftainship, bravery, and sincere attachment, and limitless favours are in store for you. God willing,

17. Dattaji's siege of Shakertal, the brilliant defence of Najib, the approach of the Vanguard of the Oudh Army, 10,000 strong, and of the main body 30,000 strong under Shuja himself and the hostile moves of the Rohilla Sardar are referred to here. Sardar F. M. E. II.

18. "After having taken possession of the entire Punjab upto to Sarhind the Abdali sent his vanguard under Jehan Khan, Shahpasand Khan and Abdusamad Khan who entered the Banur and Chhat District (16 miles N. of Ambala) on the 15th December." According to Sir J. N. S. Dattaji raised the siege of Sharkertal on the 8th December, 1759.

19. This new piece of information is significant.

the highest rank and position (will be awarded to you). As we need not stand on ceremony I would ask you to write immediately an 'Arzdasht' to His Majesty and an 'Arzi' to his Wazir and send them to me. Show firmness and resolution is chastising the wicked people and stopping their roads and passages and treat it as the desire of His Majesty himself. Join hands with Maharaja Bijoy Singh in crushing the enemies. Keep me, your sincere friend and welwisher constantly informed of the developments there." (L 11; ff. 49-50.)

About 25 days later, on 8th Jama di I, 1173 (29 December 1759) the Abdali wrote a letter to Madho Singh acknowledging his 'Ariza' where in the Raja had written to the Afghan king that the latter's letters to Raja Bijoy Singh of Jodhpur had been duly forwarded to him and that Malhar was still on the war path but when Janko Marhata was defeated he would also take to his heels. The Abadali writes that he had caused another letter to be sent to Bijoy Singh calling upon that "sincere one" to unite his forces with those of the addressees. He writes further "prays be to God,²⁰ the Almighty, that on Sunday, 2nd Jamadi I, 1173 (22 December 1759) Ghaziuddin Khan and Janko Marhata whose ill-luck had caused their steed of death to raise its head and who with about 20,000 experienced horsemen had dared to face the forces of the Ghazis.....were routed and many of them were killed, some being taking captive, while a few more dead than alive, managed to escape. The heads of those killed were brought before the presence. Through the fear of the Ghazis confusion has occurred in the affairs of Ghaziuddin and Janko and fox-like they slunk away and are being pursued so that they may be completely crushed and the country be freed from their thorns. You, the devoted one, should set your mind at rest and turn attention towards Malhar so as to repel and expell him. See that he does not escape unscathed for it would be positive proof of your sincerity and devotion. If God so willeth, this time I would arrange the affairs of this dominion in the best manner possible and lay the basis of the affairs of all the sincere ones on such a footing that all would become prosperous." (L12; ff. 316,32a,6)

A letter of Najib relates the events referred to above (L14; ff. 398-32-a) but one from Shah Wali Khan to Madho Singh tell us of another engagement of which we find no mention elsewhere. It says, on Thursday, the 8th of the month (Jamadi 1 or 29 December 1759) on the bank of river Jamuna the erring body of the fully equipped Daccanies opposed the victorious Ghazis in

20 Roused by the fatal news of the defeat and death of his uncle Dattaji Junkoji hurried up with his reserve of twenty thousand but after an hour and a half of renewed conflict the Marhata army totally broke and fled towards Delhi. Imad left Delhi for Bharatpur. The exact date is not mentioned in Sarkar F. M. E. II-224.

association with Ghaziuddin Khan and Bahadur Khan²¹ Baloch and others on the high road and the fire of battle was enkindled. As however, victory always falls to the chosen troops of His Majesty, within a very short time the waves of our tried veterans began to roll on and swept them off. A large number of them was devoured by the sword of the valient while others took the road of wilderness. The victorious Ghazis continued their pursuit upto a distance of 7 or 8 Farsakh. Many were killed or captured and a large booty fell into the hands of our men. The sincerity and attachment of your degnified self was apparent from reports which have been received from other sources by His Majesty that you had fought with those distracted Marhatas. This has enhanced your sincerity in the estimation of His Majesty. You would do well to station your forces on the paths which they are likely to follow and then see that they do not escape unscathed. God willing, they would be crushed. Although the royal standard would be taken to, and unfurled in, the Deccan for the chastisement of that body of cruel people and whatever God ordains will happen yet it would not be bad if they were overtaken on the road.....send your man as your Vakil to the Darbar to make submissions on your behalf" (L 13; ff 41 A 42 B).

The letter of Ahmad Shah to Madho Singh while acknowledging one from the latter also deserves notice for the writers says in it that it had been represented to him by the Rohilla Sardars in his company that the addressees had been approached and requested before by Gaziuddin²² and Junko Marhata for assistance and alliance but because of his sincere attachment to the Shah the Jaipur Raja had rejected their overtures and given them no aid. He is exhorted to remain firm in his resolve and send his agent (L. 15; ff 40 41)

This is followed by an important letter of the Abdali to Madho Singh "the Raja of Jainagar," acknowledging his 'Ariza' wherein he had offered his allegiance and thanks and suggested that if the Shah made a move towards his side, Malhar, of evil deeds, would be driven to the desert of adversity. The writer, after appreciating the sincerity and good faith of the addressee says that as it had been frequently represented to him that Janko²³ Marhata had come into tussle with the Afghans and had

21. He commanded Imad's troops when Malhar assaulted Delhi in August 1757 to end Najib's rule there. Both fights with the Durrani have not been mentioned by Sarkar.

22. Sarkar nowhere makes mention of any such negotiation but we may take it to be a fact.

23. Shah Wali Khan gives the correct name of Dattaji. Junkoji, the son of Jayappa was the de-jure leader of the Sindhia but his uncle and guardian Duttaji was the virtual head of the family and the actual champion of third Marhata troops.

caused the devastation of the lands and the oppression of God's creatures and the "Arizas" of that sincere one had also frequently come. He set out at a time when the summer was at its height. When he arrived in the vicinity of Shahjehanabad (Delhi) he was opposed by the Marhattas but routed them in the very first attack, killing and capturing many of them while a few chose the disgrace of flight. The whole body of the Afghans being completely liberated from their oppressive hands joined the forces of the writer. As he was told that Malhar was still present with a considerable army in the vicinity and, was showing fight he left Delhi also and arrived in the vicinity of Jheelai.²⁴ As soon as Malhar heard of it he quickly marched off traversing a distance of 20 Kos in one single night. Till the 30 of Jamadi II (1173 for 29 February 1760) when the writer had encamped at Narnol the whereabouts of the fugitive could not be ascertained. The addressee should stop all passages of the exit and if Malhar should go to that side he must not be allowed to escape. He should be expelled from the dominion of the addressee who expected to know even if the wicked fellow were to choose some other paths. In the end the writer says "If God, the Most High so Willeth, I shall spend this year's summer in this land and after the rains will, with the grace of God, proceed to the Deccan with a numerous army and artillery and chastise thoroughly the professionally wicked people of that land so that not one should in future raise his head. As regards Malhar they would not be spared."

Passing over a rather long letter of the Wazir of the same date and of almost similar contents (L 18; ff 42a-44a) we next come upon a long letter of the Abdali to Madho Singh in which he gives his²⁵ own account of the battle of Panipat. In it he first refers to the "circumstances and the events of the past" centering round Delhi and then writes about his "movements towards Anupshahar and Shahdara. We read" As it was the rainy season and the river was flooded it was difficult to cross over to Panipat and Karnal. The enemies had already struck their blow at nobles like Abdusamad Khan²⁶ and others at Kunjpura. Hence

24. Sarkar says that Malhar started from Jhilari, 40 S.E.S. miles of Jaipur, on the 3rd January, 1760. The Abdali left Khizrabad on the 27th and a detachment of his troops defeated the Marhata force in the Jat country on 11th February, and moved into Mewat on the way to Narnol where Malhar was reported to be. But the Marhata vanished into north and Maihar was at Bahadurgarh, 18 miles west of Delhi, on 22 February, and on 26-27 crossed the Jamuna into the Duab. Sarkar F. M. E. II. 225-228.

25. See Sarkar's remark about the lack of dispatch news letter F. M. E. II 368.

26. The Durrani Governor of Sirhind. He was shot dead and Kunjpura was captured and sacked in October, 1760 Sarkars F. M. E. II.

the victorious troops moved out of Shahdara²⁷ to chestise those fellows and after crossing the Jamuna marched on, step by step, till the Caravan reached Kharonda.²⁸ Here the mischievous people had set up their post which was easily captured, every one there being put to the sword. Then the royal standard was taken to Panipat where the Daccanies had already set up their strong entrenchments and were sitting (for a fight). All most every day skirmishes occurred between them and the Ghazis." Next the writer says that the addressee must have come to know how Govind Pandit²⁹ and seven thousand of his mischievous people had been put to the sword, how the enemy were blockaded on all sides, how almost every day they were routed and artillery duel occurred and lines of tranches were moved on and how several of them used to be sent to the hell. "At last" continues the Durrani King "on Wednesday³⁰ the heretical party came out of their entrenchments with artillery, infantry, and cavalry for the fight. They had girded up their loins to kill the Ghazis and were so very presumptuous and refractory that the matter was brought to my notice. As during these two or three months there had been frequent engagements and almost daily the enemies used to come out of their lines of entrenchments and after fighting and being repulsed fell back upon their camp their was not only suspicion but conviction that they were doing now what they had actually done on so many preceding days. However, as soon as I was informed of this I myself rode out to destroy the bases of their sedition.....I first reconnoitred the battle-field and soon ascertained that the formidable foes had come out with a total force of two lakhs³¹ horse and foot, fully armed with artillery and with a force of archers. They had arranged themselves into columns within columns upto six kos³² and were eager to use their muskets and bows. Thereupon I also arranged my forces of intrepid Ghazis into several rows and having told the men of each row to be prepared for all eventualities I ordered the foot-musketeers to make a move with the artillery of the Sarkar Khassa and having set

27. He had moved on to Shah Dara facing Delhi sometime at the beginning of October only to look helplessly across the Jamuna till the river should become fordable again but the fall of Kunjpura forced his hand (F. M. E.)

28. Was it at an upper ferry east of Soneput where an entire force of the Marhata Patrol was cut off 27 October F. M. E.

29. For Govind Ballal's march from Itawah into the upper Doab and his death December, 17 see F. M. E. III 310.

30. The Bhao's decision to fight that day had been taken so suddenly that the Abdali had received no intelligence before his enemies were actually on their march towards him. Ibid 320.

31. For the forces actually present at Panipat see the masterly Analysis of Sir J. N. S., F. M. E. 285-89.

32. The writer is not quite sure if his reading here is correct.

the foot of gallantry forward give a bold fight. I asked Ashraful-worzara, Shah Wali Khan, to be ready with his detachment to assist the men of the auspicious artillery. The flame of battle began to blaze as soon as the Wazir arrived near the royal artillery. The sounds of drums and trumpets were at their height and the heart of the valiant were full of excitement and enthusiasm. In the twinkling of the eyes the gigantic wrestlers and the lion-like warriors fell like barnconsuming lightning on the heart of the enemies' line. They gave such an account of their gallantry as none might have seen or heard before.....And the enemies also performed such feats of valour and fought in such a way as is beyond the powers of others. On that day of battle the fight with cannon and zamburak soon gave way to that with swords and arrows and the swords were soon replaced by daggers, poniards and knives. Those cruel but intrepid fellows also did not spare themselves in the least.....But as at all times the grace of the cherisher of the two words has always been with my auspicious self the breeze of victory began suddenly to blow and by the command of Eternal God the reprobated Deccanics suffered a crushing defeat. Vishvas Rao, the son of Nana, and Bhao,³³ who were fighting in front of Ashrafulwozara were slain and many others of their Sardars also lost their lives. Ibrahim Khan Gardi and his brother were wounded and taken prisoner. Balu Bundi(?) was also taken captive. About 40 to 50 thousand horse and foot were killed and the rest took to their heels. I ordered a detachment of my troops to pursue the fugitives and about 15 to 20 thousand of them also were put to the sword. As regards Malhar and Junko³⁴ Marhata it is not known whether they were killed or what became of them. The whole of the enemies' artillery, elephant stables and all their properties came into the possession of the victorious troops. The whole of Hindustan has virtually come into my possession and the enemies of my God-given state have had to pay for their misdeeds.....It is time that those who had been sincerely attached to me should partake of the table of my favours and blessings..... Ashrafulwozara.....has repeatedly impressed me with your sincere attachment and devotion. You should make haste in coming before my presence for I have got in my view the restoration of the affairs of this vast country and have accordingly called all the Omaras³⁵ and Rajas to my presence. You, of high authority

33. Sarkar gives a different version 342.

34. Barkhordar a Durrani Journal had the wounded Junkoji murdered and buried in secret in order to avert his master's wrath, F. M. E. 350.

35. Sir J. N. S. says that the Abdali after entering Delhi sent off letters to Rajput Rajas from whom he demanded tributes. Madho Singh was ordered to present himself with one karore of Rupees whereupon he felt so alarmed as to appeal to Pashwa only to get a stern rebuke for his Anti-Marhata and pro-Abdali activities.

and status, should also come and if God, the Almighty, so willeth you will attain preeminence and distinction greaer than in the time of preceding sovereigns.

The MS. is not wanting in post—Panipat correspondence also. In a letter addresseed to Madho Singh the Durrani ruler writes that in accordance with "the request" of the addressee he had deputed his Wazir to Agra in order that he should, in consultation with "you, the old friend" look after the affairs of that side. The addressee is asked to proceed there immediately and take up the civil business of Dewani ³⁶ and General Administration (L. 27; f. 38 A B)

Raja Harsahai sends a report to the Durrani Wazir wherein after referring to a letter of the addressee he writes "After the return of the royal army some people resolved to call in Malhar from Goaliar and create disturbances. Sir Maharaj³⁷hiraj, in obedience to the royal order, set out from Jaipur toward Tatawa with a view to intercepting that accursed fellow. He left a detachment of his troops to punish certain Zamindars³⁷ who had joined the enemy. Malhar finding no way to advance further returned to his camp. The Emperor's stay in the Doab in the vicinity of Jajmau became prolonged and Malhar finding an opportunity proceeded to that side and was joined by the Raja of Kota near Mukundra. A big engagement took place at a distance of ten Kos from Mukundra between the detachment sent by Sri Maharaj and the enemy. Malhar was wounded in the field and after staying for a few days near Kota and causing false rumours of his movements to be spread he was reported by his own troops while fleeing in confusion towards Malwa to be so ill on accounts of his wounds as to be carried in a covered litter. The spies say that owing to his wounds he was absolutely motionless. It looks as if the soul has left his impure body. Sri Maharaj sends his respectable salutation and congratulation on such a victory to His Majesty. King Shah Alam has been staying at Hamirpur and the Gosain companions of N. Shujauddaula have pushed on up to Jhansi. The Raja of Bundelkhand and Bhadawar are thinking of coming to pay their obeisance. As regards the Daccan R. Rao laid siege to Aurangabad but N. S. Jung, Basabt Jung and Nizam-Daula marched with 50 thousand and soon drove the Marhatta within 30 Kos from Poona (L. 32; ff 526-55a)

36. The letters show that notwithstanding the demands of tribute referred to by Sarkar Madho Singh continued his negotiations with and was still trusted by the Abdali.

37. Perhaps this refers to Sardar Singh of Umara (a Naroka) F. M. E.

RAJA UDAISINGH OF MARWAR

BY

Mahamahopadhyaya PANDIT BISHESHWAR
NATH REU, Jodhpur.

Raja Udaisingh was the fifth son of Rao Maldeva, the famous ruler of Marwar. He was born on the 14th January 1538 A. D. and got in Jagir in the District of Phalodi. His father died in 1562 A. D. and was succeeded, according to his wishes, by his sixth son, Rao Chandrasen. Thereupon Udaisingh according to the advice of one party of the nobles, marched against his younger brother Rao Chandrasen, but after a skirmish, which took place at the village Lohavat, the other party of the Sardars effected a peaceful termination of the hostility.

According to Tabqat-i-Akbari¹ Emperor Akbar, in his seventh regnal year (*i. e.* 1562 A. D.) appointed Abdulla—Khan as the Governor of Malwa, and when the latter drove Bazbahadur away with the help of the Imperial army the fugitive chief, after roaming hither and thither for some time, first took refuge with Udaisingh and then went towards Gujrat. But this is not correct because the Udaisingh, who gave shelter to Bazbahadur was the Maharana of Mewar as is mentioned in Akbarnama.²

In 1565 A. D., to avenge his father Humayun, Emperor Akbar annexed the fort of Jodhpur and in 1570 A. D. when he, returning from Ajmer, encamped at Nagaur a number of Rajput princes, including the ruler of Bikaner, presented themselves at his court and accepted his allegiance. At that time Udaisingh also went there to try his luck and as Rao Chandrasen, his younger brother, refused to acknowledge Emperor Akbar as his sovereign, the latter (Akbar) took Udaisingh into his service with a view to create dissension among the Jodhpur ruling family.

Udasingh suppressed successfully the Gujars of Samavali and the rebellion of Khichiwada.

At that time caravans between Sind and Thatta were passing through Bikampur (in Jaisalmer state), which was a source of good income to Bhati rulers of the place. But Udaisingh tried to put obstacles in this route and persuaded the traders to pass through Phalodi. This led to a fight in 1572 A. D. between Udaisingh and

1. Page 257.

2. Vol. II, p. 169.

the Bhatīs of Jaisalmer. But as the leader of the Bhatīs was killed in this battle the former prevailed upon the latter. To avenge this defeat the Bhatīs, in 1574 A. D. made a sudden attack on Phalodi. In the battle, which was fought at Hammirsar (near Kundal), the Bhatīs gained the upper hand.

In 1577 A. D. he accompanied Sadik Khan to subdue Madhukarshah Bundela of Orchha, where he played an important part and the victory of the fort of Narwar was due to his valour.

The date of this event is given in Akbar Nama¹ as the 22nd regnal year of Emperor Akbar, while in Ma-asir-ul-Umra² it was his 23rd year.

After some time the Emperor, pleased with the valour of this Rathor prince, bestowed upon him the title of 'Raja' as well as the throne of Jodhpur. As Raja Udaisingh was a fatty person he also came to be known as 'Motā Rājā' in the Mughal court.

In 1583 A. D. he arrived at Jodhpur *via* Pushkar and ascended the throne of his ancestors on the 4th August. In the same year, when Mirza Khan (Abdulrahim Khan Khanan) was sent to quell the rebellion of Muzaffar Gujrati, he too went with him. Muzaffar was defeated at Rajpipla.

Akbar Nama³ gives the year of this even as 992 A. H. (1584 A. D.) and Tabqat-i-Akbari⁴ gives the date as Friday the 13th Moharram (16th January). But according to the Indian Ephemeris Thursday falls on that day and not Friday.

In 1584 A. D. he also received the district of Sojat as Jagir from the Emperor. In the same year he went with the Imperial army to suppress Sayyad Daulat Khan, who had taken Khambhat.⁵

In 1587 A. D. he, along with his son Shursingh, attended upon the Emperor at Lahore. Then, according to the Marwar chronicles, as desired by the latter he invaded Sirohi to punish Devdā Rao Surtān and install in his place Devdā Vijā, the son of Har Raj. But as Vijā was killed in a battle, he put Devdā Kallā instead on the throne of Sirohi.

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1. Vol. III, p. 210.
 2. Vol II, p. 181.
 3. Vol. III, pp. 423-424.
 4. Pages, 357-358
 5. Akbar Nama, Vol. III, pp. 436-437,

According to the history of Sirohi¹ this event took place in the beginning of 1588 A. D., whereas according to Akbar Nama² this happened in the 38th regnal year of the Emperor (*i. e.* 1593 A. D.). This shows that either there is a mistake in the year given in the chronicles of Marwar and Sirohi or Akbar Nama, or he might have invaded Sirohi second time in 1593 A. D.

In 1587 A. D. he marched against Sivana, with the Imperial forces and after a long seige next year, defeated Rao Kallā, the son of Rayamal, his own elder brother, and captured the fort for the Emperor.

In 1592 A. D. when Emperor Akbar left Lahore for Kashmir he deputed Kulich Khan, along with Raja Udaisingh, to look after the affairs at Lahore.³

Next year he inflicted a crushing defeat on Raval Viramdeva of Jasol and took possession of his territory.

He was also sent, with prince Daniyal to take part in the battles of the Deccan. On his return from there he stayed for some days in Marwar and then went to look after the affairs at Lahore.⁴ He died there on the 8th July 1595 A. D. from asthma and his cremation, which took place on the bank of the Ravi, was attended by Emperor Akbar himself.

Raja Udaisingh was the first ruler of Marwar, who accepted the Imperial allegiance and according to Tabqat-i-Akbari⁵ received a Mansab of one and a half thousand, but according to Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri⁶ his Mansab was one thousand only.

The reasons for his acceptance of the Mughal Emperor's allegiance are as follows:—

Firstly at that time owing to the internal dissension the condition of Rajputana was deteriorated to such an extent that the rulers of Amber, Bikaner, etc. considered the Imperial allegiance or Mansab as a protection and honour. Secondly, even in the presence of Udaisingh the throne of Jodhpur was bestowed by Rao Maldeva to his younger son Rao Chandrasen and further it was annexed by the Emperor to avenge his father Emperor Humayun, whom Rao Maldeva could not help because of the slaughter of the cow by the then Emperor's followers. These were the circumstances under which Udaisingh was compelled to accept the Imperial service. Had he not been faced by these circumstances it is not easy to say whether he would have bowed before

1. Pp. 234-235.

2. Vol. III, p. 641.

3. Tabqat-i-Akbari, p. 376.

4. Akbarnama, Vol. III. p. 662.

5. Page 386.

6. Vol. II, p. 181.

the Mughal Emperor or not ? Under somewhat similar circumstances Jagmal, who was nominated successor to the throne of Mewar by his father Rana Udaisingh but was deprived of this right by his eldest brother Rana Pratapsingh, was also obliged to seek Emperor Akbar's help. But as he soon died in 1583 A. D. the matters ended then and there. At present apart from Jodhpur Raja Udaisingh's descendants are ruling at Ratlam, Sitamau, Sailana in Central India and Kishangarh in Rajputana.

This Raja Udaisingh of Marwar granted a Sanad to Sevag Hara, on 5th day of the bright half of Magh 1635 V. S. (1st February 1579 A. D.) declaring that this Sanad has been issued according to a copper plate of 1516 V. S. (1459 A. D.) and stating that Sevag Hara is the family priest of the Rathors from the beginning and he will perform all the ceremonies related to them. In this Sanad Rathors are described as having Gautama Gotra, Akrur Shakha and 3 Pravaras.

THE STATUS OF THE SUBEDARS AND DIWANS OF THE DECCAN IN THE TIME OF SHAH JEHAN

BY

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In several letters of Aurangzib the Deccan is mentioned as 'Suba e-umda-e sarhad' (the great frontier province) and in one letter it is referred to as 'Mamlukat'¹ (dominion or realm). It clearly shows that Aurangzib considered the responsibility of governing the Deccan to be of higher and greater importance

1. Ruqat-e-Alamgiri, p. 116 (Darul Musannifin, Azamgarh).

”داعی حضرت از ردئے عنایت ایالت این چهار صوبه را که ولایت کلان است و از جهت اتصال بسرحد دو حاکم صاحب خزانه با جمعیت نسبت به صوبه بنگاله و گجرات ندارد - باین مرید تفویض فرموده اند - بنا بران درین داعی عرضداشت نمودن لازم دید تا ثانی الحال معمول بر غفلت و نارسائی این فدوی نه گردد -“

Ruqat-e-Alamgiri, p. 122.

”و درین صوبه که از جهات کثرت با صوبه بنگاله و گجرات نسبت ندارد باید که جمعیت خوب همیشه موجود باشد“
گرچه خدمت بندوبست و نظم و نسق این مملکت از پیشگاه خلافت باین مرید مفوض است.....“

than the Subedari of other provinces of the Empire. Only men of the highest status and integrity were appointed there as Subedars and Diwans. After his first Viceroyalty, Prince Aurangzib was succeeded by Khan-e-Dauran Nusrat Jang holding the rank of 7000 Zat sawar. He was Subedar of the Deccan till June 1645. In order to develop the country he consolidated the 'tankhwas' of the Mansabdars who held jagirs in Khandesh and the Deccan for the upkeep of their troops. He was hard task-master and efficient administrator. He sent to the court nearly a crore of Rupees to prove that whereas till then money had always been remitted from the court to meet the deficit, but now the Deccan had become a revenue yielding Subah. After this he planned the conquest of Bajapur and in this connection was summoned to the court for consultation. He accompanied the Emperor to Kashmir, and then took leave and came to Lahore where he was murdered by a servant. Maharaj Jaisingh was ordered to officiate till the arrival of the viceroy-designate.²

The Emperor was anxious to appoint a really trustworthy man to the Deccan and in this connection consulted Islam Khan Mashhadi, the Diwan-e-kul of the Empire and an old favourite of Shah Jehan. The latter, after deliberation suggested his own name, as he had somehow got a hint that the Emperor wanted him to undertake the arduous responsibility of the Deccan administration. He was raised to the high rank of 7000 Zat, 7000 Sawar. He governed the Deccan for two years, and made his best endeavours to increase the prosperity of the country³.

Shah Nawaz Khan officiated, for about a year when prince Murad Bakhsh was appointed to the substantive part with the former as his guardian. But the prince quarrelled with his guardian, and the administration of the country was thrown into great confusion. Upon this the Emperor recalled the prince and appointed Shaista Khan in September 1749 who governed the Deccan till 1652, when he was succeeded by prince Aurangzib.

During Aurangzaib's second Viceroyalty there were occasional conflicts with Golconda, Bijapur and the Marathas which, involved military operations and diplomatic manipulation. Owing to his far-reaching schemes Aurangzib was misunderstood by his father and brother Dara. They suspected him of augmenting his own authority with the resources at his command in the Deccan.

In fact it was chiefly due to Aurangzib's military and diplomatic activities that the status of the Subedar of the Deccan was raised. He even used to receive costly presents from the

2. Maasirul Umara, Vol. I. p. 758.

3. *Ibid.* I, p. 167.

ruler of Golconda about which the Emperor complained that their price was not credited against the annual tribute from that ruler.

In the time of Shah Jehan the Subedar of the Deccan used to have four regular Subahs or Provinces under his direct administration *viz.* Khandesh, Berar, Daulatabad and Telingana. He had the authority to appoint the Subedars of these four Subahs after obtaining due sanction from the Emperor, for instance we find mention of Rashid Khan Ansari, Subedar of Khandesh and later of Telingana Hadi Dad Khan, Subedar of Telingana and Mirza Khan, Subedar of Berar.⁴ One of the causes of friction between the Emperor and prince Aurangzib, the Viceroy of the Deccan was that the latter was very keen for appointments of his own men to higher posts in the Deccan. By an irony of fate Aurangzib later on made use of the resources of the Deccan against his father as the latter had earlier employed them against his father, *i. e.* Jehangir.

It was due to the strategic and political importance of the Deccan that ambitious and capable men coveted its viceroyalty. No other Suba is referred to as Wilayat in current literature except Bengal which in these days was regarded as a penal province, and to which Aurangzib in one of his letters referred as "A hell well-stocked with bread". But in later history Bengal was converted from a penal province to a 'Paradise among countries' (Jannatul Bilad).⁵

There is a series of documents in the Daftar-e Diwani in which the epithets and designations employed for the Subedars of the Deccan throw revealing light on their status. Here are some examples :—

حسب التجویز نواب مستطاب معالی القاب ممالک مدار گردون اقتدار خورشید
اشتهار عقد الخلائف الکریمی خان دوران نصرت جنگ - (طبق ۱۶۱)
برساله سیادت پناه نقابت دستگاه نجابت و صفوت دستگاه عمدہ و ذوال رفیع الشان
زبدہ خوانین ناظم منازم ملک و مال ناصح مناصح دولت و اقبال گنجور اسرار بادشاهی
دائمی ضمیر حضرت ظل الہی جمعدہ الملکی مدار الہامی اسلام خاں (طبق ۲۱)
حسب التجویز نواب مستطاب معالی القاب ممالک مدار خورشید اشتہار - گردون
اقتدار عقد الخلائف الکریمی رکن السلطنۃ العظمیٰ عمدہ الملک شایستہ خاں - (طبق ۵۱۹)
اعتضاد السلطنۃ و فرمان دوائی اعتماد خلافت و کشور کشہ رکن السلطنۃ الہیہ
الضائفہ مومن العمدۃ السلطنیہ گنجور اسرار بادشاهی دوائی ضمیر شہنشاہی عقدہ کشاہ
معاطب دین و دولت خان خانان سپہ سالار (مہابت خاں) (طبق ۱۷۲)

4. Maasrul Umara, Vol. 2. p. 250 and Vol. 3. 522.

5. Proceeding of Indian Historical Record's commission 1922.

From the documents of the Daftar-e-Diwani it has been discovered that the Diwans of the Deccan enjoyed higher privileges and status than the Diwans of other Subahs. For the purpose of revenue administration the Deccan had been divided into two parts of Painghat (lowlands) and Balaghat (highlands). The former comprised the whole of Khandesh and western half of Berar and the latter consisted of the Subahs of Daulatabad, Telingana and the eastern half of Berar. Both Painghat and Balaghat used to have their separate Diwans. But during the second Viceroyalty of Aurangzib Murshad Ali Khan who was formerly Diwan of Balaghat, was appointed the Diwan of the entire Mughal Deccan.

The epithets employed for the Diwans are also significant. They are referred to as Vizarat Panah and Madarul Maham, the designations reserved for the Diwan of the Central Government. Here are some examples :

بوسالہ وزارت پناه لایق المرحم والاحسان مدار المہامی دیانت خان (طبق ۱۷۵)
 بوسالہ سادت و وزارت پناه نقابت دستگاہ قابل المرحم و الغایت و الصلف
 والاحسان مدار المہامی تمفت خان (طبق ۱۴۳)
 بہ دستخط وزارت و اقبال پناه مدار المہامی دیانت خان (طبق ۳۱۸)
 حسب التماس وزارت پناه مرشد قلی خان (طبق ۲۱۲)

There is a document in which both Dianat Khan, Diwan of Painghat and Sadullah Khan, Diwan of the Central Government, are referred to with the slight difference in the significance of their epithets.

بمہر عددہ الملکی مدار المہامی علامی ذہامی سعدالمخاں نزد وزارت و اقبال پناه
 اجلال دستگاہ دیانت خان آمدہ -
 امروالا قدر نفاذ یافت کہ بموجب قول اصل و اضافہ بہ منصب دو ہزار پانصدی
 ذات و دو ہزار سوڑ سرافرار باشد (طبق ۱۳۱)

In this document the Diwan of Painghat is referred to as "Vizarat Iqbal Panah" and the Diwan of the Central Government is mentioned as "Umadul Mulki Madarul Mahami" while in other documents in which the Diwan of the Deccan alone is mentioned he is styled as "Madarul Maham".

Thus it will be seen from the above facts that in the time of Shah Jehan the Subedars and Diwans of the Deccan enjoyed a very high status commensurate with their position of trust and responsibility.

A NOTE ON ADMIRAL WATSON

BY

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Not long after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the English and the French entered into another period of conflicts as allies of the rival candidates for succession to the Subahdarship of the Deccan and the Nawabship of the Carnatic. A contemporary, Edward Ives, tells us that "the French had a far superior number of European troops, and had been so artful as to form connections with the most powerful princes in the country; with these advantages, they made so considerable a progress, as greatly to alarm the whole of the English settlements and to fill them with apprehensions, lest the day might have come, when Mons. Duplex's ambition might be gratified in its utmost extent".¹ Even after Duplex's recall, the prospect of success of the negotiations carried on between the English and French East India Companies, for a convention with a view to "restoring union between them and putting an end to the troubles on the Coast of Coromandel"² was uncertain. As a matter of fact, the English apprehended a quick recrudescence of hostilities with the French.³ The Governors and Council of the respective settlements of the English East India Company in India, therefore, "sent repeated accounts of their disagreeable situation"⁴ to the Court of Directors in England, who in their turn "petitioned"⁵ His Majesty's Government for military help to safeguard the Company's interests in India.

In response to this appeal, His Majesty "was most graciously pleased to order a Squadron of his ships with a body of land forces on board to proceed to the East Indies to protect the Company in their commerce and their just Rights and Privileges."⁶ The Squadron commanded by Charles Watson, Rear Admiral of the Blue, was composed of the following :⁷

1. Edward Ives—A Voyage from England to India, p. 2.
2. Court's letter to Bengal, 2nd March, 1754, para : 17.
3. Vide my paper on 'The Court of Directors' Instructions to the Council in Calcutta in view of the strained Anglo-French Relations, 1755-56, published in Journal of the Bihar Research Society, 1945.
4. Ives, op. cit, p. 2.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Court's letter to Bengal, 2nd March, 1754, para : 2.

Ships	Commanders	Guns	
Kent	... Henry Speke	... 64	(90 according to Ives.)
Eagle	... George Pocock	... 60	
Salisbury	... Thomas Knowler	... 50	
Bristol	... Thomas Latham	... 50	
Bridgewater	... William Martin	... 20	
Sloop Kingfisher	... Best Michell (Mighel)	16	

The 'land forces' placed under the command of Colonel John Adlercron, included 815 'Men officers' of his regiment of infantry and a detachment from the Royal Train of Artillery of 78 Men officers, the latter being under the command of Lieutenant William Hislop.⁸

Although the first destination of the Squadron and the land forces was the Coromandel Coast,⁹ yet considering that they may have occasions to be present at times at other settlements of the English, the Court of Directors sent the following instructions to the Council in Calcutta on the 2nd March, 1754 for dealing with those troops.¹⁰

"Upon the Anchoring or Arrival of Rear Admiral Wattson at your Presidency or any of the Companys Settlements Wee Direct that he be saluted with 15 Guns which he will return Gun for Gun and in case the 'Commodore who wears a distinguishing Pennant shall arrive at any of our Settlements when the Admiral is not there he is to be Saluted with 13 Guns who will likewise return Gun for Gun, and that you pay him all the Honours due to his Rank and behave to him on all occasions with great regard and Friendship and as you are to Behave with all Civility and Respect to the several Commanders belonging to his Majesty's Squadron so you are to give them as well as the Admiral all necessary Help and Assistance.

You are hereby directed to allow to Amiral Wattson after the rate of 40s. a Day Sterling which wee desire his acceptance of to defray the Expenses of House Rent and for keeping a Table for himself and such Commanders and Officers as he shall think proper which allowance is to commence on his arrival upon the Coromandel Coast and Continued during his stay in India and is to be in full consideration for all Expenses whatsoever.

As his Majestys Ships will be in want of Stores Provisions and necessarys during their stay in India You are hereby directed to Furnish Admiral Wattson or any of his Majestys Commanders

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid*, para : 3.

10. *Ibid*, para : 5.

with such Sums of Money as they shall require you to advance for those Purposes for which you are to take Bills of Exchange drawn by the Admiral Commander or proper Officers for the amount of the Sums so advanced at the rate of Six Shillings and six Pence pr. Weighty Dollr. for the stores on the Commissrs of the Navy and for Provisions on the Commissrs for Victualling the same payable to us in Money at 30 Days sight taking four Bills of the same tenour and transmitting them to us by different Ships.

And you are hereby positively directed to adjust all Accounts any way relative to the Squardon with the proper Officers and procure Bills as beforementd. for what shall appear due to the Company for the Ballance of such Accounts, or at least lett them be so authentically certified that wee may not be put to the Trouble of Littigating such Accounts in England which wee too frequently were to our great Loss in the late War.

What wee have here said with regard to supplying his Majestys Ships with Money Stores Provisions and necessarys and adjusting Accounts with the proper Officers must be the Rule you are to observe with respect of all Accounts relative to his Majestys Land Forces (if they shall happen to come to your Presidency) and Bills are to be drawn at the same rate of 6s 6d. pr. Weighty Dollr. upon the Board of Ordnance or such other of his Majestys Officers in England Whose Province it is to discharge such Bills or adjust such Accounts.

You are to carry it with great respect to Colll. Adlercron and you are to treat all the Officers of his Majestys Forces in a Gentlemanlike and Friendly manner and take the utmost care to promote and Cultivate a good Understanding between the Kings and our own Forces.

You are to make an Allowance to Colll. Adlercron after the rate of 40s. a day sterling which we desire his acceptance of to defray the Expençe of House Rent and for keeping a Table for himself, the Lieutt. Colll., Major and such other Officers as he shall think proper which allowance is to commence on his arrival upon the Coromandel Coast and be continued during his stay in India and is to be in full consideration of all Expences whatsoever, our meaning being that you are to pay the same for the time of his residence in Bengal.

As it would be a Discouragement to his Majestys Forces to serve at Less Pay than our own We have agreed at our own Expençe to make good to them the difference, You are therefore to pay out of our Cash on the Companys Account to the Officers and Soldiers of the Regiment under Colll. Adlercron after the followg. Rates Vizt.

			s	d	
To the Capt. of each Company	...	...	2	0	a day
Lieutt.	...	...	1	0	
Ensign	...	...	1	0	
Sergeants	...	...	0	2	each
Corporals	...	...	0	2	each
Drummers	...	...	0	2	
Private men	...	...	0	2	
And to the Adjutant to the Regiment	...	...	1	0	a day

You are likewise to Pay on the Companys Account the undermentioned additional allowances to the Officers Cadets and Gunnrs of the detachment from the Royal Regiment of Artillery Vizt.

			s	d	
1 First Lieutenant ...	...	...	1	0	pr. Diem
1 Second Lieutenant	...	...	1	0	
3 Lieutt. Fireworkers	...	...	0	8	each
Gentlemen Cadets and Gunnrs.	...	...	0	2	each

You are to observe what we said before that the before-mentioned allowances are only to put his Majestys Forces with respect to Pay upon the same footing as our own, and you are further to observe that no Advanced pay is to be allowed to any other Persons than as before directed.

You must take care that the said Forces are properly accommodated with Barracks or Places to live in (during their Residence with you) and in general that they be treated with Humanity and as much care taken of them as of our own, and you are likewise to provide Convenient Magazines and Places for his Majestys Stores so as they may be in the Custody and care of their own proper Officers."

INSTITUTION OF WATAN AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE 18th CENTURY MARATHA SOCIETY

BY

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Watan (hereditary rights), Caste and Custom appear to be the corner stones of the 18th Century Maratha Society. We mean

to discuss the features of Watan in this essay. Original material available in some sixty-eight papers, written in modi script, as well as additional information already available will be utilised for the purpose.

Watan defined—Watan can be defined as a hereditary possession of a land or a privilege, recognised by the community on one side and the state on the other for enabling the possessor to perform the duties associated with its possession.

Before inquiring into the origin of Watan it is desirable to distinguish it from corresponding privileged positions. Watan should be distinguished from Inam which means a sort of present, may be hereditary, granted in recognition of some service already rendered. There is no duty necessarily attached to it, although local conditions may vary. The word Jahagir or Jagir has definite political, or to be accurate, administrative significance. A Jahagirdar owes the possession of his Jahagir exclusively to the state and he is expected to render a definite service to the state in return for it. A Jahagirdar is a petty prince or a chieftain exercising such political privileges and performing such administrative duties toward his people, as are assigned to him by the state. The Sanskrit word Vritti (वृत्ति) means a permanent means of livelihood assigned for a service of an ordinary nature. Historically Vritti and Watan differ from each other. In the *Ādnyāpatra* whose authorship is conventionally attributed to Ramchandrapant of Shivaji II period there is a separate chapter describing the nature of their respective functions, from which it is clear that while the holders of Watan form a corporate part of the social structure, the holders of Vritti are only an additional embellishment that would enrich the Society and help to make life beautiful and all sided. In actual practice the distinction between Watan and Vritti lends to blur, especially in the case of less important duties of life. Whatever else may be said about the Watan and the Vritti, they made life stable and the performance of a variety of services to the Community absolutely assured. The structure of the Hindu Society was rendered impregnable as it was founded on the bedrock of Watan and Vritti.

Let us now try to understand the nature and scope of Watan as evidenced by the original papers available. It is necessary to be specific. Treatment of Indian history has too often suffered from wide generalisations. The country is so vast and the period so extensive that Watan and Vritti might appear in different forms in different lands and in different periods. A living society cannot express itself through static institutions. That is why generalisations should be circumscribed with reference to a definite land and period with the help of evidence properly sifted and put forth. Importance of the publication of original papers cannot be exaggerated. Let us learn to sift and analyse before we venture

to synthesise and generalise. The comparative evidence in different parts of the country at any definite period would enable us to develop a sort of theory of the subject, on which the science of history and its philosophisation might later on be built up.

On a perusal of the 68 papers available one is inclined to remark that in the 18th Century Maratha Society any conceivable profession under the sun could possibly be crystallised into a Watan, so deep was the idea rooted in the mentality of the people.

A paper of the year 1722 describes how three Sheikhs, Rustum, Imam and Daval, acted as darweshis, tamed tigers and bears and obtained a watani right of showing them round in the six villages round about Haveli. The Patils were ordered that the Darweshis should be allowed to collect two pice per house and to show tigers and bears to villagers. The Patils were further instructed that during their stay in the village they should be provided with a village coolie to carry their load and a night watchman to serve them as a guard. No other wandering Darweshi would be allowed to move with his tigers through the villages where the said Sheikhs had obtained a watani right. From another paper, it seems that the Darweshis collected one anna per house. In the absence of any clue to fix up its date it is impossible to establish any connection between the price level of the time and the Watan charge. All that can be said is that the Watan charge was capable of an occasional variation.

Other interesting cases of Watani rights may be briefly noted. A Gurav having obtained the right of supplying flowers in a small village, a Mali was prevented from doing the same and thus creating an additional Watani right there. On his deliberate attempt to do so a complaint was taken to his got-panchayat (community) which exacted from him a promise that he would refrain from doing so. The right of blowing Sambal, a musical instrument, had been obtained by the Gondhalis and they successfully complained against the Gosavis who attempted to use Sambal at a festival. The Gosavis were however allowed to celebrate Gondhal and the exclusive right of the Gondhalis to celebrate it was not recognised, as gondhal was looked upon only as a form of devotion to God. As late as in the year 1818, Captain Robertson issued orders allowing the Patils and Kulkarnis to exact their conventional Watani rights from the villagers.

The object of granting a watan was to create a feeling of security in the mind of the watandar and secure his steady services for the village. An Abhaya patra (assurance letter) of the year 1782 issued to a Tamboli (betel leaf seller) of Garade contained an offer of a plot of ground where he could open his shop. He gave Rs. 15 to the village Hakim, as nazrana, and was bound to pay Rs. 2 per year as revenue to the State and 50 leaves per day possibly to the village authorities. The Abhaya

patra bore witnesses of 18 different watandars of the village. The name of the assignee was Kasim bin Baji. Baji seems to be a Hindu name and Kasim was possibly a convert. Such was the spirit of tolerance that a change in religion did not deprive a person of a place in the corporate structure of the village. In another letter of the year 1769 we find that the Deshpandes of Saswad asked the Patil of Garade to prevent the grocer from dealing in betel leaves as the Tamboli had the exclusive right to do the same. Watandars were looked upon as the supports of the village organisation and were treated with courtesy and respect. In 1764 the following official letter was sent to a watandar Mhar of Hasuchi Wadi: "You are a watandar Chaugula of this village and the Patil informs us that you have recently left your watan and your duties and gone away. You are hereby informed that you should not be afraid of anybody and you may safely resume your office and take possession of your lands." Sometimes a watandar would find it difficult to pull on with the scanty watan income guaranteed to him. He could, on an appeal to the village, get additional land. In a letter to the Deshpandes of Saswad they were informed that as the Kumbhar of the village had been graced by God with a large family they (the village authorities) should see to it that he was properly provided for.

The different balutedars (artisans) of the village were not of the same rank, which probably depended upon the importance of the service rendered by the balutedars to the village. In one paper the balutedars are classified into three orders. The first order included the Sutar, Chamar, Mhar and Mang and claimed a share of Rs. 10 for each. The second included the Kumbhar, Nhavi, Parit, and Lohar and claimed only Rs. 5. The third consisted of the Joshi, Gurav, Sonar and a Mulana (Muslim) each of whom was entitled to Rs. 2½. This shows that seniority in the village organisation was different from seniority in the caste organisation. The untouchable Mhars and Mangs evidently enjoyed a grade and a share superior to that of the Joshis and Sonars who were touchables. It should be remembered however, that the ranks of different balutedars often differed according to local custom. There is no reference to Patil and Kulkarni watandars in the paper mentioned above. Their case evidently differed from that of other watandars for they acted in the dual capacity of State officers and co-sharers in the village organisation.

It was but natural that occasional disputes should arise in connection with the exact contents of such watandari rights. Sometimes rival claimants in the family disputed for the possession of the right. Sometimes outsiders surreptitiously tried to establish their claim. Sometimes there was a rivalry as regards precedence in social ceremonies. For instance, there was a dispute between a patil and a joshi as regards precedence in the

application of Ticca to the forehead on the occasion of (पंचांग श्रवण) (listening to the religious significance of the day) ceremony. Such cases of dispute were settled in a variety of ways; but usually readiness was shown to refer the point to the village panchayat. In 1779 the Chamars and Mahars of Pargaon quarrelled over the right to take the five offerings (पंच महानैवेद्य) made to Holi. The whole Pandhar (village farmers) and bara balutyas (village artisans) gathered together in a meeting in which evidence of over ten persons was recorded, most of them supporting the claim of Chamars. In a dispute between the Patils of Walhe and Ingual regarding the right to take the high bone (फर) of the goat killed for ceremonial purposes on the Dussera day, information was collected from 38 villages nearby and the point was settled in favour of the Ingulkar patil (1784 A. D.). The claim to a thigh bone might appear to be very trivial today, but the contending parties then were willing to lay a wager of Rs. 500 over the point of dispute. Sometimes villagers tentatively decided the quarrel and used to refer it to the authorities at Poona for an authoritative investigation and decision. Where the point of dispute had any religious significance the high priests of a holy place nearby such as Paithan were consulted. But they too collected information about the traditional practice prevailing in the locality, before giving their decision in the matter. In 1724, the smiths of Khalad quarrelled with the carpenters and claimed a separate watan for themselves. The quarrel came up for decision to the Deshmukh and Deshpande of Saswad. They referred the matter to the village authorities requesting them to call forth witnesses and note down their evidence. Thereupon a number of villagers gathered in a temple and gave evidence on oath. The letter contains a list of witnesses comprising a Carpenter, a Mali, a Nhavi, a Jyotisi, a Parit, a Chamar, a Gurav, a Mang, a Kumbhar, a Potdar, a Mahar and also a Mulana (a muslim) whose deposition could not possibly have been taken in the temple. It may be asked as to who had the legal right to decide such cases of dispute. The final legal right evidently vested with the State or whoever represented the State; but more often than not, the contending parties referred the matter to the local authorities, who used to take their consent in writing, Rajinama as it was called, thus binding them to abide by their decision. Should the contending parties approach the higher authorities directly, the latter would, as can be seen from instances cited above, send the papers to local authorities for further investigation. At times the State authorities used to send their representative to ascertain such evidence. This practice evidently protected the complainant against local prejudices and one-sided reports.

There is one form of Watan which deserves a special mention. It is the Deshmukhi Watan. To enjoy a Deshmukhi Watan and to be a Desh mukh was an honour sought even by princes. Shahu

on being released by Aurangzeb is found to be anxious to claim the Deshmukhi of Wai and even much later, when his position as a king was stabilised *i.e.* in 1718 and 1719 he appeared to be proud of styling himself as a Deshmukh. In a state document incorporating the decision of the Astta Pradhan *i.e.* the State Council over a case of conflict regarding the Deshmukhi claim, Shahu's name appears not as a king but as a Deshmukh. All this might appear to be very strange; but the reason is not far to seek. The respect that royalty can evoke is due to fear and possession of power; the respect for Deshmukhi on the other hand is functional and is due to the importance of the service that is rendered. The Deshmukh is responsible for seeing that land is brought under cultivation and revenue is collected. The change in political power rarely brought about a change in the Deshmukhs. In fact the new power had to coax the Deshmukhs into the recognition of their rule and more often than not, depended upon them for the collection of revenue. Poona was often the bone of contention between the Adilshahi and Nizamshahi in the 17th century and time and again it changed hands. Sometimes a few villages in the Poona paragana belonged to the Nizamshahi and the rest to the Adilshahi; but either powers collected their land revenue from Shitoles, the family which held the Deshmukh watan of Poona irrespective of the political power that ruled over then. Most of the civil administration of the villages was looked after by the Deshmukhs, rendering the political power of the state over them all but nominal. Indeed to study the administrative system of the country under the Marathas one must learn to distinguish between administration of the state (राज्यकारभार) and the administration of the territory or the country (देशकारभार) and in the latter it was the (देशमुख) that counted most.

One more point and we shall have done. It is customary to describe the 18th century Society in India as feudal. Names are dangerous because they evoke wrong ideas about the state of affairs. Time has come when we should learn to find out the distinguishing features of the feudalism of the West and the watan bound society of the East. The points of similarity are superficial and differences appear to us to be fundamental. The Feudal lords owed their power and position to the state; not so the Deshmukhs. The Deshmukhs rarely disturbed the peace of the country by mutual aggrandizement; and were anxious to avoid becoming tools in the hands of conflicting powers. They sheltered the people within their jurisdiction by warding off the claims of contending powers.

It is not possible to deal exhaustively with this point. We venture to put forth a few ideas before this learned assembly with the object of stimulating discussion and a bit of cautious circumspection so that hasty generalisations and a temptation of using western terminology for describing Eastern society may be avoided.

Thank you.

MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS FROM KHATU (MARWAR)

BY

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Before my visits to Khatu I only knew it as the birth place of the great saint Shaikh Ahmad Khatu, who was born there in A. H. 737/A. D. 1336 and he is lying buried at Sarkeej (d. A. H. 849/A. D. 1445 near Ahmadabad. He was a disciple of Baba Ishaq Maghribi (d. A. H. 749/A. D. 1348) whose grave at Khatu is well-known public resort. But my visits to Khatu and the study of its Muslim monuments' inscriptions, which are fortunately *in situ*, have revealed to me that from the very beginning it has been a very popular place of great importance. A local learned person told me that the old mosques and graves of Khatu were once adorned with inscriptions which were dated from A. H. 484/A. D. 1091 down to the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi. Though today they do not exist yet their actual transcriptions are preserved with him which I had copied from his private record with his kind permission. I myself took impressions of twenty-five inscriptions from various monuments, which I have arranged for the publication of a detailed monograph on them. However, I take the earliest opportunity to describe a few of them in the following :—

One big inscription in naskhi characters on a marble slab about five feet into six feet is fixed between two pillars of the tomb of Baba Ishaq Maghrabi. It shows the construction of a reservoir during the reign of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltumish in A. H. 629/A. D. 1231, under the supervision of one Masud, son of Ahmad, son of Omar Khallaj.

One fragment of an old inscription in red stone is lying in the precincts of the mausoleum of Baba Ishaq which is from some reservoir because it bears the word *Saghar*-tank. I conclude from the words Ghiyathu'd-Dinya and date A. H. 666/A. D. 1267 that it belonged to the reign of Sultan Ghiyathu'd-Din Abu'l-Muzaffar Balban (A. H. 664-686/A. D. 1265-87). One more similar fragment of an inscription in red stone is lying on the platform of the tank just near the western gateway of Khatu. It clearly shows that it belonged to a water tank named *Firoz Saghar*, because it was built by one Firoz Muhammad' as his name as its builder occurs therein. Though the name of the Sultan during whose reign it was built and its actual date of construction are missing yet from the writing and the wording of the inscription we can infer that it was also built during the reign of Sultan Balban. These both parts of inscriptions belong to two different tanks.

The inscription of the Juma' masjid, situated on the way to the hill of Khatu on its southern side, is fixed in its central

mehrab. It shows that it was repaired and rennovated by one Beg Salar Bawarchi (?) in A. H. 968/A. D. 1560 during the early years of Akbar's reign. From its architectural details we can presume that it was contemporaneously built with those mosques built in Delhi and Ajmer by Sultan Aibak and Sultan Iltutmish. Besides one of the inscriptions which I copied from the record of the local person, was acutally of the reign of Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish and dated A. H. 607/A. D. 1210, which might be from the same mosque.

There are two inscriptions on the interior and exterior walls of the masjid on the hill of Khatu on its southern side, which show that it was built by the representative of Firoz Khan, the then ruler of Nagaur, because Khatu was then the part of the kingdom of Nagaur which was being ruled by the successors of Shams Khan Dandani, the founder of the Nagaur dynasty and the real brother of Zafar Khan, the founder of the Gujarat Sultanate at Ahmadabad. (*vide-Nagaur-a Forgotten Kingdom* by M. A. Chaghatai ; Bulletin Deccan College, vol. ii , Nos. 1-2).

One complete arch in red stone, being the part of the central mehrab of a mosque, is lying in the basement of a mosque in the heart of the city of Khatu which is at present serves as a city post-office of Khatu. This arch bears an inscription recording the construction of a mosque during the reign of Sultan Alau'd-Din Khalji in A. H. 702/A. D. 1302.

Four inscriptions in very fine nast'aliq style of calligraphy, belonging to the well-known globe-trotter Muhammad Ma'sum Bhakkari, are found on the walls of the shrine of Baba Ishaq Maghribi. They record that Bhakkari had paid two visits to the shrine in A. H. 1008/A. D. 1599 and A. H. 1010/A. D. 1601 respectively. They contain very useful information about Bhakkari himself.

In my first visit to Khatu I had noticed on its northern hill a heap of graves which had a worn out slab of stone bearing Persian verses. It was specially pointed out to me by Prof. Shairani when I had started from his resting place to visit Khatu. It records the martyrdom of six muslimans who had voluntarily gave their lives in defending an assembly of Musulmans of Khatu while busy at pray on the day of 'Id in A. H. 709/A. D. 1309, against the attack of non-Muslim inhabitants of Khatu who had tried to attack them, while incapable of defending themselves. The inscription records that two hundred infidles had attacked the party of Musalman. The names of these martyred persons are found there in these verses.

The premises of the shrine of Baba Ishaq show that during different periods buildings of varied taste and designs have been built. Many of them bear inscriptions of considerable importance.

In short, Khatu's antiquities from Muslim point of view constitute an independent chapter of Muslim history and culture of the past. I am sure, the complete monograph on Khatu's Muslim monuments will be a great help to the studies of mediæval Indian.

SIRAJ-UD-DAAULAH AND THE ENGLISH BEFORE 1756

BY

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Early in May 1752 Nawab Alivardi declared Siraj-ud-daulah, in whom he lived and moved and had his being, as his successor.¹ Soon, during his stay at Hugli, Siraj-ud-daulah "was visited by the French and Dutch Governors with a present equivalent to his dignity".² As instructed by the *faujdar* of Hugli and by Khawajah Wajid, one of the principal merchants of Bengal who resided at Hugli, the Council in Calcutta "judged it highly necessary to pay the Nabob (Nawab) the compliment required".³ Accordingly, the President, Mr. Roger Drake, accompanied by Messers Cruttenden and Becher and the Commandant, visited Siraj-ud-daulah at Hugli in the beginning of the third week of September, 1752. They were received there, as the Council in Calcutta held, "with the utmost Politeness and Distinction far superior than was paid the French or Dutch".⁴

Highly-gratified at this incident, the Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors: " * * * We flatter ourselves that the expense we have been at on this occasion has procured you great Favour and will be the means of your Honours business being conducted without any interruption from the Government for some time to come and we beg leave to offer our sentiments that a greater intimacy well timed with the heads of the Government (not before practiced) when opportunity offers either here or at the head Subordinates may be greatly conducive to your Honours Interest at a small expense for it is chiefly those about the Nabob who are in Power that urge Circumstances to our Disadvantage and stir up his Resentment and when any large sum is paid they receive the greater share".⁵

1. Bengal letter to Court, dated 18th September, 1752, para 81.
2. *Ibid.*, para 111.
3. *Ibid.*.
4. *Ibid.*, para 112.
5. *Ibid.*

Appreciating this excellent conduct of Siraj-ud-daulah, the Court of Directors observed in their letter to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 23rd January, 1754: "It gives us great satisfaction to observe that Nabob Sarajee Doula (Siraj-ud-daulah) whom Alliverde Cawn (Alivardi Khan) appointed to be his successor received our President and the other Gentlemen deputed by the Board to compliment him upon the occasion with such marks of Distinction and we hope you will lose no opportunity of improving the favourable opinion he seems to entertain of the English Nation. A present could not be avoided and the not giving a hand some one would have been an illtimed piece of Frugality and therefore we approve of what you have done. We entirely agree with you that an intimacy should be kept up with the Heads of the Government * * * *". In another letter, dated the 29th November, 1754, the Court significantly noted that the 'Country Government' (Nawab's government) had "always shown more preferable marks of favour to the English than to the other European Nations".

In the course of three years, however, as is well known, the relationship between Siraj-ud-daulah and the English East India Company turned to be bitter to the utmost degree. How to account for this transformation? Was it due to Siraj-ud-daulah's viciousness and special grudge against the English, as has been very often asserted? So her history would not consider such an interpretation of the causes of the mighty revolution of 1757 in Bengal to be well warranted. It should try to understand its genesis with reference to the working of some new forces in the history of Bengal, which being successfully controlled by Alivardi proved too strong for his successor and collided with the latter's authority as the Nawab of Bengal. A dispassionate study on this point is still due.

MURDER AND ITS PUNISHMENT DURING THE REIGNS OF SHAHJAHAN AND AURANGZEB

BY

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In Mughal India murder was looked upon as a crime primarily against another person. The right to demand justice lay with the heirs unless the murdered man was heirless. The punishment also depended upon the temper of the survivors. It could vary from execution to payment of a varying amount of blood-money. Notice was taken of the circumstances under which

the man came to commit the crime and punishment varied accordingly.

According to Muslim Law, Qatl or Jinayat'I-nafas is the act of a man whereby the life of a fellow human being is brought to a close. Homicide of which Muslim law takes cognizance is of five kinds; (1) Qatlu'I-Amd; (2) Qatl Shibhu'I' Amd; (3) Qatlu'I Khata; (4) Qatl qa'imb Maqama'l-Khata.¹ (5) Katl bi Sahab.

1. Katlu'l-Amd (قتل اعمد) or wilful murder arose where the criminal intentionally killed a person with a weapon or some thing that served for a weapon, such as a club, a sharp stone, or fire. If one committed a wilful murder, one was a sinner and deserved hell; and secondly, he was liable to retaliation. But retaliation lapsed if the heir or next of kin could either forgive or compound for the offence. The Muslim law admitted of no other expiation for wilful murder. The murderer cannot benefit by his crime and thus he loses his right of inheritance to the murdered person if such a right other wise accrues.²

With regard to the commission of homicide Aurangzeb had ordered that when a murder had been proved against any man according to the Holy Law or was close to certainty, the offender was to be kept in prison and a report of the fact was to be made to him.³

The contemporary writers have left us accounts of the commission of this crime; but in most cases full evidence is lacking.⁴

There are cases, however, with somewhat full evidence and which show the Muslim law at work. The most significant is that of Murad Bakhsh. He was responsible for the murder of an officer while governor of Gujrat. The sons of the murdered man demanded Kises from the qazi after the arrest of the prince—of course at the instance of Aurangzeb. The qazis suggestions for the acceptance of blood-mony (diya) being refused, the unhappy prince was executed in strict observance of the law.⁵ A Portugese picked a querrel with his country-men, and exasperated by their talk, went to his house and barbarously slew his wife and a baby

1. Fatawa-i-Alamgiri, iv, 503.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Aina-i-Gujrat, i, 170.

Cf. Sarkar's Mughal Administration, 128-29.

4. English Factories, 1646-50, 106.

Bernier, i, 118, 146-47.

Manucci, i, 368; ii, 147; iii, 271-72.

Masir-i-Alamgiri, 19; 40. Fryer, i, 253.

5. Bernier, i, 122-23; Manucci, i, 240.

Ibid., 382-83.

Elliot, vii, 131-32, 266-67.

girl. The relations of the woman petition the court for his execution. The court was ready to liberate the culprit if he accepted the Muslim faith. The Portugese did not consent so he was executed.¹ Farjam Barlash, a faujdar in Aurangzeb's service, broke the marriage-bond between his daughter and his sister's son, due to the ill-nature of his sister. The youngman murdered his maternal-uncle in the Diwan-i Am in the presence of all, at the incitement of his mother. The case was brought before the law court. The emperor's request to the kinsmen of the murdered man to give up retaliation being rejected, the youth was executed in the presence of all and his body was entrusted to his mother who was waiting at the gate outside the fort.² A youngman murdered another person. He was arrested and tried. His wife came to Qazi Abdul Wahab demanding the execution of the murderer. After hard attempts the Qazi was successful in persuading the woman to give up the idea of retaliation. He told Manucci that had she persisted in her demand he would have condemned the murderer to death.³

Another kind of wilful murder was where the perpetrator of the crime was driven to it by the conduct of his victim who was guilty of an offence. A customs-officer of Surat during Shahjahan's reign excited the fury of a Rajput soldier by demanding from him custom on some pieces of calico and abusing him on his refusal to do so. The Rajput attacked the 'governor' fatally though he himself was hacked to pieces by the attendants.⁴ Similarly, a Muslim soldier a tax-gatherer who insisted on seeing the cart in which the soldier's wife was sitting, though the official was told repeatedly that it contained no tobacco. In this case, however, Aurangzeb took compassion on the temper of the youngman.⁵

The contemporary authorities give us few instances of homicide where retaliation took place on the spot. Two Hindu Rajas came to pay their respects to Shahjahan. The Grand-master of the king's household told one that he ought to have learnt court etiquettes. The Raja considered it an insult and slew the official. A scuffle began and the two Rajas could not escape death in the midst of so many persons.⁶ A tailor in the service of a Pathan was compelled by soldiers to postpone the Pathan's work and do the governor's. One of these soldiers grew excited and slew the Pathan's brother. He (the Pathan) lost his temper and killed the members of his family. Then assisted by

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1. Manucci, ii, 452-53.
 2. Masir-i-Alamgiri, 40.
 3. Manucci, ii, 419-20.
 4. Tavernier, ii, 251-52.
 5. Manucci, i, 175.
 6. Tavernier, ii, 219-20.

the tailor, he indulged in a general massacre of the governor's men. Both of them received mortal wounds but only after they had done much destruction.¹ We read about one more Hindu Raja who stabbed a Wazir of Shahjahan in the open court at the rude treatment by the noble, though he himself could not escape the fate that awaited him.²

Pater Mundy informs us that a Rajput, before he himself was slain, put to death a Mughal captain and some of his followers who were sent by Shahjahan to demolish a Hindu temple.³

We must make a passing reference to adultery and sodomy where they have concern with Katl-ul-Amd. A rich Muslim merchant slew his wife along with a baby when he found her in bed with her lover. For this crime a 'Pecuniary Mulct' excused him.⁴ Another case about the commission of the murder of a eunuch who had fallen in love with the beautiful sister of a scriviner is silent about further proceedings.⁵ Sodomy is forbidden in Islam even more strictly than adultery (fornication),⁶ and it was never looked upon with favour in Mughal India. We come across instances where a young boy stabbed the sodomite and received the applause of the people. Law was kind to him and he was let off only with a mild punishment.⁷

In the final category we place the cases of Katal-ul-Amad where the king exercised his prerogative for one reason or another. The messenger, sent by Aurangzeb to Najabat Khan to persuade him to accept a salary for less than the promised one, spoke contemptuous words for which Najabat Khan put him to the sword. Aurangzeb's order of sending a large army against the Khan was withdrawn only at the pursuance of Shaista Khan.⁸ Another instance, referred to above, of king's pardon, is of a Muslim soldier who stabbed the tax-gatherer who compelled the soldier to show the cart in which his wife was sitting. The excited soldier killed his wife, too, as a stranger had seen her.⁹

II. Katl Shibh'L 'Amad (قتل شبه اعمد) or man-slaughter, was when the perpetrator struck a man with something that was neither a weapon nor served as such. It was held that this was sinful and required expiation. Expiation consisted in freeing a

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1. Fryer, i, 242-43.
 2. Manucci, i, 207-8.
 3. Peter Mundy, ii, 178.
 4. Fryer, i, 245.
 5. Bernier, i, 146-47.
 6. Ma' alim Al-Qurba, 70.
 7. Fryer, i, 245 ;
Tavernier, i, 122.
 8. Manucci, ii, 23-24.
 9. *Ibid.*, 175.

Muslim slave-girl, or in fasting two months successively; a fine was to be paid with camels only.¹

III. *Katulu 'l Khata* (قتل الخطأ) or homicide with misadventure was of two kinds; error in intention and error in act. Error in intention was where the mistake occurred with respect to the subject, as where a person aimed an arrow at a man supposing him to be game; or at a Muslim supposing him to be a hostile infidel; error in the act, on the other hand was where a person shot an arrow at a mark and it hit a man. The homicid with misadventure required expiation and diya; and the slayer was excluded from inheriting the property of the slain.²

In practice, however, it was possible to escape due punishment. The head-eunuch of the royal palace was informed by the guards that they had seized two youngmen in the garden whom Roshan-Ara-Begum had just dismissed after they had complied with her wishes. The emperor ordered that they must go out by the way they came in. One went by the door. The other said that he had climbed over the garden wall. The head-eunuch, who was anxious to wreak vengeance for having been convicted of carelessness, had him thrown over the garden wall whereby he was killed. Aurangzeb got displeased with the head-eunuch and as a punishment dismissed him for some days.³

A group of young boys was busy at the play, 'king and Wazir'. The 'King' ordered that the 'thieves' be beaten. The 'Kotwal' gave blows to the 'thieves' so severely that they died on the spot.⁴

IV. *Katl qa'im Maqama'l khata* (قتل قائم مقام الخطأ) or homicide of a similar nature to homicide by misadventure was, where a person turning sides in his sleep fell upon another, so as to kill him by the fall. The same rules applied to it as to homicide by misadventure.⁵

V. *Katl-bi-Sabab* (قتل بسبب) or homicide by intermediate cause was where, for examples, a man dug a well on the highway or set up a stone and another fell into the well or over the stone and died. In this case blood-money must be paid.⁶

If a man caused premature birth of a still-born child by striking the stomach of a pregnant woman, the offender had to give the woman a slave or a slave girl or a horse worth 500

1. *Fatawai-Alamgiri*, iv, 503.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Manucci*, ii, 35.

4. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 26-27.

5. *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, iv, 504.

Ibid.

dirhams. If the woman lost her life along with the child, the offender was liable to pay the blood-money for the death of the woman as well.¹

If a man built a wall which was not straight and it fell so as to kill somebody or to destroy the property of another, the owner was to be held responsible.²

If the quadraped, on which a person was sitting, trampled another person under foot, the rider was to incur diya and expiation and he was to lose his right to inheritance.³

If a slave committed an offence which incurred diya, the possessor of the slave was either to lose the slave or give arsh.⁴ A person who killed a slave by misadventure was to pay the price of the slave.⁵

It is necessary to explain the various forms of punishment that a murderer earned. We have mentioned retaliation and blood-money above in their appropriate places. Here it would be necessary to explain in detail retaliation and compensation.

In occasions affecting life a free man was to be slain for a free man and a slave for slave, a man for a man and a woman for a woman. An infidel was to be slain for the murder of a Muslim, a Zimmi for Zimmi and a Muslim for a Zimmi. Even if a Zimmi turned Muslim after putting a Zimmi to death, he was to be murdered in retaliation. An adult was slain for an infant and a sound person for one who was infirm, blind, lame, insane or dismembered. A son was slain for the murder of a father and mother, but a father and mother were not to be slain for the murder of their child. A master was not to be slain for his slave, and retaliation was not incurred if one of the two partners in a slave killed such a slave. Retaliation was to be executed with a sword or a weapon like a sword.⁶

There was no retaliation for strangling a man, but if the strangler was a habitual offender he must be executed.⁷ If a

1. *Ibid.*, 554.

2. *Ibid.*, 556.

3. *Ibid.*, 557.

4. *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, iv, 585.

5. *Ibid.*, 620.

6. *Ibid.*, 504-6.

7. Cf. *Sarkar's Mughal Administration*, 125 ; *Aina-i-Gujrat*, i, 168. Such a suspected criminal, according to Aurangzeb's farman, was to be kept in prison. In case a specific charge was brought against him, he was to be tried in the Court of a qazi.

man immersed another into water from which escape was impossible, retaliation, according to Abu Hanifa, was not incurred; but his two disciples maintained otherwise.¹

Aurangzeb had ordered that a man who killed another by drowning him into water was to be chastised and imprisoned and diya or exculpatory fine was to be charged from him; in case of repetition of the offence, strict siasat was to be done to him.² There was no retaliation for compelling a man to take poison, but diya must be paid.³ Poisoning was not uncommon in Mughal India. But the cases of poisoning that we come across during our study of the contemporaries fail to inform us of the punishment for the crime.⁴

Retaliation could be commuted for by a sum of money (Diya). The sum that was due in place of retaliation to the heirs of the murdered person, was called diya. Diya for murder was to be paid for by a hundred camels or a thousand dinars or ten thousand dirhams according to Abu Hanifa. The same diya held good in the case of a Muslim, a Zimmi, and an hostile infidel who took refuge in a Muslim country.⁵

Any one who was rightful heir to the property of the murdered person had the right to demand retaliation. Where there were more than one heir no one had the right to retaliation unless all heirs agreed. In case of wilful murder the only heir of the murdered person could slay the murderer with sword, whether the qazi ordered it or not. A mad-man could kill the slayer of his son in retaliation or compound with him, but he could not excuse him. If the right of retaliation was shared by a major person and a minor person, the major could exercise it according to Abu Hanifah, but his two disciples disagreed with him.⁶ There was difference of opinion as to who would exercise the right of retaliation in case all the heirs of the murdered man were minors. Some viewed that the right would accrue to the Sultan while others held that one or all the heirs should be allowed to grow major. The right of retaliation went to the king and the qazi if the murdered person was heirless. If a slave, who was the property of two or three persons, was killed, the right of retaliation would belong not to one but to all of them.⁷

Retaliation lapsed if the murderer and the heirs of the murdered person composed among themselves for a certain amount

1. Fatawa-i-Alamgiri, iv, 507.
2. Aina-i-Gujrat, i, 170.
Cf. Sarkar's Mughal administration, 127-28.
3. Fatawa-i-Alamgiri, iv, 508.
4. Manucci, ii, 257, 410-11.
5. Fatawa-i-Alamgiri, iv, 537.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Fatawa-i-Alamgiri, iv, 511-12.

of money. The right agreement should be for an amount less than 100 camels, 1,000 dinars and 10,000 dirhams. There was no retaliation if husband, mother or grand-mother forgave the murderer. If one out of the two heirs forgave the murderer, the other would get diya from the property of the slayer within three years. If an heir pardoned one out of the two murderers, he could slay the other in retaliation.¹

There was neither retaliation nor diya if a person invited another to kill himself. Retaliation was inflicted if A asked B to kill his (A's) minor son and if a person asked another to kill his brother, the murderer incurred retaliation.² If a boy lost his life by falling from roof or in water, his parents were to incur expiation in case the boy could not protect himself.³ If a father caused the death of his son by punishing him for reformation and a husband killed his wife in the same manner, and a teacher his pupil, the father and the husband both incurred expiation and diya and the teacher only expiation.⁴

TWO MUHAMMADAN PATRONS OF TELUGU LITERATURE IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

BY

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There were two Muhammadan Patrons of Telugu Literature in the 16th Century and they were Ibrahim Kutubshah of Golkonda was ruled from 1550 to 1581 A. D. and Amir Khan, one of his important officials. To Ibrahim Kutubshah was dedicated a Prabandha called "Tapati Samvarano Pakyanam" by Addanki Gangadhara Kavi and to Amir Khan was dedicated "Yayati Charitram" by Ponniganti Telaganna. There have not been many Muhammadan Patrons of Telugu Literature and no wonder. But the two Muhammadans to whom were dedicated the two above said Prabandhas are very highly spoken of by the Poets of the day. It is the object of this paper to show the great esteem in which these Patrons were held by the Poets of this period as revealed from these Prabhandas and the Chatu Verses. Many of these Verses speak very highly of Ibrahim Kutubshah.

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1. *Ibid*, 531-32.
 2. *Ibid.*, 546.
 3. *Ibid.*, 552.
 4. *Ibid.*, 553.

Though Ibrahim Kutubshah took an active part in the overthrow of the Empire of Vijayanagar at the battle of Tallikota yet he endeared himself to the Telugu Poets of this day by his patronage of Telugu Literature. He has been called Malkibharama or Ibharama and many Chatu Verses describe his great love for Telugu Literature and the princely gifts he gave to Telugu men of Letters. "Tapati Samvarano Pakyanam" and some of the Chatu Verses give an account of not only the conquests of Ibrahim Kutubshah but also of his father who established the Independent Kingdom of Golkonda and extended it in all directions by his victories both against the Hindu and the Mahammadan Princes. After his death in 1543 his second son Jamshed came to the throne after blinding his elder brother and Ibrahim fled for his life to the Court of Vijayanagar and remained there as an exile till the death of Jamshed in 1580. After Jamshed, Ibrahim came to the throne of Golkonda. A Chatu Verse gives us an account of the conquest of the Telugu areas by Ibrahim. It says that he conquered Udayagiri and driving out Venkata from there, conquered Vinukonda, Bellamkonda and Tangeda and by force of arms captured the Impregnable fortress of Kondaveedu which occupied a position of great stratigical importance. After the conquest of Kondaveedu Ibrahim extended his territories as far as Kassimkota in the Vizag District.

Many Chatu Verses speak very highly about Ibrahim's munificent gifts to Telugu Poets. One Verse states that he gave not in thousands but lakhs. Bemoaning the death of Ibrahim one of the Chatu Verses curses Brahma of stupidity and says "Instead of taking away useless and miserly kings, you have taken away Malkibharama; who will hereafter look to the poor and helpless? Can you create such a one again?" A Chatu Verse has Hinduised this great Mahammadan Patron of Telugu Poets and calls him Rama. It says that "of all the Ramas there was no equal to Abhirama on earth."

Another Mahammadan Patron of Telugu Literature was Amir Khan an important dignitary in the service of Ibrahim Kutubshah. Yayati Charitram dedicated to Amir Khan by Telaganna says that Amir Khan was an intimate friend and adviser of Ibrahim Kutubshah. After giving an account of his exploits which greatly enhanced the reputation of his master, Telaganna speaks about the munificence of his patron. Amir Khan built a city called after him as Amirpur and beautified it with splendid buildings. At Satya-Chinta-Mani-Potlacherla he built a beautiful Mosque which was so very attractive that "God Siva took a dislike to his silver Mountain (Kilasa) and began to reside in the Mosque."

The Poet gives a graphic account of the sons of Amir Khan and their achievements. Describing Amir Khan's eldest son Galat Khan the Poet says that he was a great diplomat who though

young in years earned the Good Will of his Sovereign by his achievements. He was well versed in Persian, Gurjari, Arabic, Telugu and Kanoji and could both read and write all these languages. His brother Fazil Khan brought about a good understanding between Ibrahim Kutubshah and Sreerangaraya of the Aravidu dynasty.

Both Tapati Samvarona Pakyanam and Yayati Charitram speak very highly of the prosperous condition of Golkonda during this period and they throw a flood of light on the social and political conditions of the period.

History tells us that Ibrahim Kutubshah devoted himself to improve the condition of his Kingdom, after the battle of Tallikota, and both these Prabandhams bear ample testimony to the splendour of Golkonda during this period.

Though Ibrahim Kutubshah played an important part in the overthrow of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar yet he took care to win the good will of his Hindu Subjects who formed the bulk of the population by patronising their Literature and by giving them high appointments in the state. This explains the secret of Ibrahim's popularity with the poets of his day who considered him as one of the best of rulers. The second interesting point to note is Telaganna speaks of Hindu-Muslim Unity. To him there was no difference between the Hindu God and the Muhammadan God and that they both were one and the same. He says that Amir Khan built such a beautiful and attractive Mosque that God Siva took a dislike to his Silver Mountain Kilasa, and began to reside in the Mosque. What a grand conception of one God. The God of the Hindus and the Muslims—The One God of all.

RAYA BAGHINIS, THE BRAVE BRAHMIN LADIES OF INDIA

BY

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I propose to bring, in this paper, to the notice of the scholars some events in the lives of two Brahmin ladies who held the title of Raya baghinis and who left their names in the history of India. They were born in different parts of India and in different times and had also different fields of action. The first was born in the life time of Akabar and the other had seen the reigns of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

Last year, while I was on tour in the Nizam's state for search of documents I had an occasion to be a guest with Mr. B. K. Mitra, a labour contractor in Sasti coal mine. I happened to read there back numbers of Bengali magazines. I came across with an article on *Raya baghini* by Mr. Chand Mohan Chakravarti, B. L. famous Bengali magazine *Bharat Varsha* Vol. 31, First part, issue No. 5 of Kartik 1350. Therein I knew, for the first time, of this *Raya baghini* of Bengal. A brief sketch of the life of this brave Bengal lady is given below :—

1. *Raya baghini of Bengal.*

Bhavashankari was a daughter of a Brahmin Sardar Dinanath Choudhuri. He was a famous warrior. He gave her instructions and made her expert in the art of war. As he was Brahmin he got her married with Rudra Narayan, a Brahmin king who was a ruler of Bhurishreshtha or Bhurshut, a territory on the border of the present Hugli district. After marriage, she helped the king in the administration of this territory and she got the youth of her subjects instructed in the art of war and built forts. After some years Rudranarayan died leaving his widow and minor daughter. Bhavashankari then assumed the reign of her territory. Emperor Akabar was reigning then at Delhi. He had shattered the power of the Afghans in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa but some stray Afghan Sardars were troubling the subjects of these provinces and were causing terror amongst the people by their raids. Osman, one of the Afghan Sardars in Orissa intended to have a raid on Bhurshut and if possible, to carry Bhavashankari herself away. Bhavashankari, on the demise of her husband, was herself ruling the territory but she was leading a life of a recluse and was mostly residing in the temple of Shiva as a devotee at Kathashankra, which was built by her husband. On receiving the information of the intended raid of Osman, Bhavashankari had to face the danger and had to make preparation. She was encouraged now so by her guru Hari Deva Bhattacharaya. Ultimately Osman raided on the temple; the Rani Bhavashankari herself assumed the dress of a warrior and at the head of her brave warriors fought with the army of Osman. He was defeated in the battle and had to run away. She then went to her capital and stayed there. After some days Osman re-arranged his army, and succeeded in winning over her general who was tempted to usurp the throne for himself. Bhavashankari was not disheartened by this un-expected situation. She gathered her army and determined to lead it herself as a general. A regular battle was fought, therein she herself joined in the dress of warrior on horse back. Ultimately the army of Osman was utterly routed and he fled to Orissa and thus by the bravery of the Brahmin Rani Bengal was freed from the cruelty of the Afghans. A news of her bravery was spread far and wide. Emperor Akabar learned about her brave deeds and was

glad to know of the suppression of the Afghan atrocities. He honoured the brave Brahmin lady by conferring of her the title of Raya Baghini the Royal Tigress. He deputed his general Raja Mansingh to present the robes of honour and the title to the Rani Bhavashankari personally.

It is more than 300 years since these incidents but memory of Bhavashankari and her deeds of bravery are still fresh in the minds of people and the temple of Shiva at Kathashankra and a village by the name of Raya Baghini.

2. *Rai Baghini of Berar.*

We now come to the life sketch of the Rai baghini of Berar. To the students of Maratha history especially to those who are conversant with the life of great Shiwaji, it is known that Raya baghini a jagirdar of Mahur in Berar was deputed by Emperor Aurangzeb with her contingent of 3000 horses and 2000 infantry to assail Shaistakhan in the Deccan against Shiwaji and that through her mediation the Moghal army under Kartalabkhan was saved from destruction when it was entrapped in the valley of Umarkhindi. This raya baghini was wife of Raja Udajiram the founder of the family of Raja Udaram jagirdar and Deshmukh of Mahur. Raja Udajiram was a Deshastha Rigvedi Brahman of Berar. He started his life as a patwari of a small village near Basim. On account of his poverty he was driven to Khirki the then nearest town. He accepted service with a nabob as a writer and through his ability and valour he rose to the position of a mansabdar leading an army of 5000 in the service of the Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. On account of high handedness of Malik Ambar many Hindu and Mahommedan Sardars deserted the Nizam Shah and took service with the Moghals of Delhi. Raja Udaram was one of them. Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) then present in Berar as subehdar enrolled him in Moghal service and created him a mansabdar of 3000. Emperor Jahangir favoured him with an interview in the fort of Mandu and conferred on him the office of Mansabdar and presented him with an elephant and Khillat. Udajiram was present in the battle of Bhatwadi which was fought in 1624 A. D. between the Nizam Shah on one side and Adilshah on the other.

Raja Udaram died in 1040 and was succeeded by his son Raja Jagjeewan Rao in his watan and mansab. Raja Jagjeewan Rao fought on behalf of Aurangzeb in the battle which took place about 8 miles from Agra, between Aurangzeb and his brother for succession. Jagjeewan Rao fell in this battle while fighting. Raya baghini, mother of Jagjeewan Rao was then in Berar. Aurangzeb sent a letter to her informing her of the death of her son and advising her not to be disheartened and to look after the family watan and to keep the army in order. Baburao,

her grandson was then minor. She took charge of watan and of the army as a regent on behalf of her grandson in 1068 H. immediately after the coronation of Aurangzeb. She was honoured by him with the title of Raya baghini, a dushala was sent for her and a robe of honour for her grandson. An order from Aurangzeb she had to lead her army from Berar upto the Konkan for helping Shaista Khan the Moghal general at Poona against Shiwaji as has been noted above. Though a Hindu Brahmin lady, Aurangzeb a staunch orthodox mahommedan had confidence in her bravery and had entrusted her the important duties. As a regent for her minor guardian she ably managed the family watan and Jahagirs and served the Moghal Emperor with the army which consisted of 3000 horse and 2000 foot. This is really an unique instance. Her deeds of valour have been recorded in the Maratha chronicles, Shiwabharat, a contemporary Sanskrit poem and even in the Persian histories and diaries. Shivabharat, the life of Shiwaji had rendered the title of Raya baghini as Raja Vyaghri in Sanskrit.

In the history this Brahmin lady is known by her title Raja baghini only. - Her real name is not known to the history. The family of Raja Udaram has now been divided into several branches and the descendents of hers are still enjoying the Deshmukhi watan and the Jaghirs acquired by her husband, the founder of the Udaram family. But it is a matter of regret rather than a matter for surprise that they also do not know her real name. The archives of the family have not yet been properly searched for record. It is for the enthusiastic research scholars to undertake the work.

While inspecting the records in the archives of the Balaji temple at Basim in Berar, few months ago, with the permission of Babasahib Kalu Jaghirdar and manager of the temple, I came across three original documents in the Modi script connected with the family of Raja Udaram. They are dated in the year 1054 H, 1068H and 1071H respectively corresponding with 1647 A D., 1657 A. D. and 1660 A D. These documents recorded the grants of land and cash to the representatives of the Puranik family of Kasba Ansing in Berar. These documents bear the seal of the grantee. The first grant was made by Raja Jagjeewan Rao the second by the Raya baghini and the third by Baburao son of Raja Jagjeewan Rao. The 2nd grantee has been described as Sawitribai and the grant was issued from Mahur her head quarter. It bears her seal which records her as dastagah Savitribai meaning regent Savitribai. As the document is in original it has been proved, beyond doubt, that the name of this Berar Raya baghini was Sawitribai and she has been described as Rajadhiraja Maharaja Savitribai Sahib in the documents. The descendents of hers were very glad to know the real name of her brave ancestor.

Her descendants are equally in the dark about the family of her birth. It is for the research scholars to trace it. There is a tradition in the Vidulkar Deshmukh family of Pergana Umarkhed in Berar that Raya baghini was born in that family. The tradition can only be verified if there is any reference to it in the documents which would be found in the records of that family or elsewhere.

We know that the Moghal emperors had entrusted with the Hindu the responsible posts in the empire in civil as well as military department without any distinction, to conciliate them. We now find that the bravery of the Hindu ladies also was not neglected. The title of Raya Baghini, on a brahmin lady of Bengal by Emperor Akbar and on the Brahmin lady of Berar by Aurangzeb can be cited as two unique instances in the history of India, to support the latter proposition.

A SYNOPSIS OF THE ARTICLE "THE COURT CUTHERY THE MAYOR'S COURT CALCUTTA"

BY

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The Court Cutherry or the Zemindar's Court was established in 1704, with civil and criminal jurisdiction over the native residents of Calcutta. Though presided over by an officer of the Company, the court, in theory, derived its authority from the Moghul sovereign. The Mayor's Court at Calcutta also had jurisdiction over the natives of the town but this was taken away by the Charter of 1753 which allowed the said court to take cognisance of only those suits of the natives which were submitted to its jurisdiction by both the parties. The Charter of 1753, however, left undecided the question whether Indian Christians vulgarly called Fringys should be treated as a class apart from the Indian natives.

In 1755 a dispute arose between the Zemindar and the Mayor's Court with regard to the jurisdiction over the Fringys. One Sarah Shaddow, after a suit had been decreed against her in the Court Cutherry, filed a bill of complaint in the Mayor's Court stating that the Zemindar had deprived her of some valuables. The bill of complaint, however did not contain any reference to the decree. The Mayor's Court thereupon served citation upon Holwell requiring him to appear before them and this Holwell obeyed under protest.

In his letter to the Board at Fort William Holwell contended that Sarah Shaddow was a Mustee Fringy (Portuguese Mestico meaning mixed), and as such was to be treated as a native and could be tried by the Zemindar. He further alleged that the proceedings of the Mayor's Court were illegal and arbitrary. The judges of the Mayor's Court in their letter to the Company's Directors averred that they could not take judicial notice of the Zemindar as the Charter did not contain any reference to such an officer. This attempt of the judges to take shelter behind the charter was indeed ridiculous as the Court Cutherry was in existence for half a century and evidently as its officer the Zemindar was a prominent figure amongst the Company's servants. The proceedings of the Prerogative court were not illegal but irregular for the bill filed by Sarah did not contain any reference to the decree passed by the Zemindar.

The Council at Calcutta ordered the Zemindar to refrain from taking cognisance of suits concerning the natives, Fringys, Armenians and the Europeans, and asked the Mayor's Court to stop all Proceedings against the Zemindar.

AKBAR, SHIVAJI AND HAIDAR ALI IN A SINGLE PERSPECTIVE

BY

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Synopsis.

1. Akbar, Shivaji and Haidar Ali were all children of adversity. Their lack of education has been noted but in their favour. It has been even doubted.
2. Akbar and Shivaji were sovereigns of their territories while Haidar Ali was only a high military officer in the service of the Hindu King of Mysore, yet he had in him the qualities which made him a capable administrator and a first-class statesman.
3. Their authority was built on well-defined political ideals, and their methods were clear-cut and true to those ideals: Popularity, Toleration, Material prosperity and Personal character were the essentials of government under their management. Deviation from these led to loss of political power after them.
4. Akbar was unique as a patron of art, Shivaji was famous for his political thought, and Haidar Ali was well-known for

loyalty to his sovereign. But for strict adherence to their distinguishing qualities, history would not have known them as successful administrators or give any place of importance to any of them.

5. There is one thing common to the three which serves as a pointer in Indian history. Serve the people and save yourself.

"THE KARNATAK DURING AURANGZEB'S BIJAPUR CAMPAIGN AND THE WAR OF SUCCESSION."

BY

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(Summary)

An attempt has been made in this paper to discuss the affairs of Mir Jumla's Karnatak dominions during Aurangzeb's Bijapur campaign and the War of Succession among Shahjahan's son, on the basis of the evidence of *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, *Guldashta*, *Majmua-i-Maktubat* and the *Alamgirnamah*. The paper shows that Mir Jumla was the brain of the Mughal policy towards the Karnatak in 1656-7.

Reserving himself for the Bijapur campaign Mir Jumla induced the Emperor to depute Shah Beg Khan to the Karnatak to suppress the Hindu revolt. Aurangzeb ordered Shah Beg to immediately proceed there and join Qazi Muhammad Hashim and the *gomostas* of Mir Jumla. Shah Beg started from Bir on November 30, 1656, and reached Indur on 15th December. To meet the objection of Qutb Shah that the advance of the Mughal army would disturb the Golkunda administration, Aurangzeb ordered Shah Beg to reach the Karnatak quickly by following a short cut but not to plunder the ryots of Golkunda and Mir Jumla's territories.

Besides sending Shah Beg Khan to suppress the Hindu revolt, Aurangzeb endeavoured to keep the Royal neutral. In the meantime the situation in the Karnatak became complicated by some boundary disputes between Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla arising out of the conflicting claims of their respective officers for realisation of revenues in Ellore and Rajmandri and other places. Mir Jumla presented the Emperor a befitting *peshkash* worth 15 lacs of rupees (November 26) containing one big uncut diamond weighing 9 *tangs* equivalent to 216 Surkhs, priced at 2,16,000 rupees. This secured the imperial sanction of the invasion of Bijapur. Mir Jumla also agreed to recall his men for those places in question but received

the Emperor's approval to hold some additional places in the Karnatak. The Emperor warned the Sultan that in case of violation of imperial orders, Mohammad Amin would be despatched to look after the jagirs of his father.

Qutb Shah took advantage of the Bijapur campaign to renew his aggressions on the Karnatak. A boundary dispute took place between Mir Jumla and the Sultan over Udgir. Aurangzeb asked Shah Beg to reach the Karnatak soon and delimit the boundaries. and gave him necessary instructions. Learning from Mir Jumla that Qutb Shah's officers had occupied his territories besides Khammam and Udgir and had shifted their boundary 160 miles into Mir Jumla's jagirs in the Karnatak, Aurangzeb asked Shah Beg to enquire into the matter himself. Shah Beg found on enquiries that Qutb Shah's claim was false and took 6 months to settle the Udgir affair (Jan-July, 1657).

In the meantime Shahuji Bhonsla taking advantage of the pre-occupation of the Mughals in Bijapur and the Karnatak tried to snatch away some portions of the Karnatak with the help of Siddi Jauhar, the Abyssinian qiladar of Kurnool. But owing to the defection of the latter, Shahuji met defeat after defeat.

On the eve of the War of succession, Aurangzeb imprisoned Mir Jumla at Daulatabad (January, 1658) and confiscated his property and artillery and transferred his Karnatak dominions to his own Government, tried to conciliate the 2 Sultans and urged on Qutb Shah the necessity of guarding the Karnatak. But Qutb Shah forcibly occupied Gandikota and Sidhaut from Mir Jumla's men. It was only after making himself the supreme ruler in Hindusthan that Aurangzeb became comparatively free to turn to the Karnatak and severely threatened the Sultan and asked him to restore them to Mir Jumla, who was about to be released from his mock-prison and appointed Governor of Khandesh.

Yet Qutb Shah persisted in his aggression. After defeating Dara (March 1659) Aurangzeb had again to rebuke the Sultan for not giving up the idea of occupying Mir Jumla's territories in the Karnatak, and threatened to send the Mir to annex Golkunda together with the Karnatak in order to uproot the Sultan. When Shuja left Rajmahal for Tunda, Aurangzeb appointed Mir Ahmad Khwafi entitled Mustafa Khan to the fort of Gandikota.

INTER-STATE RELATIONS IN THE DECCAN
SECTION II
(1529 to 1707).

BY

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Fourth Period : Period of the Balance of Power (1529 to 1593).

Wherever we have a number of States engaged in a competitive struggle, the principle of Balance of Power emerges, either consciously formulated or unconsciously followed. The history of the hectic period from 1529 to 1593 A. D. serves to illustrate the general principles laid down here.

There was a well-defined State-System with its balance of power before the Muslim invasions. The Cholas and the Pandyas, the Gajapatis and the Ganapatis, the Hoysalas and the Yadavas, to mention only the more prominent of the royal families that held sway during the thirteenth century, constituted a compact group with definite home territories and homogeneous populations. The Muslim invasions disrupted this existing State-System and a fresh pattern of Balance of Power came to be formed only with the emergence of new territorial States.

The pursuit of political and economic power by the rival sovereigns convulsed the Deccan which now became a veritable cauldron of human rapacity and passion. It is indeed difficult to analyse the constituent elements in any given situation. Complex motives blended to drive the States to war with each other. Religion was only occasionally a determinant, and even then sometimes invoked as an after thought or a *posteriori* justification. The situation was complicated, too, by the schism in the Muslim world itself between Shias and Sunnis. In 1493 A. D. there was a combination against Yusuf Adil Shah due to his encouragement of the Shia faith. Ali Adil Shah, for a similar reason, had to carry on wars with his neighbours. But Bijapur would certainly have been dragged into interminable war with neighbours, even if religion had not supplied the motive. Religion, indeed was a pretext as the main actors themselves realised. It would therefore be misleading to over-emphasis the role of religion in Inter-State relationships.

The dismemberment of the Bahmani kingdom and the establishment of the five Sultanates created an unprecedented situation. Above everything else it introduced the idea of division and partition so fruitful of discord and strife. At first the rival Sultans were absorbed in their anxiety to secure their hold over

the territories they had grabbed for themselves, and could give little attention to the doings of Vijayanagara which was thus enabled to establish its sway over the entire land south of the Tungabhadra, and even expand at the expense of the northern neighbours. Thus Krishna Deva Raya siezed the southern portions of the Gajapati kingdom and the Raichur Doab of the Bijapur State. His imperial aggressions were possible partly because the Deccan Sultanates were fighting with each other. Bijapur was involved in wars with Ahmadnagar and Bidar. When the Hindu Emperor was away in his Southern and North-Eastern campaigns, the Muslim Sultans could have created a diversion by invading Vijayanagara territory. And it is significant that they did not. Later, when he launched his grand offensive against Bijapur in 1520 A. D., he was actually able to count upon the approval of the Sultans of Berar, Ahmadnagar and Golconda.

The Muslim Sultans, it would appear, regarded Vijayanagara as a possible ally in their mutual quarrels. They found it convenient sometimes to enlist the support of the Hindu Power. They even entered into secret alliances with it. Vijayanagara thus came to assume the position of arbiter and hold the scales even. Its power and prestige consequently became vastly enhanced. The old imperial ambitions were not wholly dead, and occasionally assumed aggressive form which eventually compelled the Sultanates to recognise the potential threat to their own existence.

About the year 1525 A. D., the Deccan Sultanates were divided into two groups: the Imad, the Adil, and the Qutb Shahs on one side, and the Nizam and the Barid Shahs on the other. Sometime after the year 1526 A. D., Burhan Nizam Shah attacked Berar and Khandesh. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat intervened and invaded Ahmadnagar territory. Burhan, in alarm, sent congratulatory letters to Babar, the Mughal, and urgent appeals to Ismael Adil Shah, Amir Barid Shah and Sultan Quli Qutb Shah for help. The Qutb Shah had formerly moved against Amir Barid as an ally of the Adil Shah. He now revised his policy and entered into an alliance with him against Ismael Adil Shah, and actually despatched troops to help the Barid Shah. As regards Burhan's appeal against Bahadur Shah, he preferred to play his own game. He sent an envoy to Bahadur Shah making friendly overtures.

The Qutb Shah's conduct necessitated a diplomatic revolution. Thus in A. D. 1532, the Nizam Shah entered into a treaty with the Adil Shah partitioning the Deccan among themselves; Burhan was to be permitted to annex Berar, and Ismael to annex Golconda. At the same time, the inveterate schemer Amir Barid seems to have been detached from Sultan Quli who thus found himself in a position of perilous isolation, and his kingdom

invaded by the Allied Powers. It was fortunate for him that Ismael Adil Shah should die in 1534 in the midst of the campaign. The coalition immediately collapsed. Sultan Quli, taking advantage of the old rivalry between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, succeeded in winning over the Nizam Shah to his side. The alliance was negotiated by the famous Shah Tahir.

About the year 1535 Bijapur waged an unsuccessful war with Vijayanagara. In 1542 a combination was formed between Ahmadnagar and Bidar against Bijapur. Golconda was already an ally of Ahmadnagar and with the adhesion of Vijayanagara, the alliance became a Quadruple Alliance. In 1543 the confederate armies invaded Bijapur from different sides. But Ibrahim Adil Shah succeeded for the time in detaching Burhan Shah and Sadasiva Raya. Next year, however, Burhan Shah renewed the confederacy and invaded Bijapur territory. He was defeated and driven back. He then tried once again to rebuild the confederacy against Bijapur. This time Ali Barid refused to join it and even insulted the venerable Shah Tahir who had gone to him as Burhan's envoy. He felt that his true interests were linked with the Sunni kingdom of Bijapur. On this, war ensued between Bidar and Ahmadnagar, and Ali Barid suffered reverses in spite of the assistance of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

Jamshed Qutb Shah who came to the Golconda throne in 1543 was an astute diplomat, a man of considerable political sagacity who knew how to exploit the jealousies of his neighbours and contrive to be on the winning side, so that he could derive some advantage for himself out of their quarrels. On his accession, he allied himself with Burhan Shah and Sadasiva Raya. Along with Burhan he entered into conspiracy with Asad Khan of Bijapur to raise Abdullah, Ibrahim Adil Shah's brother to the throne, but when the allied armies marched against Bijapur, they found that Asad Khan was not prepared to join them as he suspected them of the intention of partitioning the Bijapur kingdom between themselves.

Ali Barid Shah, we are told, conceived the idea of conquering Telengana for himself while he nominally championed the cause of Hyder and Ibrahim, the brothers of Jamshed Qutb Shah. The story may be only imaginary, but it is significant that the historian mentions it and says that Shah Tahir induced Burhan Nizam Shah to proceed to the help of Jamshed pointing out that the balance of power in the Deccan would be dangerously disturbed if the Barid Shah could conquer Telangana.

Jamshed Qutb Shah frequently changed sides and suddenly deserted his allies in the midst of a campaign. He was tortuous in his diplomacy trying to involve the other States in conflicts for his advantage. Wishing to dissolve the connection between Bidar and Bijapur, he prevailed upon Burhan, we are told, to

come to terms with Ibrahim Adil Shah on the mutual understanding that Burhan should be free to attack unmolested the Raja of Vijayanagara. When Barid, hard pressed by Burhan, fled to Bijapur not knowing of the secret alliance, he was siezed and imprisoned, while Ibrahim marched against Vijayanagara reducing many places. His acquisitions, however, alarmed Burhan who felt that the balance of power would thereby be upset in the Deccan. So he suddenly attacked Sholapur in spite of his alliance with Bijapur. The Nizam Shah, the Adil Shah and the Barid Shah, all three of them now tried to court the alliance of the Qutb Shah. The Barid Shah even promised to cede to Golconda whatever territory that Jamshed desired if only he would secure his release. The astute Qutb Shah knew how to play the game of diplomacy. He steered clear of complications with the Adil and Nizam Shahs by maintaining his neutrality. At the same time, he won over the Barid Shah by helping him back to his kingdom.

It is evident that the general atmosphere in the Deccan began to deteriorate rapidly. It had now become a historic duel between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, the bone of contention being the towns contiguous to the territories of both the sovereigns. The other rulers were drawn into the quarrel, inspired by new ambitions or goaded by old fears.

Vijayanagara was now piloted by Rama Raya, the ablest diplomat of the age, who understood every move on the chess-board of Deccan politics. His towering ambition had no bounds. He saw an admirable opportunity for imperialistic aggrandisement in the quarrels of the Muslim potentates. He would play one against the other, thus gradually weakening them all.

Burhan, who had set his heart upon recovering Sholapur, entered into an alliance with Vijayanagara. Golconda was induced to join the confederacy to destroy Bijapur. Sholapur was stormed by Burhan, and Raichur was siezed by Rama Raya. The death of Burhan brought the cessation of hostilities for the time, but Ibrahim's resolve to recapture Sholapur led to a fresh outbreak. This time, the Bijapur Sultan won over Rama Raya to his side.

On the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah, a new balance of power was effected in the Deccan. In 1558 an alliance was formed between Ibrahim Qutb Shah and Hussain Nizam Shah on the basis of a partial partition of Bijapur territories. Finding it difficult to cope with this combination single-handed, the Adil Shah appealed to Rama Raya for help. Rama Raya immediately marched to his assistance, but he hoped to effect peace between the contending Powers by diplomacy, first by detaching Ibrahim Qutb Shah. The letter he wrote to the Qutb Shah contains the memorable words: "Be it known to your Majesty that it is now years since the two Courts of Beejapoor and Ahmednagar have

been in a constant state of warfare, and that the balance of power between them was so equal, that although every year each of these sovereigns had been in the habit of making a campaign on the other's frontier, yet no advantage accrued to either." He then urged Ibrahim to return to his capital relinquishing the offensive in the name of the long friendship that subsisted between Golconda and Vijayanagara. Ibrahim himself had learnt his lessons in diplomacy and statecraft at the Court of Vijayanagar and was an apt pupil of Rama Raya in this respect. He always changed sides with dramatic suddenness with a view to embracing the strongest party.

Ibrahim Qutb Shah had soon reason to repent for having broken away from his alliance with Ahmadnagar on the insistence of Rama Raya. His kingdom was invaded on two sides, by Toofal Khan, Minister of the Imad Shah, and by Yeltim Raj, the brother of Rama Raya. A considerable portion of the Golkonda kingdom on the southern frontier from Kovilconda to the east coast was thus lost. The Qutb Shah felt the necessity of escaping from his position of perilous isolation by reverting to the traditional alliance with Ahmadnagar, now cemented by marriage of Beeby Jumally, Hussain Nizam Shah's daughter. In accordance with the terms of the alliance, he marched to Kalyani to help the Nizam Shah in his siege. In this extremity Ali Adil Shah appealed to Vijayanagara which responded by despatching a mighty army to his help. At the same time, Ali Barid Shah and Toofal Khan also joined the Adil Shah. Ibrahim Qutb Shah, as was his wont, now changed sides, broke faith and left Hussain Nizam Shah who was compelled to retreat to his own kingdom.

All this time, the one Power to profit by the mutual hostilities of the Muslim Sultanates was Vijayanagara. With every accession of strength, it became an object of dread to its neighbours. In the recent campaign when the Confederate allies had marched upon Ahmadnagar, the troops of Vijayanagara, it was alleged, had polluted the masjids.

Each of the four Sultanates now recognised the threat to its own existence. In the presence of the common peril, the Muslim world closed up its strifes and banded together.

It was to be once again a *Jihad*. Rama Raya's insolence could only be curbed "by a league of the Faithful against him," for the whole land of Islam "was groaning under the oppression of the idolators."

Mustafa Khan Ardistani, one of the greatest Ministers of Golconda, and one of the greatest diplomats of the age, conducted negotiations between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, and brought them together through mutual matrimonial alliances. Ali Barid also joined the Confederacy. The four Princes marched against Vijayanagara, and on Tuesday 23, 1565 the great battle of Talikota was fought, one of the most decisive events in the history of India.

The Muslim Sultans were not unanimous as regards war aims and peace aims. Each Prince had his own mental reservations. Although religion was invoked, as so often in Indian history, it served as a cloak and a pretext.

Hindu India reeled under the blow. Vijayanagara never again became itself. It never rose to the stature when it could upset the balance of power in the South.

Talikota upset the balance of power but did nothing to determine it anew. Inter-State diplomacy continued to be chaotic, and Deccan politics entered on a more unstable phase, now that Vijayanagara could not hold the scales even.

The great Confederacy of 1565 broke up immediately its objective was gained. It lacked elements of permanence as its only cohesive principle was the common dread of Vijayanagara. It was not the response to common needs and interests, or community of ideals. If it had been, then it could have proved the salvation of the Deccan when the Great Mughal at long last moved his armies southward.

Fifth Period : Period of Mughal Imperialism and

National Reactions.

1595 A. D.—1707 A. D.

A new epoch commences with the Mughal invasion of the Deccan. It may not be possible to discuss in detail the diplomacy of this period in detail as space will not permit. Attention, therefore, will be directed mainly to broad and general features.

Akbar was an imperialist to the core. When he attacked the Deccan States, he was unconsciously fulfilling the destiny of every *Ekachatrapati* before him who had brought the whole of Northern India under his sway.

The Mughal advance into the Deccan began in 1593 A. D. The Deccan States continued to quarrel among themselves. Bijapur was again at war with Golconda. Ahmadnagar and Vijayanagara were involved also. Patriotic rulers and ministers, indeed, tried to mobilise the resources of their States and rouse up their peoples to heroic endeavour. The names of Sultan Chand Bibi and Malik Ambar have justly become famous. Coalition after coalition was formed again and again. But all to no purpose. The rulers had too divergent aims to keep together for long. Each of the Deccan kingdoms, again, became a prey to party strifes between the *Deccanis* and the *Pardesis*.

Sometimes, when one of the Deccan States was attacked by the Great Mughal, the other States made common cause against the aggressor. When after 1626 A. D. Shah Jahan attacked Ahmadnagar, Bijapur came to its aid, forgetting for the time its traditional enmity. But Ahmadnagar preferred to submit leaving Bijapur to bear the full brunt of the Mughal attack.

Meanwhile, beneath the surface of the State-System of the Deccan, new forces were slowly germinating, especially in Maharashtra and Telangana, which were later to impart a revolutionary impulse to the great efforts of Shivaji and Madanna in rousing their peoples.

The part played by the Marathas in the earlier years of this period in the politics of the Deccan is to a great extent confusing. Their chiefs had served the Sultans loyally and, sometimes, their efforts were dictated by patriotic motives. Thus after 1635 Shahaji tried to revive the kingdom of Ahmadnagar under its boy-king. But soon the Marathas perhaps realised the futility of bolstering up the decrepit kingdoms. Their great Captain had already caught a glimpse of the destiny that awaited him and his people. He carried them aloft on the wings of his genius to soaring heights of heroic achievement, and welded them into a great nation. The means he employed were perhaps necessitated by the exigencies of the situation in the country, and certainly were not below the ethics of the age. He harassed Bijapur several times and levied tribute. In 1665-6, he even combined with Jai Singh, the Mughal general, in attacking Bijapur. Some time later, in 1673-4, he annexed Bijapur territory. In 1667, he levied contributions from Golconda too. But whatever the means he adopted, he succeeded in raising an elemental force, the spirit of nationality to combat with the aggressive imperialism of the great Mughal; and it was this new force that frustrated every design of Aurangzeb and ultimately involved the Mughal Empire in irretrievable ruin.

Deccan politics, indeed, reached a crisis in the time of Aurangzeb. His advent to the Deccan as Viceroy inaugurated a new era. The final conquest, however, had to be postponed for obvious reasons.

When Aurangzeb found time at long last to turn seriously to the Deccan, phenomenal changes had taken place meanwhile, and Mughal imperialism had to encounter the resurgent nationalities of Maharashtra and Telangana. Shivaji had roused his people to a sense of their great destiny. Madanna had united the whole of Golconda in unflinching loyalty and love for the truly national king, Abul Hasan Tana Shah. In the reign of his predecessor, there was bitter estrangement between the rulers and the ruled because of the fanatical disregard of the feelings of the Hindus in the despoilation of their temples. The famous Mir Jumla is responsible for some acts of vandalism. But under

Abul Hasan, the Qutb Shahi Government came to be as a "National Government" and foreign adventurers were made to feel that their day was over. A new era began in the history of Telangana. A reconciliation was effected between the ruler and the ruled. The king came to be regarded as the father of his subjects.

Abul Hasan was a wise and patriotic monarch who followed a policy of liberal statesmanship by employing Hindus in high office. What the great Akbar did in the Mughal State, that Abul Hasan tried to do in Telangana. He was a true child of his age, and as king, he tried to unite Hindus and Muslims in a common fellowship. And in this, he was ably sustained by his loyal Minister Madanna whose regime went very far to reconcile the Hindu subjects of Abul Hasan who, under the name "Tana Shah" became a household name. Legends began to grow around the name, and long after his death, his grateful subjects offered prayers in their temples for the spiritual merit and welfare of his Soul.

The Treaty that Madanna negotiated between Abul Hasan and Shivaji was symbolic. It was a Treaty between two awakened peoples. Only, Shivaji was fortunate; Madanna was not.

It is impossible to pursue at greater length the detailed history of the diplomatic relations of the period. The purpose of this paper is served by focussing attention on salient features. The Deccan Wars of Aurangzeb assumed a religious significance because of his resolve to convert *Dar-ul-Harab* into *Dar-ul-Islam*. But this depended entirely upon the character of the Emperor. The Deccan wars were certainly not religious wars, not *Jihads* at all. Aurangzeb was a lone crusader. Those who followed him banner were men of the world. Under the circumstances, the Puritan Emperor was bound to fail.

ASSAMESE HISTORICAL LITERATURE:

A Bibliographical Note

BY

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As considerable interest has been roused among students of Indian history in the indigenous chronicles of Assam, known as Buranjis, an indication is given below of the materials for the information of scholars who want to study the subject in an intensive form.

(1) *Assam Buranji*—By the late Srijut Harakanta Barua Sadar-Amin. A history of Ahom rule in Assam, 1228-1826 A. D., being an enlarged version of *Assam Buranji Puthi* by Kasinath Tamuli Phukan and Radhanath Barbarua, published by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, in 1930.

(2) *Kamrupar Buranji*—detailed history of the Ahom-Mogul conflicts of the Seventeenth Century, with chapters on ancient Kamarupa. D. H. A. S., 1930.

(3) *Deodhai Asam Buranji*—A collection of old chronicles dealing with the earliest period of Ahom history, neighbouring tribes, Ahom customs. It includes the chronicle of Assam by Atan Buragohain Rajmantri Dangaria, Prime Minister of Assam, 1662-1679. D. H. A. S., 1932.

(4) *Tungkhungia Buranji*—A history of the Tungkhungia dynasty of Ahom sovereigns from 1681 to 1806, by Srinath Duara Barbarua, Head of the Executive and the Judiciary from 1800 to 1817. D. H. A. S., 1932. Assamese version.

(5) *Asamar Padya-Buranji*—Two metrical chronicles of Assam dealing with the events of the period from 1679 to 1826, by Dutiram Hazarika and Bisweswar Vaidyadhipa. D. H. A. S., 1933.

(6) *Kachari Buranji*—A history of Cachar from the earliest times to the reign of the Kachari Raja Tamradhwaj Narayan and the Ahom king Swargadeo Rudra Singha. D. H. A. S., 1936.

(7) *Jayantia Buranji*—A history of Jayantia from the earliest times to the reign of the Jayantia Raja Lakshmi Singha and the Ahom king Swargadeo Siva Singha with sidelights on Jayantia matriarchal system, and the history of the Khasi State of Khyrim. D. H. A. S., 1937. Preface by Mr. S. K. Dutta.

(8) *Tripura Buranji*, or *Tripura Desar Katha*—A historical and descriptive account of Tripura with special reference to the events of 1710 to 1715, by Ratna Kandali Sarma Kataki and Arjun Das Bairangi, ambassadors of King Rudra Singha deputed to the Tripura court. From the original manuscript in the British Museum, London. D. H. A. S., 1938.

(9) *Tungkhungia Buranji*—or A History of Assam from 1681 to 1826, being an English translation of the Assamese text, with an extension of the history up to the British occupation of Assam, in 1826. With a Glossary of Assamese historical terms and genealogical tables of Ahom Kings, Published by the Oxford University Press for the D. H. A. S., 1933.

(10) *Assam Buranji*—(Obtained from the family of Sukumar Mahanta. A history of the Ahom Kings from the earliest times to the reign of Swargadeo Gadadhar Singha. The Preface and Introduction in English cover 83 pages. The Introduction deals,

among other subjects with the ideology of the Assamese people and cites a number of illustrative anecdotes. D. H. A. S., 1945.

(11) *Padshah Buranji*—An old Assamese chronicle of the Sultans and Emperors of Delhi, from the defeat of Pithor Raja to Aurangzeb. Published by the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati, in 1935. This chronicle was described by Dr. Bhuyan in a series of articles in the *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, Deccan, in the year 1928, under the heading "New Lights on Mogul India from Assamese Sources." An English translation of *Padshah-Buranji* was also published in the same journal in 1933-34 under the title "Annals of the Delhi Badshahate."

A few more Buranjis have also been published under the editorship of other authors, viz.,

(1) *Assam Buranji arthat Assam Desiya Itihas*—A history of Assam in Bengali by Haliram Dhekial Phukan, Part I, from the Pauranic period to the advent of the British. Printed at the Samachar Chandika Jantra, Calcutta, 1829. Reviewed by Dr. Bhuyan in the Journal of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, B. S. 1333, Vol. 33, No. 1. A supplementary note by Pandit Jatindra Mohan Bhattacharyya was published in a subsequent issue of the Parishat Journal. A review of this book by Tarachand Chakravarti was published in the *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, Vol. 23, 1837, and an analysis forms part of India Office Library Tract No. 166.

(2) *Assam Buranji Puthi*—A history of the Ahom Kings from the earliest times to the British occupation of Assam, by Kasinath Tamuli Phukan and Radhanath Barbarua. First published in 1844 by the American Baptist Mission, Sibsagar. Reprinted and published by Authority in 1906.

(3) *Darrang-Raj-Vamsavali*,—A metrical chronicle of the early rulers of Cooch Behar to the time of Samudra Narayan, Raja of Darrang, written about the year 1798 by Suryya Khari Daivajna. Edited by Pandit Hem Chandra Goswami and published by the Government of Assam, 1917.

(4) *Purani Asam Huranji*,—A chronicle of the Ahom Kings from the earliest times to the reign of Gadadhar Singha. Edited by Pandit Hem Chandra Goswami, and published by the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti in 1922.

(5) *An Account of Assam*,—Being mainly an English translation of two chronicles, one in Assamese and the other in Ahom, by Dr. John Peter Wade, who stayed in Assam in 1792-94. Edited from the original manuscript in the India Office Library, London, by Srijut Benudhar Sarma of Sibsagar, and published by Srijut Rameswar Sarma in 1927.

(6) *Ahom Buranji*,—A chronicle of the Ahom Kings from the earliest times to Swargadeo Purandar Singha. The original text is in Ahom language and script with a parallel rendering in English by Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua. Published by the Government of Assam in 1930.

(7) *Assam Buranji*,—A history of the Ahom Kings from the accession of Swargadeo Jayadhwaj Singha in 1648 to that of Swargadeo Gadahar Singha in 1681 with excerpts from miscellaneous chronicles. Edited by Mr. S. K. Dutta, and published by the D. H. A. S., in 1938.

Information about Assamese Buranjis is also available in the following :

- (a) Dhekial Phukan, Anundoram,—*A few Remarks on the Assamese Language*, Sibsagar, 1855, pp. 45-46. A synopsis of this book was published in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1896.
- (b) Grierson, Sir George—*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I. Part I, Introductory, p. 156.
- (c) Gait, E. A., now Sir,—*Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam*. Shillong, 1897, pp. 16-24.
- (d) Gait, Sir Edward,—Preface to his *History of Assam*, Calcutta, 1st edition, 1906; second edition, 1926.
- (e) Bhuyan, Dr. S. K.,—*Ahomar Din*, Jorhat, 1918, pp. 89-92.
- (f) Bhuyan, Dr. S. K.,—*History of the Reign of Rajeswar Singha*, King of Assam from 1751 to 1769. The chapter on the desecration of Buranjis by Kirti Chandra Barbarua. *Banhi*, Gauhati, Vol. XV, No. 2, Jaistha 1847 Saka, pp. 108-111.

There are several Buranjis, yet unpublished, in the library of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, and some of them have been mentioned in Bulletins I, II and III of the Department. Copies of English translation of some Buranjis, prepared under the direction of Sir Edward Gait, are in possession of Sir Jadunath Sarkar in their manuscript form, vide his *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III 1916, Foreward and Chapters 31-32.

PAPER FOR HISTORY CONGRESS

BY

ASTAVADHANI, VIDWAN, A. SUBBARAYA CHETTY,

M. A., B. ED., B. O. L.

Eighth Session—Annamalainagar, 28th, 30th. and 31st
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Matla Chiefs of Cuddapah District.

Some of the Local chiefs of Cuddapah District deserve more than a passing allusion. By far the most important were the chieftains of 'Matli' or 'Matla' family. They were more than Polygars, for their territory amounted to a principality and from the beginning of the 17th century at least they assumed the title of 'Raja'. (Cud. Dt. Gazetteer).

Matli, a village in the Rayachoti Taluk of Cuddapah District lent itself as the family name of these chiefs of the Deva Choda Lineage. Their rule over the eastern half of the Cuddapah District comprising parts of Badvel, Siddavatam, Cuddapah, and Pullampet Taluks with Anantarajapet as their capital, bestowed on the tract of the country forming part of the Rajampet Taluk, the name 'Matlavarisima,' as being the home territory to which was confined the authority of the later members of the family. (T. D. E. R. Page 320).

Mackenzie manuscript No. 15-6-22 gives under heading 'Matlavari Vamsa Parampara,' 'Matlavari Vamsavali' a long list of chiefs and says that their rule lasted from 1220 A. D. till about 1800 A. D. But Mr. Sewell and Mr. V. Rangachar give the names of about a dozen chiefs of this dynasty, the earliest of whom is said to have been one Matla Kumara Choda Maharaja, and there is an inscription of his time bearing the date of 1522 A. D. Kakutsa vijayam written by one of the rulers of this family says that Bommaraja who may be safely assigned the beginning of the 16th century, was the progenitor of the family.

There are two inscriptions bearing the name of Matla Ananta, the author of Kakutsa vijayam—one of 1600 and another 1605 A. D. In his Sidhout inscription of 1605 (sources of Vijayanagar History by S. K. Iyengar and Madras Epigraphical Report for 1916, para 75, part 2, page 148) recording his extension of the fortifications of Siddavatam, it is stated that Sidhout had been captured by his father Ella and that Matla Ananta himself had instilled fear in the mind of Krishnama of Nandyal. Krishnama Raja of Nandyal who belonged to the family of Arveeti Bukka and to

whom Kalapurnodayam of Pingala Surana was dedicated, lived according to Veeresalingam Pantulu in 1560 A.D. But, since there is an inscription of this Krishnamaraja's grand-father, Naraparaja, granted in 1548 A. D. we cannot agree with Veeresalingam Pantulu. Even if we allow at least 15 to 20 years' rule to Narapa and his son Narasimha each, Krishnama should have come to the throne only after 1580 A. D. Moreover, there is a C. P. inscription of 1571 A. D., recording the grant of some lands in Penagelur of Pullampet Taluq, by Matla Timmaraja or Thirumalaraja who is great-grand-father of Matla Ananta according to his Kakutsa-vijayam. So it is quite improbable that Krishnamaraja of Nandyal in whose mind fear was instilled by Matla Ananta, a great-grand-son of Thirumala, ruled in 1560. Even granting that this inscription of 1521 of Thirumala might be the last inscription of his reign, we have to allow atleast 10 to 15 years to his son Kona and grandson Ella, the father of Ananta, before Ananta came to the throne. So it cannot be earlier than 1590 or so, for the beginning of Ananta's rule. As there is no inscription of Ananta of any date earlier than 1600 or later than 1605, we may safely say that his reign might have lasted for 15 years from 1595 to 1610 A. D.

This view can be further strengthened by the fact that Matla Varadaraja, the predecessor of the above-said Matla Thirumalaraja, lived in 1540 to 1545 A. D. There are two inscriptions of Matla Varadaraja, one at Thirupathi and the other at Conjeevaram, both of 1544 A. D. According to the above-said Kakutsa vijayam, this Varada had married Krishnamamba, the daughter of Vijayanagar and sister of Tirumalamba, the wife of Arviti Ramaraja who came to prominence from about 1540 A. D. by bringing to the throne of Vijayanagar Sadasivaraya in that year. So it is quite possible that Matla Varadaraja who must have been probably of about the same age as Ramaraja, his co-son-in-law, ruled almost at the same time, say from about 1540 to 1560 (say for about 20 years), and was then succeeded by the younger brother of his grand-father, Thirumala or Thimma. Thimma who must have naturally been very old by this time would not have had more than 10 or 12 years' reign. This brings us to 1572 or so, being the last regnal year of Matla Thimma. In his inscription referred to above, it is stated that he was contemporary of Thirumala I of Penugonda. (1565—1572). Moreover, Ella is compared in a 'Chatu Padyam' to Potlapati Thimmaraya of old, *i. e.* who lived long before Ella (perhaps the poet who wrote this poem describing Ella's powers, might have heard of Potlapati Thimmaraja's prowess in his boyhood). There are so many inscriptions, issued by Potlapati Thimmaraja of 1545, 46, and 47 (T. D. E. R. and Chatupadya Manimanjari of Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, page 44). From the available epigraphical and literary evidence of Bala Bhagavatam, this Thimmaraja is said to have lived in the first half of the 16th century. So Ella should have come to power at least 30 to 40 years

after Potlapati Thimmaraja. So we are inevitably brought to 1580 or so, being the beginning regnal year of Ella.

Veeresalingam Pantulu says also that Matla Ananta was one of the four prince-poets invited to his court by Ibrahim Kutub Shah of Golkonda who ruled from 1550 to 1580 and that Ananta told a poem there about his own prowess. But even granting this were true, we cannot agree with Veeresalingam Pantulu that Matla Ananta came to rule before 1580. For, even in his father's time Ananta had become famous as a poet and so wrote his *Kakutsa vijayam* in dedication to his father, to satisfy his father's thirst for becoming the lord or *Kruthi Bharta* of a *Kavya*. Therefore, he referred to himself as a 'Baludu' (a boy) in his poem before Ibrahim Kutub Shah, when compared to other king-poets, invited there. (*Andhra Kavula Charithra*, pp. 254). Even this visit to the court of Ibrahim Kutub Shah would be only after the battle of Talikota (1565).

There is also an inscription of Karnool District of 1584 A. D. which mentions conferring of temple privileges at the Vaishnava temple at Ahobilam, on a Matla chief in commemoration of his grand-father having helped to drive away from the temple, the Golkonda invaders under Kutub Shah after the latter had, in conjunction with the Hande chiefs of Anantapur, who were Saivas occupied the temple for 7 years. This 7 years' occupation must have begun only some years after the battle of Talikota in 1565 and must have ceased before the death of Kutub Shah in 1581. So it must have probably been from 1567 to 1574. During that time the Matla chief must be Thirumala who, according to our theory, ruled from about 1565 to 1575, while his grand-son who received the said temple privileges must be Ella. (V. R. II, Kur. 584: 70 of 1915).

Matla Ananta's reign cannot thus be earlier than 1590 and later than 1610 because there is an inscription of Matla Kumara Ananta, the grand-son of Ananta of 1628 and we have to allow atleast 15 to 20 years' reign to Thiruvengalanatha, the son of Ananta and the father of Kumara Ananta.

So, in conclusion, we have to say that these Matla rulers began their rule in Pottapi (present Cuddapah District) in about 1500 A. D. and Bommaraja as is said in *Kakutsa vijayam* must have been the founder of the family and ruled up to about 1525. Then his son, Somaraja, who probably had only a short reign (so there is nothing left memorable of him) ruled only up to 1530 and then succeeded by his son Pota whose reign too being known for nothing must have been only short, say up to 1535 or 1540. Then Matla Varada whose eventful reign lasted from 1540 right up to the time of the battle of Talikota in 1565 and after till 1570 or so, provided by his inscription of Saka 1465 (1544 A. D.) for certain offerings to the deity and constructed certain Mantapams

at Thirupati in the name of his mother, Chennamma. He is also said to have made a gift of money to the temple at Little Conjeevaram in June 1544 for providing daily offerings to the God and for special offerings on his natal-star day (No. 528 of 1919). He also dug up an irrigation channel called Antar-ganga at Pottapi which was granted to him by Ramaraja Thirumalarajayya deva who, it is said, was minister of Sadasiva in Saka 1480 (1558) and also made a 'Dasavanda' grant for its upkeep. (Epigraphical Report for 1912, Page 88).

Then after Varadaraja, Thirumala came to power and granted some revenue of some lands in the village of Pondalur to the temple of that village in 1570. In 1571 he issued a copper plate inscription renewing the grant of some lands to Brahmin Shoshtiyamdars originally granted by Manumasiddhi in later half of 13th century. At his instance, Thirumala I, Vijayanagar king, made a grant in Saka 1493 (1572 A. D.) recording the grant of Penungalur to Brahmins. (Cud. Dt. Gazetteer 168A, C. P. No. 108 of 1913).

After Thirumala, his son, Kona, came to power and there is nothing to tell of him. After Kona, his son, Ella, came to the throne and from his son's inscriptions and Kakutsa vijayam, Ella seems to have won the battle of Utukur against Kondregi Thirupati Raju and captured Sidhavat. (Sources of Vijayanagar History by S. K. Iyengar, page 288).

Then his son Matla Ananta had an eventful reign equal to that of Varada. He was a poet and warrior. He conquered many battles against many powerful chiefs and extended his authority over the Taluqs of Badvel, Siddhavat and Pullampet. He is said to have constructed also Anantarajapuram and Channampalli (after his own and his wife's names). He constructed the so-called Ellam Raju Cheruvu or Badvel Tank. His Kakut-savijayam can stand fair comparison with any other Kavya of his age in its superb and fault-less style. He ruled from about 1595 to 1610 A. D.

Ananta's eventful reign was followed by the insignificant rule of his son, Thiruvengalanatha, in about 1610 and it should have lasted till about 1625 A. D. For, we have in 1628 A. D. an inscription of his son, Matli Kumara Ananta, recording his deeds of valour and acts of charity at Thirupati and other places. (T. D. Ins. Vol. VI, Part I, Nos. 269 and 270 G. T.).

He constructed in 1628 A. D. so many towers or gopurams including the so-called Kotta Gopuram and Gali Gopuram and Mantapams at Thirupati, Udayagiri and Tiruvallur. He offered various Vahanams or vehicles for Venkatachalapathy and Govindaraja temples at Thirupati and Kalahasti temple. He also constructed a Sopana Marga (pathway with a flight of steps) at

Thirupati. Many Parakarawalls Gopuras, and Mantapams, of both Vishnu and Siva temples, at Nandalur, Ontimetta, Siddhavat, Chandragiri, Pushpagiri, Devuni caddapah, and Rayachoti were constructed by him. He established free feeding houses at various places throughout his domain for the benefit of travellers performing pilgrimage on foot between Rameswaram and Badri over the Himalayas. He performed all kinds of gifts to Brahmins to enable them to perform their Adhvara (Yoga) regularly. He calls himself in this inscription as the son of Matla Thiruvengalanatha and Chennamamba and lord of Anantarajapuram. He constructed also a huge tank at Chennur and Sree Pada Mantapa adored by Brahma, Siva, and other Devatas, by the side of the lovely and spacious Seshachela. He established some Agraharama also.

His deeds of valour:—He fought out fiercely as Siva, the battles of Palagiri, Animela, Pileru, Chappali, and Vempali; destroyed the armies of the enemies at Kottigola, Palkada, Gunduru, and also at Komallakalva. He exercised his authority over the tract of the country lying between the Venkata (Thirupati) and Ahobala hills. At Animela (Kamalapuram Taluq) there is an inscription recorded as Cd. 402 c. by which Matla Kumara Ananta made a grant in Saka 1566 (1644 A. D.).

In the 'Epigraphical Glossory' on Thirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions (Vo. VI, Part II, Table 34), a geneology is given of these Matla Chiefs: According to this geneology, this Matla Kumara Ananta is stated to have ruled from 1600 to 1656 A. D. But in view of the above facts Matla Ananta or Pedda Ananta's Siddhaout Inscription of 1605 A. D. and of the evidence of Kakutsa-vijaya, we cannot accept this theory, that Kumara Ananta came to power in 1600 A. D. and consequently we have given 1625 being the first regnal year of Kumar Ananta.

Then his son Venkatarama came to power and there are inscriptions recording his grants, of 1684, 1688 and 1690. After Venkatarama, or in his old age, his brother Kumara Ananta II came to power and a C. P. Inscription of 1697 (Saka 1619) records a grant made jointly by both these brothers (V. R. I—C. O. 644). Between these brothers and Perumala, who is stated to have constructed a sluice for the big tank at Lebaka in 1712 there intervenes one Triruvengalanatha II of whom there are two inscriptions of 1707 and 1709. This Perumala is stated to have been the son of Venkatakrishna by mistake. It must be Venkatarama I, for there is none called Venkatakrishna before or after him in that family.

After Perumala the power of the Matlas began to decline and their head-quarters had in the meanwhile been shifted to Chitvel in the time of Abdul Nabi Khan. Their gradual degeneracy to the plundering life of Polygars enraged Tippu who undermined their power and Munro extinguished them altogether towards the end of the 18th century.

BILVAMANGALA LILA SUKA : HIS DATE AND IDENTITY

BY

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The date and identity of the Bilvamangala Swamiars was discussed in the Indian Historical Quarterly, June, 1931, by A. Govinda Warrior. It was stated therein that there were three well known Swamiars. The first Bilvamangala was an immediate successor of Sri Sankaracharya. The second Bilvamangala was placed in the 13th century. The third Swamiar lived in the 17th century. The problem of that writing was the identification of the Bilvamangala who wrote *Krishnakarnamrta*. It was concluded that the first Bilvamangala was the author of *Krishnakarnamarta* and therefore lived in the 9th century A. D. Dr. M. Krishnamachariar says that Bilvamangala Lilaksuka lived in the 13th century without assigning reasons.

There is a tradition preserved by the followers of Sri Madhvacharya (1199—1295 A. D.) that he had a favourite disciple of his known as Bilvamangala. Every complete, collected, work of the Acharya concludes with the phrase "Bilvamangalah Sadhu." [*Vide* Kumbakonam edition of Sri Madhva's works]. This phrase is appended to the works and is quite unconnected with it and unnecessary for the understanding of the original book. Why was the name of Bilvamangala inserted there?

One explanation says that Bilvamangala pointed out to his master that only 8 letters were wanting to make up the 32 letters of that *anushtub sloka*, the 32nd thousandth sentence written by the Guru. It has been calculated that the Acharya wrote 32,000 granthas; i.e., sentences of 32 letters, in all. The Master was immensely pleased at his alert and earnest disciple and ordered that his disciple's name should be added to that last sentence to make up the 32 letters of that granth, and coined the phrase "Bilvamangalah Sadhu". This phrase is just composed of 8 letters. Thus Bilvamangala was immortalised in the works of the Philosopher.

It seems to me that this Bilva Mangala was Lila Suka, the author of *Krishnakarnamrta* for the following reasons. The Acharya was a devout worshipper of Sri Krishna whose temple he established in Udupi, which is today famous for the temple alone; and sang of His glory in soul stirring hymns known as the *Dwadasa stotra*. It is not unlikely that Lila Suka got his devotion to Sri Krishna from his guru Sri Madhvacharya.

Another, support can be also adduced here. The Acharya is the author of a work called *Krishnamrita*, *Maharnava* "कृष्णामृत महाखण्ड". This is a book of Vaishnava devotion, exalting Vishnu and prescribing the rituals of his worship. It is quite natural for his disciple Lila Suka to sing of the glories of Sri Krishna, in imitation of his Master. So Lila Suka named his lyric *Krishna Karna Mrita* in imitation of his Master's *Krishna Mrita Maharnava*.

The very surname of the poet, Lila Suka, seems an evidence of the Bhagavata cult introduced by Sri Madhvacharya in the west coast. It is well known that *Srimad Bhagavata* is the favourite book of the followers of the Acharya of Udipi. Bilva Mangala might have been awarded the title "*Lila Suka*" by his guru owing to his fervid devotion to Sri Krishna recalling Suka muni's love of Bhagavata.

These cumulative evidences will tend to the identification of Lila Suka with the 2nd Bilvamangala Swamiar and therefore his date might be the middle of the 13th century.

MANCHALA AND RAGHAVENDRA SWAMI (1623—1671-A. D.)

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Manchala is a srotrium village, 10 miles from the Tungabadra Railway Station (M. S. M. Ry.). It contains the tomb of the saint, famous all over the South, as Sri Raghavendra Swami. The village is a place of pilgrimage and the refuge of the sick and sorrowful. Like Lourdes in Europe hundreds of people are found here, every day, praying for the favour of the saint. Many are the cases of cure reported from here. The village is also the head-quarters of the Mutt, known as the Sri Raghavendra Swami Mutt. A brief sketch of the earthly career of the Saint, his place in the world of scholarship, and an account of his followers deserves to be known better, far and wide.

The Mutt. belongs to the dualistic school of Vedanta, as established by Sri Madhvacharya (1200—1294 A. D.). Tenth from him in spiritual descent was Sri Vibudhendra Tirtha, the teacher of Sripadaraya, the Guru of Saluva Narasinga (1467-98) of Vijayanagar who honoured his Guru's teacher by granting him

lands and honours. After him came Sri Vijayindra Tirth who reigned over the pontifical seat for more than half a century (1539—1595 A. D.). He was a contemporary and friendly rival of the famous scholar Appayya Dikshita, and reputed as the author of one hundred and four Sanskrit works. Aliya Rama Raya honoured Sri Vijayindra with Ratnabhisheka and gift of villages. His subordinate Sevvappa Naik of Tanjore (1532—1580 A. D.) emulated his Master by granting to the scholar saint the village of Arivilimangalam in Tanjore. Sri Raghavendra Tirtha (1623—1671) was the spiritual grandson of Sri Vijayindra Tirtha and whose tomb is the object of reverence by many today.

Saint Raghavendra was known as Veena Venkanna Bhatta in his youth. He was descended from the hereditary, court musicians of Vijayanagar. After 1565 A. D., the father of Venkanna migrated from Vijayanagar to Tanjore for patronage and livelihood. In his boyhood, Venkanna mastered all branches of learning first from his brother and later from Sri Sudhindra Tirtha the successor of Sri Vijayindra Tirtha.

In 1623 A. D. Venkanna Bhatta was installed on the spiritual throne of Vijayindra Tirtha and reigned over the hearts of his disciples till 1671 A. D. a period of 48 years. Thus it will be noticed that he was a contemporary of Sivaji and Ramadas.

According to his contemporary biographer, Raghavendra made two triumphal tours throughout India, winning many adherents to his creed. In the South, Yajnanarayana Dikshita the minister of Tanjore court accepted the tenets of dualism; Nilakanta Diskshita, of Madura court carried the works of the saint on the back of elephant, in solemm procession, in the streets of Madura. The Sultan of Bijapur "Jagatguru," honoured the ascetic with grant of white umbrella and other honours. The biography incidentally remarks on the intellectual condition of South India at that time "ग्रामे, ग्रामे, तद्गृहाणां सहस्रं, गेहे गेहे परिडतो एव सर्वे"।

It was during these religious tours, Raghavendra met rulers and statesmen and won their esteem. Doddappa Deva Raya of Mysore (1659-1671) expressed his high regard for Raghavendra by the gift of Nallur Village in Seringapatam in 1666 A. D. Another admirer of the saint was Venkanna Pant the right-hand man of Sidi Assadulla Khan. Venkanna was the governor of Adoni under the Khan and his rule is commemorated there by the well, famous as Venkanna's well. It is also known that he died fighting, in defence of Adoni against the forces of Aurangzeb. It was this Venkanna who gave away the ancient village of Manchala as the final resting place of the saint.

During his spiritual ministry extending over half a century, Raghvendra Swami, laboured hard, in succouring the poor, the sick, and needy, in those days of political turmoil. It is well known that from 1640 to 1680 A. D. South India was the scene

of relentless warfare between Mysore, Vijayanagar, Bijapur, Golkonda and the Mughals. The choice of Manchala as a resting place is quite significant of his courage and kindness. It was on the high-road of the contending armies, and the saint sought to create an asylum for the oppressed and needy; hence his choice. Sage Raghavendra is also the author of nearly 45 works in Sanskrit, commenting and elucidating the tenets and texts of Sri Madhva-charya and Sri Vyasa Raya of Vijaynagar (1487-1539 A. D.) He was a master of simple, lucid style, capable of presenting abstruse problems for the comprehension of even the average intellect.

About the year 1801 A. D. Major Munro desired to resume the enormous jaghirs granted by the previous rulers for the maintenance of the tomb of Raghavendra. What happened at that time is better described in the gazetteer of Bellary (P 205) "Munro came to make enquiries. After removing his boots and taking off his hat, he approached the grave. The saint, then emerged from the tomb and conversed with visitor for some time regarding the resumption. The saint was visible and audible to none but Munro. The discussion ended, Munro, returned to his tent, and quashed the proposal to resume the endowment."

It is now more than 265 years after his entry into Samadhi; yet Raghavendra is worshipped and honoured by all classes and communities in the South.

Raghavendra was succeeded by able scholars like Sumatindra and Vadindra and others, whose works are found in the Tanjore Palace Library. The present head of the Mutt is known as Sri Suyamindra Tirtha, who is the recipient of Rs. 510 per mensem from the Government of Mysore.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SHIVAJI AND THE FRENCH.

BY

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The Maratha-French relations date from the very year of the establishment of the French settlements in India.¹ It was at

1. Though the French East India Company was actually started in France in the year 1664, it was only in 1668 that the French were able to establish contact with India. In that year, M. Francois Caron arrived in India as Director-General of the French East India Company, and immediately established a French factory at Surat; a settlement which was soon followed by others on the Malabar Coast at Rajapur, Mirjan and Tellichery, and on the Coromandel Coast at Masulipatam. (Kaepelin. *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales et Francois Martin* p. 55).

Rajapur that these two peoples first came into contact with each other, the French factory at that place having been established towards the end of the year 1668. Thus, the Karwar factors, writing on the 16th December 1668, report to head-quarters at Surat. "They (the French) have settled at Rajapore and have met Sevagy, who gave them some clothes and a phirmaund to trade freely in all his ports."¹ Martin, on his way to Surat (from Madagaskar) arrived at Calicut on the 17th January 1669. He writes in his diary that he met Messieurs Faes and J. Boureau, who had come there from Surat to deal in pepper. He learnt from them that they had been to Rajapur and "there had seen Raja Shivaji by whom they were well received, allowed to trade and establish themselves in his lands."² These relations were, indeed, purely commercial, at least in so far as the French were concerned. But on the side of the Marathas, they were not without political motives. The Siddi of Janjira had become a source of constant trouble to Shivaji. He had on numerous occasions plundered and burnt villages and towns under Maratha rule, and had subjected the inhabitants to inhuman treatment. This he could do with comfortable ease from his castle of Danda-Rajapuri on the mainland. It was but natural that Shivaji should set his heart on capturing this castle, and for achieving this purpose, he wanted help from the European nations, particularly in the supply of arms and ammunition. Even as early as February 1662, Randolph Taylor, in his letter to Surat, had written: "The Raja (Shivaji) would gladly afford the Company any place convenient for them in his possession with several other advantages if they would assist him in the taking of the Danda-Rajapore castle."³

It were the French alone who helped Shivaji by supplying him arms and ammunition. Here again, the English Records give us useful information. A dispatch from Bombay to Surat of the 5th September 1670 hints at the possibility of Shivaji buying lead or guns from the French factory at Rajapur.⁴ The letter from Swally Marine to the Company, dated 12th January 1674, reports ".....On the 25th August arrived here the French shipp the Orient Sunn. They have privately sent down to Rajapore to supply Shivaji's fleet 88 small guns most of them, and 2000 Maunds of lead..."⁵

It was but natural that the nation that helped him would be treated kindly and with special concessions by Shivaji. M. Blot, a Director of the French Company, writing to Colbert, the celebrated French Minister of Louis XIV on the 25th March 1672,

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1. *English Records on Shivaji* 1, p. 128.
 2. Martineau, *Memoires de Francois Martin*, 1, p. 186.
 3. *English Records on Shivaji*, 1, p. 48.
 4. *Eng. Rec. Shiv*, 1, p. 161.
 5. *Eng. Rec. Shiv*, 1, p. 318.

refers to the good dispositions of Shivaji towards the French.¹ Even the English appeared to look askance at the friendly attitude of the Marathas towards the French. They complained on one occasion (27th June 1673) that the Marathas had released a French Hoy which they had captured while they did not do so in the case of the English.² The letter dated 20th April 1675 from Rajapur to Bombay shows that while the English found it difficult to get an interview with Shivaji during his visit to Rajapur, the French had a smooth course in obtaining it.³

M. Baron, the Director of the French East India Company, had kept especially good relations with Shivaji and seemed to be much interested in his affairs. He had also entered into secret negotiations with Shivaji.⁴ In 1675, Baron stayed for some weeks at Rajapur. There he had several meetings with the Maratha Prime Minister,⁵ and had also made an unsuccessful attempt at forming a league between Shivaji and Bijapur.⁶ Even Francois Martin, who was much prejudiced against Shivaji and his troops, took advantage of the personal relations of M. Baron with Shivaji to save and protect the French colony at Pondicherry during Shivaji's expedition into the Carnatic (1677).⁷

Another Frenchman Abbe Carre, had also a very happy experience with Shivaji's men. In 1668, while passing Shivaji's ports, he writes: "We were treated in a manner which was beyond our expectation."⁸ Five years latter, Carre had an occasion to halt at Chaul for some time, where the Maratha governor showed great hospitality towards him and when he learnt that Carre was a Frenchman and that he was on his way to Rajapur, he expressed great pleasure at having an opportunity to be of service to him, and gave him letters for all the places he was to pass through.⁹ The same year, while on his way from Surat to St. Thome, he passed through Shivaji's territory and everywhere "received nothing but courtesy from King Shivaji's officers and troops."¹⁰

1. Blot to Colbert, AC C62, f. 166., in Kaepelin, pp. 83-84.

2. *Eng. Rec. Shiv.* 1, p. 271.

3. *English Records on Shivaji*, 11, p. 46.

4. Baron to Colbert, 7, January 1672, AC. C.² 62, f. 125, in Kaepelin, op. cit., p. 83.

5. Baron to de la Haye, 20 Dec. 1675, AC. C.² 62, f. 316-317., in Kaepelin, p. 155, cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 285.

6. Martineau, 11, p. 22.

7. Martineau, 11, p. 104.

8. Sen, *Shivaji, Foreign Biographies*, p. 205.

9. Sen, pp. 244-245.

10. Sen, pp. 249-250 (Carre believed that Shivaji obliged the French in the siege of St. Thome, laid by the Golkonda troops.)

The friendly relations between the two peoples stood the French in good stead during Shivaji's plundering excursion to Surat. In fact, Shivaji took care to warn the French beforehand of his impending attack by an autograph letter, in which they were advised not to disturb themselves.¹ During the actual fight and the sack of the city, the attitude of the French was severely criticised, particularly by their rivals—the Dutch and the English. While Abbe Carre talks in glowing terms about the brave appearance put on by the French,² the Dutch Resident at Surat records that they (the French) did not move at all, although two of their native servants were killed by Shivaji's men.³

The closest contact of the French with the Marathas was, however, at Pondicherry. This French settlement lay in the Bijapur Carnatic.

When Shivaji marched towards Jinji, the position of the French was very embarrassing. They had captured a ship belonging to the King of Golkonda (1676) and had stormed the fort of Valdour (Sept. 1676). After the fall of Jinji, it was certain that the French would be forthwith attacked by the Maratha. Martin, at this juncture, had consultations with the men of the lodge on the state of affairs and it was decided to send an envoy to Shivaji with a letter representing to him that the French had a factory in his territories at Rajapur and that as such they prayed to be preserved in these parts *i. e.* at Pondicherry.⁴ The envoy was given instructions about the replies to the complaints that were most likely to be made against the French. The envoy met Shivaji at Vellor, from which place he wrote to Martin (17th June 1677) that he had been well received by Shivaji with whom he had secured three audiences through the good offices of Janardanpant (Hanmante), a minister of his. The first audience revolved round the complaints against the French, *viz.* their storming of the fortress of Valdour belonging to Nasir Muhammad and their capture of Golkonda ship in the Masulipatam Road. The French envoy satisfied Shivaji on both the charges. In the second audience, Shivaji suggested the return of the fortress of Valdour to Nasir Muhammad, from whom it had been captured for the benefit of Sher Khan. The envoy replied that Sher Khan, being their friend, the French had obligations to him and would thus desist from any hostilities against him. Shivaji then demanded the help of the French in the capture of the fortress of Vellore.

1. I. O. D. Records, Vol. 29, No. DCCIXIII, 19 Nov. 1670, in Balkrishna, *Shivaji the Great*, 11, 2, p. 330.

2. Sen, p. 214; cf. Martineau, 1, p. 294.

3. MSS. Dutch Records, Vol. 29, No. DCCCLXIII, in Sen, p. 382; cf. *Eng. Rec. Shiv.*, 1, p. 175. Balkrishna, 1, 2, p. 320.

4. Martineau, 11, p. 94; cf. Kaepelin, p. 163; Sarkar, p. 313; Balkrishna, 11, p. 275.

The envoy pleaded the inability of the French to leave Pondicherry. Shivaji then wished to strike a bargain for leaving the French in peace, but was told that they had nothing in the lodge at Pondicherry, as there was no trade on account of their war with the Dutch. At the third audience, Shivaji assured the envoy that the French could stay in complete security at Pondicherry on condition that they remained strictly neutral. Failure to observe the condition, he warned the envoy, would result in the instant expulsion of the French from the Carnatic as well as from Rajapur. In the meanwhile, he said, a Havaldar would be sent to Pondicherry to whom the French were expected to give the same treatment they gave to the officers of Sher Khan. The envoy was entrusted with a letter for Martin in the form of a firman.¹ Shivaji's minister also wrote to Martin in the same terms.¹

Shivaji returned to the Deccan in the month of September 1677, leaving behind him Raghunath Narayan Hanmante as governor-general of the country, recently acquired in the Carnatic. He had previously appointed two officers for the administration of the French colony. They arrived at Pondicherry on the 17th July.² Thus, Martin came into day-to-day contact with the Marathas. This contact, however, was not happy. On the one hand, Martin had his prejudices against the Marathas, and on the other, the latter suspected the French of keeping secret relations with Sher Khan.

Martin's prejudices against the Marathas were due to what he actually saw and heard on his way from Surat to Masulipatam. At the very start, he was informed that the usual route from Surat to Golkonda was infested by Shivaji's troops, who were devastating the country and plundering the caravans. Thereupon, Martin had to change his route. On the way, he saw a number of places which were in complete disorder and were still in smoke, although the raid had taken place a month before.³ It is no wonder then that Martin considered Shivaji and his men as brutal people.⁴ This prejudice was further strengthened by the tyrannical administration of the Marathas at Pondicherry. But there seemed to be some ground for this attempt on the part of the Maratha officers to harass the French colony. They knew that the relations of the French with Sher Khan were very friendly. Martin had maintained with him a regular correspondence, in which he showed sympathy for him in his misfortunes.⁵ The Marathas feared lest

1. Marrineau, 11, pp. 94-97.

2. Martineau, 11, pp. 109-111.

3. Ibid., p. 97.

4. Ibid., 1, pp. 254-256.

5. The exaggerated accounts of the Sack of Surat had reached Martin's ears.

Sher Khan should get into touch with Bijapur troops and be assisted by the French in regaining the lost ground. They were thus determined to expel the French from Pondicherry.¹ They also maltreated the Brahman envoy of the French, because his brother happened to manage the affairs of Bahlol Khan (Sher Khan's patron and commander-in-chief of the Bijapur forces) at Porto Novo.² Attempts were also made to tax the country people in the service of the French. The latter lodged several protests with the governor-general at Jinji against the tyranny of the Maratha officers, but to no avail, and this went on till the death of Shivaji in 1680.³

To make matters worse for the French, the Dutch started intriguing with the Marathas. In September 1678, the chief of the Dutch factory at Tegnapatam, proposed to the Havaldar for the sale of the fortress of Tegnapatam and also of Pondicherry. The officer replied that this was beyond his jurisdiction and directed him to the governor-general.⁴ To protect French interest Martin stationed an envoy at Jinji. But the Dutch intrigues bore fruit none the less. At their instigation,⁵ as Martin suspected, the governor-general demanded a loan of 10,000 pagodes from the French, pleading that since there was little or no trade at Pondicherry, the state was receiving no revenue from customs. The envoy put off the demand by satisfying the governor-general that the state of blockade in which Pondicherry was, thanks to the Dutch war, would soon cease, and the station would open to trade.⁶

MANCHALA AND SRI RAGHAVENDRA
SWAMI, 1623-1671 A. D.

BY

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Summary.

Manchala is situated in Adoni Taluq and 11 miles from the Tungabhadra Ry. station. It contains the tomb of the Saint known as Sri Raghavendra Swami who was a contemporary of Sivaji the

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1. Martineau, 11, pp. 111, 118, 122, 125, 127.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
 4. Martineau, 11, pp. 117-118.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

Great. His tomb is visited by thousands for devotion, for cure of illness or for satisfaction of some earthly desires. The cures effected here, of different kinds of malady are remarkable as a phenomenon.

The saint was a great scholar during his life time. He wrote more than 45 works, explaining or establishing the tenets of Sri Madhvacharya. During his career he was honoured by Hindu and Muslim Kings. He established a Mutt to continue his tradition.

In 1801 Munro visited the village to resume the enormous land grants belonging to the Samadhi of the Swami. Then the Saint emerged from the tomb and spoke to the Collector Munro and vanished. Immediately after, Munro ordered the resumption proceedings to be quashed.

THE DATE AND IDENTITY OF LILA SUKA

BY

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Summary.

He was a disciple of Sri Madhvacharya whose date is 1199-1290 A. D. The following reasons are assigned.

1. Bilvamangala's name is found among the complete works of the Acharya.

2. His *Krishna Karnamrta* is only an offshoot of his master's book *Krishnamrta Maharnava*.

3. The poet got his love of Sri Krishna from the Acharya who built the famous Krishna's temple at Udipi.

4. The name *Lilasuka* might have been a title awarded by the master, who was very fond of Srimad-Bhagavata and Sukacharya.

5. So Lila Suka, the author of *Krishna Karnamrta* lived in the middle of the 13th century.

TARDI BEG TURKISTĀNĪ.

BY

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Mir Muhammad Nizāmuddin Tardi lived under three Mughal rulers, Babur, Humayūn and Akbar. As his title, Beg, indicates he may have been descended from some old and obscure petty ruling chief of Central Asia but later on, his ancestors, had fallen on evil days and his father, Ahmad, started his life as a *qarawal* or sentry only. But by his bravery and faithful and useful services he attracted Babur's attention in the days when he was struggling in Farghana and Samarqand. Ahmad rose in rank and ultimately obtained title of Sultān as much by his services as Bābur's desire to recognize his high lineage.¹ Of Ahmad's sons, Tardi Beg was the third, his elder brothers being Koch Beg and Sher Afgan. Like the father, the sons also rendered meritorious services but the youngest was the most distinguished of the three. Tardi Beg rose and fell along with his master, Babur, and was one of his chief officers in the left centre of the Mughal army at the battles of Panipat and Khānwah. By this time he had become a trusted pillar of the Mughal kingdom and four years later, when Babur was dying, he sent for him along with Nizāmuddin Alī Khalifa, Hindu Beg and others and in their presence nominated Humayūn as his successor and entrusted the welfare of the kingdom to their wisdom.

Though a distinguished nobleman in Humayūn's reign, he first comes into our notice in Gujrāt, where after its occupation by the Mughals, he was made governor of Champanir and put in charge of the state treasuries.² When indiscretion and mismanagement on the part of Askari Mirzā and his officials led to general revolt of the Gujratis, the whole province gradually went out of the Mughal control and Askari, after the battle of Mahmūdābād, (end of September, 1535), retreated to Champanir, hoping to utilize the treasures of the fortress to retrieve his misfortune. But the Mirza's waywardness and assumption of the royalty had led Tardi Beg to fear of his defection from Humayūn's side and hence to totally refuse any countenance of his proposals with the result that Askari despairing of any success in Gujrāt abandoned the province to its people and retreated northwards towards Delhi. The retreat was so unexpected that the Beg made an alarming report to his master

1. See the *Babur-nama* pp. 58, 112 and 113.

2. Sultan Bahadur Shah had placed most of his treasures at Champanir.

then staying at Mandu and the latter fearing the loss of his throne, started post-haste for Agra through East Rajputana. Actually Tardi Beg's alarms proved false and Askari had stopped on the way at Chitor, so that during his journey to the capital, Humayun met him there. Realizing the futility of a second campaign in Gujrat and Malwa, the two brothers decided to continue their journey to the north and reached Agra (August 1536).

In apportioning blame to Tardi Beg for the loss of Gujrat, one has to remember that Askari and his boon companions were unfit to conduct the government in the interest of the Gujrati subjects. What Tardi Beg had hoped for was the return of Humayun and so he had denied the Mirza of the opportunities to fritter away Mughal wealth in fruitless campaigns. The Mirza's disposition, the frivolities of the Mughal court at Ahmadabad, and the growing dissatisfaction of the people of the province had led Tardi Beg to form a very poor opinion of the Mirza's abilities. Unfortunately, his refusal gave a new turn to the events with the results that both the Mirza and the Mughal King evacuated the two provinces and Tardi Beg perforce followed them. All those vast stores of wealth of Champānir which had been the subject for altercation and dispute between the Mirza and Tardi Beg were allowed to fall into the hands of the foe.

Tardi Beg is next seen in the Bengal campaign and was present at the battle of Chausa. On the latter occasion along with his eldest brother, Koch Beg, and several other noblemen, he was sent to save Bega Begam from falling into the hands of the Afghans. The attempt was unsuccessful and all, with the exception of Tardi Beg, lost their lives in the attempt.¹

During Humayun's exile, Tardi Beg looks very often mean and sordid. He was all along meditating on desertion to one of the King's brothers and if for a time he was prevented from accomplishing his intentions, it was due to Humayun's vigilance. The two occasions when he proved useful to his master, may also be mentioned. In Rajputana during Humayun's retreat from Jodhpur, he valiantly defended the Mughal rear against the hostile Rathors and as the premier noblemen, it was his pleasant duty to convey the happy message of the birth of a son to Humayun, then encamped fifteen *cos* from Amarkot. But Tardi Beg was vain and tactless and by his careless quarrels with Virsal, the Rana of

1. Writers have tried to make out two Tardi Begs, one of whom, Koch Beg's brother, coming to an end at Chausa. We think only one Tardi Beg actually existed and that it was his brother, Koch Beg, that was killed and not he. There is little likelihood of there being two Tardi Begs, both Mughal noblemen, both belonging to Turkistan and both claiming descent from old chieftains of the land.

Amarkot, cooled the latter's ardour for Humayūn's cause.¹ He also refused his master's request to lend him a horse from his stud to enable the ex-king to escape from Askari's clutches and soon after fled away from Humayūn's camp. But to his ill-luck, the long delay in carrying out his intention of desertion had hardened Kāmran and Askari towards him. So when the Beg fled to Qandahār, the younger Mirzā threw him into prison and confiscated all his riches which he had so sedulously preserved during his stay with Humayūn. He must have now regretted his flight to the Mirzās and could not accompany his master to Persia. When the latter returned and conquered Qandahār and Kābul, Tardi Beg was one of the earliest to reach him. Humayūn excused his past misdemeanours and restored him to his old place of honour and prestige. Henceforth the Beg remained strictly loyal to his master, who prized his presence and services.

In 1548 A. D. when Humayūn was reconciled to Kāmran and a formal meeting was arranged between the two brothers, Tardi Beg was one of the distinguished nobles who were sent to receive the Mirzā. Also when the latter was brought captive for the last time in 1553 A. D. Humayūn, after distributing a water-melon among Kāmran, Akbar, Mir Shāh Abul Mālī, Tardi Beg and Sultan Ādam broached the subject of the punishment to be meted out to the Mirzā. While passing, it may be noticed that unlike many other nobles, Tardi Beg had turned against his master only once and when he rejoined him after his return from Persia, he remained firm in his loyalty.

After Islām Shah's death, Humayān decided to take advantage of the state of confusion that had set in the Sūrī empire and to invade the Punjab. Profiting from the deplorable results of his personal command, he thrust the responsibilities of the actual conduct of the campaign on other shoulders, only keeping the nominal title of the commander-in-chief for himself. There were three commanders on whom he relied at the start, Mir Shāh Abul Mālī, Tardi Beg and Bairam Khān. The first was a Sunni Irāni and favourite of the king, the second the most prominent nobleman among the Turkis and the third, the ablest of the three but suffering from the disabilities attached to a Shia, thrown in the midst of an overwhelming number of the Sunnis. The pretensions of the other two constantly thwarted Bairam's measures and Humayūn had more than once to step in in support of his Shia commander. As an illustration of Tardi Beg's part in thwarting the Shia general, the battle of Macchiwārā may be mentioned. On the eve of the battle, when Bairam Khān was in favour of an immediate attack on the enemy, Tardi Beg advised him differently

1. As Virsal was hostile to Shah Husain Arghun, he was strongly supporting Humayun against the Shah.

and refused cooperation. As the Beg was his senior and leader of the more numerous Tūrānis, Bairam Khān wisely left him alone and advanced towards the enemy with the remaining troops. Realizing his own isolation Tardi Beg followed and Bairam Khān overlooking his past demeanour, placed one of the four Mughal divisions under him. The battle was fought mostly at night when the location of the Afghān troops was exposed by a fire that burnt their camp with the result that the Afghāns formed a target for the Mughal marksmen and it proved an easy victory for the Mughals. In the next battle of Sirhand (1554 A. D.) also, Tardi Beg was present and rendered valuable services by going to Bairam Khān's aid when the latter's soldiers had taken fright at Sikandar Sūr's elephant attacks and thus caused the Mughals to win a victory.

On Humayūn's restoration to the throne of Delhi, Tardi Beg was sent as governor of Mewāt to protect the restored Mughal kingdom against attacks from the south-west and make further conquests in that direction and Sikandar Khān Uzbek and Muhammad Khān Akhtabegi were placed at Āgra and Biana for his support. But Humayūn's sudden death postponed all questions of defence and expansion for the present. Tardi Beg repaired to Delhi from his headquarters at Alwar, as the *Amir-ul-umara* took leading part in the reading of the *khutbah* in Akbar's name, took charge of the government in the absence of his master and took initiative in fighting against Hājī Khān, a distinguished slave of Sher Shāh's and pursued him into Mewāt.

After Humayūn's death, when Hemū Muhammad Ādil Shāh's prime minister, came forward from the east, Tardi Beg instead of confining himself within the fortress and suffering a siege boldly went forward to Tughluqābād and fought a battle but due to the half-heartedness or cowardice of his generals—among whom are mentioned Khwāja Afzal Khān, Ashraf Khān and Pir Muhammad Khān—he suffered a defeat. Instead of dying on the battlefield as a Rajput would have done, he chose to retreat to Akbar who had advanced to Sirhind and already had sent orders to the Beg to hold on till his arrival. Within a few days of the Beg's arrival, he was put to death by Bairam Khān.

Tardi Beg's death has drawn attention of several writers, contemporary and others, most of whom blame Bairam Khān for the measure. They point out that the Mughal court contained nobles of different nationalities, Indian, Afghān, Irāni and Tūrāni. Amongst them, the Tūrānis were the most numerous and coming from the Timurids' original home were held in esteem, and several of their nobles occupied most important offices or ranks in the empire. Tardi Beg was the most honoured among them as much by his seniority in age as by his distinguished services for the last half a century or more. The Irānis also, though numerically

less than their rivals, the Turanis, had earned prestige by their late alliance with the Mughals in the time of Babur and Humayūn and they might well claim credit for the latter's restoration to Qandahār, Kabul and later on to Delhi. Because of the prominent part played in Humayūn's negotiations with Shāh Tahmās Bairam was looked upon as leader of the Irānis and his leadership was confirmed by his able conduct of the campaigns against Sikandar Sūr. Also between him and his master there was the closest intimacy indicated by the grant of the quadruple titles *فرزند سعادتمند* the fortunate son; *برادر دیکوهر* the well-disposed brother; *یار نادار* faithful companion; *خدم غمگسار* the intimate friend. Also Perisan was patronized more in the Mughal court than Turki. All these reasons had led to acute rivalry between the rival leaders, Bairam Khān and Tardī Beg. So when the latter withdrew from Delhi, Bairam accused him of treason and did away with him in a clandestine manner. Historians do not accuse Bairam Khān so much for the punishment itself as for its enormity and in the underhand manner it was executed. They agree with Abul Fazl in holding that both the rivals were engaged in manoeuvring against each other and each waited for an opportunity to destroy the other.¹ Their grievance is that Bairam Khān stooped so low to satisfy his personal spleen against a stalwart pillar of the state. At the most, Tardī Beg's fault lay in an error of judgment and a heavy fine or forbidding the Beg from attending the royal court or a short or long imprisonment as meted out to Tardī Beg's assistants, Mīr Munshi or Sultān Alī, should have been considered ample for a single error of a life-long loyal courtier. But this is not the only fault they find with Bairam Khān's action. They also object to the deceitful way the execution was carried out. Determined as Bairam Khān was to make the best of his opportunity, he sent for the Beg to his own house and while absenting himself on the plea that he had to attend to his prayers, got him murdered by hired myrmidons and then after the deed was over, submitted his report to his master, who, now that the punishment had already been carried out and the Beg was dead, overlooked the irregularity or the enormity of the act. It may be presumed that Akbar who had forbidden Bairam Khān to punish Mīr Shāh Abul Maālī with death on the day of his accession at Kalānūr, would have shown a similar disinclination on this occasion also, had the matter been referred to his final decision. Possibly, because Bairam Khān was aware of this merciful nature in his master, he determined not to take any risk and lose the opportunity of doing away with his Tūrāni rival and so forestalled his master in his decision.

A modern historian will perhaps approve of Bairam Khān's measure² and quote other occasions when a capital punishment

1. See the *Akbar-nama* p. 51

2. Farishta justifies the murder as otherwise the other nobles would have followed Tardī Beg's pernicious example.

was served out for a singular error of judgment, the most readily remembered being the case of Admiral Byng who was shot in 1759 for his injudicious retreat from port Mahan of Minorca island.

Whatever it be the Turkī followers of Akbar were deeply stirred by the death of their aged leader; but as at the time Bairam Khān, as regent, was all-powerful in the kingdom, they held their peace. It is significant that when four years later, on the eve of taking the guidance of the kingdom in his own hand, Akbar made up an exhaustive list of Bairam Khān's delinquencies and included many petty affairs, he made no mention of Tardi Beg's execution, either because he had already pardoned the Khān for the usurpation of the royal prerogative or because Bairam Khān had fully atoned for his guilt by the immediately following victory at the battle of Panipat.

The career of a nobleman like Tardi Beg gives us a picture of the Mediaeval Turkī nobility and its relation with the Mughal kingship and see in it more of a spirit of camaraderie than abject servility. The nobles formed a restless lot and often were found to support one of the numerous claimants for a throne or principality and as was natural, the superior among the rival chiefs secured adherence from the largest number. Thus it is the superior talents in Bābur and Humayūn that ensured the attachment of the majority of the nobility against the other Mirzās.

With Akbar a change set in. Born in India and steeped in Indian traditions, he believed or was made to believe by Shaikh Mubārak, Abul Fazl and his Hindu courtiers in his divinity and gradually raised himself far above the nobility.

Tardi Beg's is a picturesque personality and his activities, loyal or disloyal, for the Tūrānis and against the Irānis and his brave deeds for his master and the state, all make interesting reading.

SECTION V

Modern India

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

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FELLOW-STUDENTS AND FRIENDS,

I thank you most heartily for having elected me the President of the Modern Section of this, the eighth Session of the Indian History Congress. Nobody is more conscious than myself of the many limitations under which I suffer but if I say more I am likely to get conventional and I would leave it at that.

According to the scheme adopted by the Indian History Congress this Modern Section is concerned with the period commencing in 1764 down to the present times. The year 1764 is the year of the battle of Buxar, which much more than any other single event, made the British the real masters of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa by reducing the Nawab-Nazim practically to the position of a vassal of the East India Company. The consolidation of the British Power in a part of India began and the foundation was laid for the releasing of a new set of influences which were soon to transform the entire political condition of the country out of all recognition and gradually to usher in a period of intellectual awakening, which, for good or evil, has been continuing even today. The importance of Buxar lies in the fact that by it the British obtained an undisputed hold over the lower Gangetic plain and the command over the vast resources of the tract not only enabled them to outdistance all rival European competitors but was soon to transform the East India Company into one of the strongest of Indian Powers.

There can thus be no doubt that the year 1764 marks a very important landmark in Indian history and may legitimately be regarded as the beginning of a new epoch.

But there may equally be other points of view which would seek for landmarks from entirely different angles. Some might think that far more important than the beginnings of the new political set-up are the releasing of those new cultural influences which landed India in a never-ceasing ferment and helped to produce a newer and a more modern outlook on life. To them it might seem that the foundation of the Hindu College in 1818 or the first efforts of the Christian missionaries in educating the Indians on western lines would be a far more appropriate landmark for the beginnings of what is called modern Indian history. Again, a Marxist would say that the year 1853, when the first Indian railway line was opened, is to be regarded as the clearest line of demarcation between the old and the new, because the establishment of railways inevitably led to the establishment of workshops and factories which could not but lead to the rise of a new proletarian class, destined in the end, according to the canons of Marxian dialectic, to bring about a class revolution and an entirely new order. There may yet be others who would say that the most definite landmark would be the year 1857 when the old finally perished in a last expiring effort and the, more or less, untrammelled new was born.

But to us, students of history, and particularly those who belong to the Indian History Congress, there is another very important criterion which must, on no account, be ignored. This arises out of the nature of the materials on which the historian has to depend for the history of a particular period or event. Looked at from this standpoint the history of India can very well be demarcated into distinct epochs, which are to be regarded as radically different from one another because of the difference we find in the character of the materials that are available for their study. Thus, with regard to the Hindu period, epigraphic, numismatic, and monumental sources of evidence are the most important and the most reliable for the historian, but these, in spite of their large number and their daily increasing volume, are of such a character that they are bound to leave many gaps which the historian finds it difficult to fill. Foreign testimony and ancient historical literature of variable merit come occasionally to the aid of the historian, but, on the whole, much of the earlier story has to be built laboriously, bit by bit, from works which were never intended to serve as histories at all and even long after 326 B. C. tradition as embodied in ancient

literature continues to serve as an important source of information. Then again, for the history of the Sultanate and of the Mughal empire till roughly the end of the reign of Shah Jahan the historian has to depend mostly on chronicles, sometimes contemporary and sometimes later, and though these are supplemented by foreign evidence, a few memoirs and a scrappy amount of original material in the shape of royal rescripts and the like, the fact remains that his material is overwhelmingly second-hand, and so many pitfalls are strewn across his path. But what are now regarded as by far the most valuable of historical materials, *viz.*, official documents and papers and correspondence of the actors themselves and those in immediate contact with the events they describe, first begin to appear in appreciable quantity near about the year 1658 and they increase in volume throughout the subsequent century till at last when we reach our period their overwhelming mass becomes staggering. The imperial court news-letters sent to the Rajas of Jaipur by their *Darbar* Agent begin in a continuous series in 1658 and run up to 1730 and this is why Sir Jadunath Sarkar has said, in a recent article, that "the modern period of Indian history may be said in one sense to have begun about the middle of the seventeenth century—say the year 1658 when Shah Jahan's reign ended at Delhi."

We are thus the more fortunately placed so far as the quality and quantity of the material is concerned, particularly as the restrictions placed on the access to documents and on the liberty to announce results have now been largely relaxed. But our task is by no means the easier. As scarcity of reliable materials haunts the student, more or less, in the earlier periods, abundance of materials constitutes our main difficulty. The huge mass of material at the disposal of the student is bewildering and it is no easy matter to cut a way through. The main work is the work of selection and emphasis and these presuppose a definite point of view. But some would say that a historian must not have a point of view but should walk faithfully and patiently on the way that his materials might lead him to; or that, in other words, he should adhere strictly to what is called the calm objective method. He has no business to choose a standpoint and then import it to his analysis of the material. Nevertheless, I would maintain that a point of view is essential and what I mean is that the objective method should be relentlessly pursued till at last a point of view emerges

and then the materials should be selected and sifted from this new angle and presented in a systematic and consistent form. It is somewhat like how a painter works, where the picture, at least in outlines, first takes shape in the mind and then the colours are selected and laid with a discerning hand in order to turn the abstract into the concrete. "A book of history may be written with the most fastidious scholarship, yet be totally lacking in insight or discernment, and in the judgment or interpretation of persons and events in history, the author may show no originality or depth of understanding To accumulate facts and details is the easiest of all things. There are many facts in a given historical period that can easily be crammed into our mind, but discernment in the selection of significant facts is a vastly more difficult thing and depends upon one's point of view." This, I think, is essential to remember, particularly so in our period, where the rich crop of new facts of varied texture, revealed by the study of the records, often makes it difficult for the historian to resist the temptation of presenting as many of them as possible before his reader. I am sorry to say that in some of our publications on modern Indian history this lack of discernment is rather too much in evidence and when such a book is gone through no new note is struck, no thought is provoked, and besides getting into a passing contact with a mass of hitherto unrevealed facts, which are mostly forgotten as soon as they are read, the reader is none the wiser. Such books, no doubt, may show profound erudition and signs of meticulous labour but it should not be forgotten that "erudition is a mere matter of cramming of facts or information while taste or discernment is a matter of artistic judgment." Thus it happens that we get accumulation of facts in plenty but very little of enlightenment.

Further, it should not be ignored that besides a strict adherence to what has been called the objective method the historian has also to keep in view the genetic conception of history. History is a continuous process and, however, narrow and restricted the immediate field of a historian might be, it will not do for him to forget that his theme is a part of a bigger whole and logically connected with themes or events of a wider import. This contact with a broader context in the mental background of the historian gives him a true perspective and his presentation is enlivened because he is saved from constantly missing the wood for the trees. The want of this contact, on the other hand,

makes a work dull and prosaic and where the writer is otherwise a hard and conscientious worker, a book is produced which is almost impossible to read and, at the same time, impossible to ignore because of its factual contents. It may be urged that in the present stage of Indian historical studies and their complexities such a contact may often be misleading; but, if that is so, we should be modest with regard to our own achievements and realise the unpleasant truth that we are not historians in the proper sense of the term at all, but mere collectors of materials for the future historians.

There is another danger which a student of modern Indian history should constantly guard against. This arises out of the political circumstances in which we are placed. The interests of an alien Government on the one hand and of a subject race on the other, an acute problem of minorities getting acuter day by day, the question of self-government, economic problems, national and international, and the intellectual ferment and the ideological conflicts in which we find ourselves, make it extremely difficult for a historian to preserve a calm and detached outlook on questions and events which form the immediate background of the problems of today. Under the circumstances, it is no easy matter to divorce the study of the past from the angry passions of the present and the historian, unless exceptionally wary and wholly and absolutely devoted to the historical method, stands the risk of degenerating either into an apologist or into a publicist. The story of the development of historical studies in Europe affords some very interesting examples of this danger, though, needless to say, in a different context. Out of a large number of instances I will choose only two which illustrate the two different aspects of this phenomenon. When the Renaissance, particularly in Italy, was leading to the secularisation of thought and the new spirit was being reflected in the field of historical studies, "the career of humanism was rudely cut short by the appearance of Luther.....Secular studies were engulfed in the whirlpool of confessional strife." But history gained in another way. "Protestantism was compelled not only to prove that the Church of the Medici Popes was not the Church of the early Christians but also to show how degeneration had taken place. The Catholics, for their part, when it became clear that heretical Europe was not to be dragooned, attempted to confound their enemies by the revelation of material facts of which they were

unaware." Both sides were thus compelled to appeal to history and many new documents came to light; but the history that emerged was so clearly marked by the passions of the day and both sides had perforce to adopt such uncritical methods, that though they, no doubt, considerably prepared the way for the subsequent development of historical studies, their own achievements were hardly worth the name of history.

On the other hand, we have the Prussian school, the group of Professors who played no small part in the making of the German Empire and "who by tongue and pen preached the gospel of nationality, glorified the achievements of the Hohenzollerns, and led their countrymen from idealism to realism." One of the exponents of this school said: "The proper task of history is to forget nothing. It must stand as a watchful consciousness, a warning memory, and not turn shyly away from the present." In fact, it was the aim of the school to blend history and politics and it cannot be denied that "its members were the political schoolmasters of Germany at a time of discouragement, and braced their countrymen to the efforts which culminated in the creation of a mighty empire." Treitschke, the greatest exponent of this school, said: "That bloodless objectivity which does not say on which side is the narrator's heart is the exact opposite of the true historical sense." But when its purpose was served the school vanished; and in spite of his very eminent qualities and his very great achievements, Treitschke was regarded as more of a publicist than of a historian and "the stream of historical studies began to return to the channel which Ranke had marked out for it."

I think that this can as well be illustrated from modern Indian historical studies. The role that the British have played in Indian history is too complex and too controversial a question to be broached in a short address like this but I would crave your indulgence for a moment and try to point out to you what appears to me to be its more salient features. There is no doubt that the British during the earlier part of their rule, nay, we may even say, till the Mutiny, played, on the whole, a fruitful role and they were allied, more or less, with the progressive forces. The peace that they brought to a distracted India, the boon that they conferred on the people in the shape of an administration, much more efficient than what had obtained before, and, as between Indian and Indian, just

and tolerant on the whole, the steps they took for inaugurating some urgent social reforms, and the influences that they released for bringing about a change of opinion and a newer outlook must all be registered to their credit. Except possibly in the subsidiary states, where the assurance of safety afforded by the treaty destroyed in many instances the initiative and energy of the native princes and often aggravated the arbitrary character of their government, the British played, on the whole, a progressive role. But after the Mutiny we notice a remarkable change and the period till the end of the century has been characterised as "the most static, self-satisfied and sterile era" of British rule in India. The memory of the Mutiny was possibly, to some extent, responsible for this policy of inaction, but when gradually nationalism reared its head, inaction passed on to reaction and the role that the British have played in India in the 20th century has been one of a progressively obstructionist character. They made for unity; now they make for disunity. All progressive and leftist forces are now their nightmare, and their alliance mostly is with what is reactionary and obscurantist. I have no doubt stated the matter here in a rough and ready manner but I believe that I have expressed the essence of the position.

And it is no wonder that the attitude of Englishmen towards Indians and things Indian, in the different periods, has been in keeping with the changes in the political outlook. Broadly speaking, the tradition created by Sir William Jones is characteristic of much of the earlier period, but, as Garratt says: "This phase was not fated to last. His (Sir William Jones's) successors soon began to adopt that slightly hostile and superior attitude which characterises the work of Englishmen writing on Indian subjects." It has been said that the year 1860 marked the turning point. "After the Mutiny..... new types of Englishmen went out East, including journalists and schoolmasters; they brought their wives, and were visited by tourists; within India a domiciled English and Eurasian population was growing in numbers and developing a life of its own..... The British were rapidly developing into a separate caste, strongly reinforced by the new officials, planters, and businessmen who came crowding out East after 1860". This led to the growth of a new tradition, which we might very well call the Rudyard Kipling tradition. "The greater part of his Indian fiction and verse is concerned with these two (European and Eurasian) tiny

communities, the officials and military officers, and the subordinate Europeans and Eurasians. Round them surges the immense sea of Indians, but nearly all of this subjected race who appear as individuals are minor characters, mostly domestic servants or women kept by Englishmen. The few educated Indians who come into his pages seem to have been introduced to satisfy the deep-seated prejudices of the English in India.....Kipling allowed himself the most astounding generalizations about Indian duplicity and mendacity, or the physical cowardice of certain races." And, among many other things, the latest performance of Beverly Nicholls leaves no room for doubt that the tradition has, by no means, disappeared.

Now, my point is that European writers on Indo-British history have often failed to rise above these influences and the political exigencies of the situation, and that is why it has been said that British Indian history has been 'the worst patch in current scholarship'. Historians with the soundest of equipments and the firmest of command over method and material have sometimes forgotten themselves to such an extent that they appear as pitiful apologists for British rule in India, and we, on the other hand, have not unoften gone to the other extreme. I would not, for obvious reasons, dilate further on this topic but I would repeat the warning that a historian, especially of our period, should be constantly on his guard lest he forgets that his vocation is to worship only at the shrine of truth and that he should allow no temptation to deflect him from the straight and honourable path that is his.

Even at the risk of being charged with uttering platitudes and commonplaces, I would reiterate here one of the fundamental canons of historical criticism, which, I am sorry to say, is not as faithfully followed as one would wish. In the technical appendix to his *Histories of the Romance and Teutonic Peoples* Ranke, the greatest of modern historians, for the first time directed attention to the supreme importance of seizing upon the personality of the informant and of enquiring as to whence he derived his information. "Some will copy the ancients, some will seek instruction for the future, some will attack or defend, some will only wish to record facts. Each must be separately studied." This is an obligation which is imperative and even where we are dealing with materials which are regarded as first class, *viz.*, official documents and records,

this cannot be dispensed with. It goes without saying that the value of the report of an envoy or a news-letter depends, to a large extent, on the envoy and the news-writer and consequently a good deal of discrimination is necessary even in utilising such materials. In a letter to Maddock, Secretary to the Government of India, Wade, the Political Agent at Ludhiana, wrote: "I will continue to report any circumstances of importance which may reach me from Lahore, but as the people through whom I derive my information are ordinary news-writers and as the petty salaries they receive leave them open to every corruption. I have no assurance, in the absence of direct control over them, of the accuracy and fullness of the intelligence which they afford." This could possibly be said of news-writers in general and a historian who fails to keep this in mind fails in one of his most primary obligations. Similarly, the value of the report of an envoy would depend on the character of the envoy, the efficiency of his channels of communications, the honesty of his staff, the extent of his knowledge of the language of the place where he is deputed and such other factors of greater or lesser importance. A thorough analysis of this background is necessary before a historian can properly evaluate and use materials of this type. And there are certain psychological factors which also a historian cannot afford to ignore. It may often happen that in a moment of relaxation something is blurted out in a private letter which the writer would not dream of putting in an official minute and the testimony of a few lines may be of higher value than that of pages of official documents. The argument might be developed in still greater details but I think enough has been said to show that History is a hard taskmaster. It may be said that the standard I am setting here is too exacting and very often may not be practicable at all, but I am here speaking of the ideal and it would do nobody any good if we put the ideal low.

If this be the position with regard to materials that are first-hand, and, according to modern standards, the very best among them, this critical analysis becomes doubly obligatory in cases where one has to depend mostly on chronicles and where true original records are absent or present in such meagre quantities that they do not materially affect the character of the work. I regret very much to say that in some of our historical productions this discrimination is hardly practised. What, indeed, are we to say of a work which narrates the history

of a particular chapter in the doings of a people mostly on the basis of records left by its worst enemies and passes it off as history without any qualification? What, again, are we to say of a work which is mostly a running translation of a chronicle on a particular epoch or event; where, besides providing the translation, the writer's part of the work consists mostly in converting the Hejiri dates into Christian ones and uptodatising the topographical details with the help of modern Gazetteers; and where the imposing bibliography provided at the end is mainly intended to bamboozle the reader and has no real connection with the actual contents? An attempt is sedulously made to create an impression of thoroughness, which, in reality, is conspicuous by its absence. And where the writer is fortunately in possession of materials which are largely inaccessible and his references are given in such a manner that the task of verification becomes extremely arduous and difficult, such a game may well succeed for some time, but honest history can never arise out of such easy and summary methods and I would warn all young researchers that to pursue such a course would be to pursue a profitless track. We must not forget that progress of historical studies has made such methods practically useless and obsolete.

Passing now from method and material to the subject-matter of the history of our period, I am uncertain, in view of its vastness and enormous complexities and the very meagre space at my disposal, whether I should venture to say anything at all. But as a humble worker in the field and with some little experience about it, I would again crave your indulgence and draw attention to certain problems of our history which occur to me at the moment and which are likely to repay investigation. In 1835 Elphinstone wrote: "It is perhaps too early for anything like a history of the change of Indian opinion; but many circumstances, which will be hereafter of importance, are only recorded in newspapers and ephemeral productions and many signs of the change are not recorded at all. A perusal of the newspapers, of the writings of Ram Mohun Roy and his sect, and information derived from individuals, and from inquiries made in Calcutta, especially by reports from natives, may enable an industrious person to give a general view of what has already passed, and the next ten years may afford much greater materials for history." I am not aware that anybody listened to this at the time and though the work has since been done it has been done mostly in patches, and I think

that the study can now be profitably undertaken with a broader perspective and on a more extended scale. In a Minute, dated the 1st of February, 1813, Sir Thomas Munro discusses the possibility of the increase of British exports to India and comes to the conclusion that "there is no ground to look for any considerable increase in the demand of our manufactures by the natives of India, unless by very slow steps and at a very distant period." The main reason that he gives for this opinion is that "in India, almost every article that the inhabitants require, is made cheaper and better than in Europe." He also lays stress on the fact that all competition would be unavailing because of the superior skill and frugality of the natives of the country. This is a position which is hard to visualise today and one, I think, could profitably employ one's time in elucidating it in detail. The relations of the Nawab of the Carnatic and his creditors, the Nizam and the Palmer Company, the Nawab of Oudh and the Lucknow bankers, and similar other cases, that exhibit a striking family resemblance, may each be studied separately and then correlated to illustrate a characteristic feature of British rule in India. The relations of the Indo-British Government with Persia from the mission of Malcolm to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907; the origin and growth of the British settlement at Singapore; the British policy with regard to the frontier tribes, Gilgit, Ladakh, Iskardo and Tibet—subjects like these may very well be studied in separate monographs. The growth of the administrative system in some of the provinces with particular reference to local conditions, past survivals, and precipitancy of some of the measures owing to inadequate knowledge of indigenous institutions, might be made a very interesting and stimulating study. Besides, a multitude of small brochures might be written on individuals, both English and Indian, who have in many instances been relegated to obscurity, but who nevertheless played a not insignificant part in the actual unfolding of the drama. In short, the primary need is to enliven the subject by a series of monographs on all the different aspects of the story and to illumine the dark corners so that a panoramic view of the history of the period may be possible. Only then shall we justify ourselves, for "History is a noble instructress, and only through her can living contact with the primitive life of the people be maintained. The loss of this connection would rob the nation of the best part of its spiritual life." In achieving this

end there will, no doubt, be many controversies and many fights, but they must be fights without bitterness, for we shall be false to ourselves if we forget that we fight not for victory but for truth.

A PROPOSED TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE MARATHAS (1782)

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There is in the Archives of Pondicherry a rather curious and little-known document,¹—an offer made by the Poona Court in 1782 for a treaty of alliance with France, which, although bearing no date or signature, is of great interest to a student of history, as revealing the diplomatic intrigues of French agents during the War of American Independence to build up an anti-English coalition in India. This proposed treaty is scarcely known to historians, and there is strangely enough no reference to it in the available Marathi sources. Even English records do not make more than just a passing reference to the possibility of such an alliance being formed between the Marathas and the French. This lack of information is in strange contrast with the importance attached to a previous treaty negotiated by St. Lubin with the Court of Poona, which in fact was much less comprehensive than the proposed treaty of 1782. French sources on the other hand are full of reference to this second treaty, and give a fairly connected account about the negotiations which led up to it and about the subsequent fate of the proposal of alliance.

Although the document in question, containing the proposed treaty, is undated, from other French records it is quite possible to find out the approximate, though not the exact date, when the articles were drawn up by the Court of Poona. The document bears the following heading,—“*Literal translation of the agreements proposed by Srimat Raja Madhu Rao Narayan Punt Pradhan to Louis XVI, King of France and Navarre,*” and the following words of introduction are added to the treaty,—“These agreements have been made with M. de Montigny, French Colonel sent to the Court of Poona, who according to his instructions will

1. Doc. no. 5341—Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives, Pondichery.

submit them to M. Duchemin, General of the French army in India, so that he may decide regarding these agreements". Montigny, who had been sent out by the French Government on diplomatic missions to the various Indian Courts in 1777, remained at Poona from 1779 to 1787, with only a short break in 1780-81, when he went back to France. He has left a voluminous correspondence (preserved in the Pondicherry Archives, and not yet published), dealing with the political situation of the country and the efforts of the French at the various Indian Courts to build up a solid anti-English coalition.¹ The first time that we find any reference in his correspondence to the proposed treaty is in the letter to Duchemin, General of the French army in India, dated, Poona, the 30th June, 1782,² and there the reference is explicit enough. To quote from the letter:—

"The Court of Poona has just drawn up the agreements which it desires to make with the French nation. It is so strongly pressed by the English that it wants to know definitely what help and advantage it may draw from alliance with us *
* * * Nanafernis, the Regent of this Court, showed me three weeks ago the preliminaries of these terms *
* * The Regency held counsel several times on this subject, and the result of the latest arrangements appeared to me more satisfactory * * * * *"

In the same letter Montigny went on to inform Duchemin that he was sending to him de Chauvigny and Warnet, carrying the proposals of the Poona Court for his decision together with letters from Nana Phadnavis. He then discussed at length the merits and demerits of the Maratha proposals, and concluded that although some of the terms were not fully satisfactory from the French point of view, it was to the best interest of the French to accept the Maratha proposals immediately and to build up a solid alliance with the strongest Power in India.

The silence of Marathi and English records on such an important issue as this definite proposal for a Franco-Maratha alliance is rather mysterious and something difficult to explain, but that must not lead us to entertain any doubt about the authenticity of the document in question. The original proposals must have been drawn up in Marathi, as the French document preserved in the Pondicherry Archives bears the heading "*Literal translation of the agreements proposed etc. etc.*" From the correspondence of Montigny, the accredited French representative at Poona, it is clear beyond doubt that it was Nana Phadnavis who was mainly responsible for these proposals and that he had good

1. See Author's Paper, "The Correspondence of Montigny," Indian Historical Records Commission, 1945.

2. Doc. No. 5342—Manuscripts des Anciennes Archives, Pondichery.

reasons to expect that the French would accept his terms and give him effective assistance against the English on the West coast. As a matter of fact, Montigny considered this Franco-Maratha alliance to be only the central part of a wider anti-English coalition, including the Mughal Emperor, Nizam Ali and Hyder Ali.¹ In Montigny's letters we have constant reference to the Maratha proposals, his exhortations to Duchemin and Bussy to accept them at once, and his anxiety lest the dilatory policy of the French should throw Nana Phadnavis into the arms of the English, who, alarmed at the appearance of a French expeditionary force in India, were trying every means possible to conciliate the Indian Powers. That the Maratha proposals were duly forwarded by Montigny to Bussy is also definite and is supported not only by the correspondence of Montigny himself but also by Bussy's letter to Nana Phadnavis, dated, Cuddalore, the 28th March, 1783.² Bussy wrote to Nana Phadnavis that he had received through Warnet the proposals which he had made to Montigny for a treaty of alliance with the French, and assured him of his desire to "renew my old connections with the family of Bajji Rao". Bussy's letter to Hari Pati Pharkay of the same date also confirms that he had duly received and was giving his best consideration to the proposals from the Poona Court.³ The authenticity of the proposed treaty therefore cannot be in doubt.

The War of American Independence came to France as an opportunity to take revenge upon her old rival, England, and it was mainly in order to destroy the English Power in India that she decided to send out a combined land and naval expedition under the command of her old hero, Bussy. But before Bussy could arrive, the first detachments of French troops under the command of Duchemin were landed at Porto Novo in April, 1782, supported by a strong fleet under de Suffren, probably the most brilliant naval Commander France ever produced. When Nana Phadnavis made his proposals for a close Franco-Maratha alliance in June, 1782, it was decided that Montigny should forward the terms to Duchemin for his decision, and de Chauvigny and Warnet were entrusted with the confidential mission. Unfortunately for the French, however, the ship carrying de Chauvigny and Warnet was captured by the English in the roadstead of Tranquebar on the 2nd October, 1782.⁴ Warnet could save himself with all the important papers, including the draft treaty and letters from Nana Phadnavis, but de Chauvigny, who was too ill to move, was captured and taken prisoner to Madras. This accident

1. Montigny's letter to Duchemin, dated 30th June, 1782.

2. Doc. No. 498—Manuscripts des Anciennes Archives, Pondichery.

3. Doc. No. 500— " " "

4. Doc. No. 5345— " " "

(Montigny's letter to Bussy, dated, Poona, the 22nd December, 1782.)

delayed the forwarding of the Maratha proposals to the French General, and in the meantime news having reached India about the arrival of Bussy at the Isle of France, the whole question of deciding on the Maratha proposals was transferred from the hands of Duchemin to those of Bussy. This necessitated another long delay, while the favourable moment slipped away. From August, 1782, when Montigny was informed about the arrival of Bussy at the Isle of France on his way to India, he wrote urgent and pressing letters to Bussy to accept the Maratha proposals at once and to lose no time in giving them effective help on the Malabar Coast. But the enterprise of the agent at Poona was not shared by the military command of the French expedition. In spite of Montigny's pressing letters and warnings that failure to accept their proposals at once would throw the Marathas into the arms of the English, who were trying to draw them and Nizam Ali into a coalition against Hyder Ali and his French allies, the French followed a most dilatory policy with respect to the proposals of the Marathas, and did not make any move at all to give them effective assistance on the Western coast against the English.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the political situation in India during the period under review, which are much too well-known to need any recapitulation here. Suffice it to remember that the Marathas were still at War with the English, and so was Hyder Ali of Mysore. Nizam Ali was contemplating raising a confederacy of Indian Powers against the English, and Hastings in Calcutta was evidently alarmed at the prospect of seeing the British political structure in India being shaken to its very foundations. France had sent out a formidable expeditionary force and held the supremacy in Indian waters. She had a splendid opportunity of uniting the Indian Powers to herself and dealing a mortal blow at the English, and she might have succeeded if she had listened to the advice of Montigny, had accepted the proposals of the Poona Court, and had given effective assistance to the Marathas on the Malabar coast against the English. But all these advantages, the favourable inclinations of the Indian Powers, the supremacy in Indian waters, the brilliance of her naval Commander, de Suffren, and the formidable expeditionary force sent out to India, were thrown away by her dilatory policy towards a definite alliance with the Marathas, the aimless squandering of her resources on the Coromandel coast, the inaction of her army in India at every critical moment, and the apparent timidity of her one-time brilliant hero, Bussy. The Treaty of Versailles in 1783 put an end to all French adventures in India and completely upset the long and sustained preparations of the French agents at the various Indian Courts.

It is no doubt open to speculation whether Nana Phadnavis would have played the game even if the French had accepted his proposals of a definite alliance. In the absence of Marathi

records on the subject it is not possible to guess at the amount of sincerity which prompted Nana Phadnavis to offer the proposals. It is not unlikely, as Grant Duff asserts, that in all his negotiations with the French agent at Poona Nana Phadnavis was playing a game of duplicity and insincerity, which by the way were not the peculiar virtues of Indian statesmen alone, with the ultimate aim of arousing the jealousy and fear of the English and wringing out more favourable terms from them. To a superficial observer this view may seem to be supported by the protracted nature of the negotiations which led to the Treaty of Salbai, the treaty having been concluded in May, 1782, but the final exchange of ratifications being delayed till February, 1783. But when we consider that Nana Phadnavis had no reason to prefer the English to the French, that the proposals of an alliance with France which he made were most favourable from the Maratha point of view, and that the success of the Allied Powers would have opened out to the Marathas a much more brilliant prospect of political aggrandisement in India, can we really doubt that, even as an opportunist, he would have held back at the last moment if the French had quickly accepted his terms and had landed an effective force on the Malabar coast?

No. 5341—Literal translation of the agreements proposed by Srimat Raja Sri Madhu Rao Narayan Pant Pradhan to Louis XVI, King of France and Navarre.

These agreements have been made with M. de Montigny, French Colonel sent to the Court of Poona, who according to his instructions will submit them to M. Duchemin, General of the French Army in India, so that he may decide regarding these agreements.

ARTICLE 1.

The French land and naval forces, after they will have arrived here, will join with the forces of Srimat Pant Pradhan, and will fight without relaxation against the English and destroy them. Before that the French will give assurances to the Peshwa that they will not make peace with the English, whatever the proposals which may be made to them. The Peshwa being assured of that will give to the French in the same way assurances not to make any peace at all with the English. But if circumstances compel one of the two nations to conclude peace with the English, it will not do so without informing its ally about it.

ARTICLE 2.

While the army of the French will arrive it will require a port near Bombay for landing troops. For that purpose the Sirkar will lend to the French the port of Chaul, called Rahoudindah, where they will land. In the fortress of Chaul the Sirkar

has a Soubadar or Governor. It will keep there the Soubadar who will govern it (the fort); and while the French will have seized another place from the English, they will transfer there all their men and depot, and none of them will remain at Chaul.

ARTICLE 3.

While the French will have arrived for landing, the Sirkar will supply them with boats and camaties or workmen that they will need, and.....what will be required as utensils for the camp of the French and as transport like horses, camels, oxen, carts, elephants or other things the Sirkar will give. The French will also supply what they will have; and for laying siege to Bombay the Sirkar will supply 400 oxen for the artillery, etc., and a thousand camaties for the works.

ARTICLE 4.

While the French forces will have arrived they will require victuals like wheat, rice and other staple articles, and fowls, kids, vegetables and other food-stuffs for their maintenance. For all that the Sirkar will introduce them to a Saukar. The French numbering 10,000 men will require victuals worth 2 lakhs of rupees per month, and therefore if there would come more or less than this number the cost will be in proportion to 2 lakhs for 10,000 men. For that purpose the Sirkar will stand security to the Saukar, who will make this advance for 4 months; and after that time the French will make their own account and will pay the Saukar.

ARTICLE 5.

The town of Surat and the fortress will remain with the French. There will be in the place the "tana" and "amal"¹ of the Sirkar; it is what is called the "Chotaye"; but in that place the Sirkar will take a third of what will be raised as customs, namely in the town, the "pourja" the "guezamaale" and the "naki"². Regarding these there will be an agent of the Sirkar and one of the French, and before them both the duties would be collected, of which the Sirkar will have one-third and the French two-thirds; and without the presence of the agent of the Sirkar no duties will be collected.

1. "tana" signifies residence of the customs officers of the Sirkar; "amal"—the customs house.

2. "pourja" signifies maritime customs. The "guezamaale" includes the rights of money, the weights of grain and kitchen-stuffs, the sale of herbs, the kotowal or justice and other internal taxes. The "naki" signifies the duties on imports and exports by land.

Outside the town of Surat all the country will belong to the Sirkar; that is why if any Zemindar or Patel or Ryot or Aramkar or evildoer or whoever he may be among the subjects of the Marathas should take shelter at Surat or Bombay, the French Government will arrest them, and when the Sirkar or the Chiefs of the Maratha Sirkar will ask for them back, the French Government will have to surrender them without giving them protection under any circumstances.

ARTICLE 6.

The forces of the French having come here and united with those of the Sirkar, they will have to seize all the country which lies in the hands of the English, fortresses, towns, lands, etc., and in these places all that will be found as military stores, like guns, cannons, powder, bullets and other things whatsoever, and cash money and merchandise, and victuals of whatever sort, principal or otherwise, small and great, elephants, camels, oxen etc. etc. will be divided in equal proportions, one-half will go to the French and the other to the Sirkar, and for that purpose the two nations will take an oath.

ARTICLE 7.

The forces of the Sirkar and of the French being united, they will take all the fortresses, towns, lands etc. (belonging to the English). Among all these Bombay and its dependencies and the town and the fortress of Surat will remain with the French who will keep them. All the rest of the country, fortresses, towns, lands etc. will be captured and immediately handed over to the Sirkar, and for all these the two nations will mutually take an oath to assure these terms.

ARTICLE 8.

The French will have factories at Broach and Cambay to carry on their commerce. They will not at all keep there any military men or arms, except only what will be required for the grandeur of the factories.

ARTICLE 9.

The French and the Marathas will capture the fortress and the territory of Rajapuri, which will be handed over to the Maratha Sirkar immediately after their capture.

ARTICLE 10.

The munitions of war, powder, bullets etc. which will be necessary the French will furnish.

ARTICLE 11.

In the countries of Indostan and others which belong to the men with hats (Europeans), if the Sirkar will have enemies there, the French will render help to the Marathas with what they will have. If what they will have be not sufficient for the Sirkar, the latter will inform the French about it so that they may write to Maurice (Mauritius) to send help here; and to all those who will not be friends of the Sirkar they must not give any help.

ARTICLE 12.

All the French vessels and those which will really belong to the French, having a Captain, a supercargo and French flag, will not be detained or disturbed by Maratha vessels, and the French vessels also will not offer any insult to Maratha vessels nor to those which will have their passports.

ARTICLE 13.

The vessels which will be thrown by storms or other accidents on the coast, if it be in your (French) territory you will take them, if in ours (Maratha) we shall take them; but if it be really French vessels, we shall not capture them in any circumstances, or if the vessels of the Sirkar go to or are thown on the territory of the French they will also no more capture them.

ARTICLE 14.

While the French forces will come they will require victuals and implements of war. It will take time to prepare them (get them ready). That is why three months before they arrive, the Sirkar must be informed about it and must be sent a list of what will be required.

ARTICLE 15.

The king of the French has sent a Waquil to the Sirkar to make agreements of friendship or of peace. For that object the French and the Sirkar have made agreements, and therefore the king of France will not conclude peace with the English except only in concert with the Marathas. The Waquil of the French and the Sirkar have not yet come to any agreement to the knowledge of the king. That is why if before the king may have any knowledge of it he concludes agreements with the English, the French will intervene; and in the same way if the Sirkar desires it to be necessary to conclude agreements with the English, and if the English will not make the agreements desired by the Sirkar, the king of France will take its side against the English.

ARTICLE 16.

The Sirkar and the French are (being) allied in this way, their descendents will be so, and for that they will reciprocate confidence and take solemn oaths.

ARTICLE 17.

In the territories which the Marathas have or will have and in the territory which the French will have, there will be free exercise of the religion of the Hindus; and if the French or the servants of the French or anybody else oppose or disturb the exercise of the religion of the Hindus, the French General will be informed about it and the latter will immediately render prompt justice without giving protection to the disturbers.

ARTICLE 18.

In order to capture all the fortresses and territories of the English it is necessary that the French should bring considerable forces and munitions and implements of war during the course of October. To do all that, it is the proper time for this expedition.

ARTICLE 19.

The Sirkar desires to send forces to Bengal, and it is necessary to give them (the help of) French forces; and while it will have conquered the whole of Bengal, it will afterwards give a jaagir to the French because of the forces they will have lent.

ARTICLE 20.

If any relative (kinsman) of the house of the Sirkar, even Raghunath Rao Dada or anybody else come to see the French, he must not be given protection but must be sent immediately to the Sirkar.

ARTICLE 21.

If the French be in need of concluding peace with the English in Europe, they must not do it without the Marathas. But arrangements for going and coming will take a long time. That is why a Waquil of the Sirkar is going to Europe, and the Sirkar will convey through him the arrangements or intentions which the Regency has for concluding peace in this way. It being done so, the king of France should conclude peace with the English.

ARTICLE 22.

While the French and the Marathas will have made peace with the English, the latter will ask for a territory to have a

factory there; they must not be given it. However, if the circumstances require it and if the French and the Marathas are satisfied, they (the English) may be given it, but never either at Broach or at Cambay. They will be given it in some other territory of the Sirkar, the French and the Marathas agreeing.

ARTICLE 23.

These agreements having been made in this way between the Sirkar and the French, the French will.....convey to Europe a Waquil of the Sirkar, so that the king of France may confirm these agreements, put his seal and signature on them and send them back here to the Sirkar.

ARTICLE 24.

According as these articles are written in this way, with the signature and seal of M. Duchemin, three months in advance, M. de Montigny should give them to the Sirkar.

The author of this Paper wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Madame Yvonne Robert Gaebale, Presidente de la Societe de l'Histoire de l'Inde Francaise, who kindly sent him copies of all relevant documents from the Pondicherry Archives.

ANTHONY LOUIS POLIER'S CAREER IN INDIA

BY

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Anthony Louis Polier came of a French Protestant family which had settled down in Switzerland. He entered the service of the East India Company in London in 1757 and next year arrived in India.¹ Anthony Polier served under Ford at Masuli-

1. Sec. Pro. 24 Feb. 1775(10). Some of the dates are difficult to ascertain. In *La France Protestant* by Eugene and Emil Haag he is said to be born in 1741, and arrived in India in 1756. His autobiographical notes tell us that he landed in India in 1753 at the age of 17, so he was born in 1736. I have relied on a letter written by Polier to the Governor-General, in which he recalls his career. According to it, he arrived in India in 1758. But in it there is no indication when he was born. See 'Bengal Past and Present' 1910, p. 176.

patam and Carnac in Behar.² About the end of 1761, he was transferred to Bengal.

As early as May 1757, arrangements were made for the construction of a new Fort in Calcutta. In October 1762, Polier was placed in charge of work with instructions to follow the plans already laid down and consult Amphlett if any new work had to be commenced.³ Polier was also granted a commission as Engineer with the rank of a Captain Lieutenant in the Army. For about two years Polier continued as the Chief Engineer and supervised the construction of the fort. Polier's appointment as Chief Engineer seems to have been regarded as a temporary arrangement by the Board of Directors. In the midst of the Anglo-French hostilities the appointment of a man who was half-French in such a responsible post probably seemed inexpedient. In 1764, Captain Fleming Martin was appointed Chief Engineer in Bengal. Polier acted as the field-Engineer to the army and took part in the siege of Chunar in November, 1764.⁴ In 1766 he was appointed a Major and helped to quell the mutiny of white troops in Sir Robert Fletcher's brigade at Monghyr.⁵ Towards the end of 1767, he was called to Calcutta to take charge of the garrison and superintend and give opinion on the fortifications of the fort.⁶ Polier hoped that he would be promoted to the rank of the Lieutenant Colonel. But as early as 1766 the Court of Directors had already passed an order that "no foreign officer is to be promoted to a higher rank than Major," and Polier learnt that a bar was put to his rank and further promotion was impossible. He made a representation to the Court of Directors and his case was strongly recommended by the Government. But the authorities in Leadenhall Street saw no reason to change their decision and Polier's petition was left unanswered.⁷

About this time Shujauddaulah of Oudh had repeatedly written to the Bengal Government requesting the services of an engineer. Polier's name was recommended. He entered the service of the Nawab Wazir and was placed in charge of superintending and directing the fortification and building which the Nawab had planned.⁸

Polier did not have a tranquil life in Oudh as he expected. In December 1773, soon after he arrived at the Nawab's Court

2. Sec. Pro. 24 Feb. 1775 (10).

3. Sec. Pro. 24 Feb. 1775 (10).

4. Sec. Cons. 24 Feb., 1775 (10).

5. *Ibid.* Forest, Life of Lord Clive. Vol. II, pp. 271, 321-22, Broome, History of Bengal Army, p.

6. Sec. Cons. 24 Feb., 1775 (10).

7. *Ibid.* Hill, Major General Claud Martin, pp. 40-41.

8. *Ibid.* Calender of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV. Nos. 184, 1086.

he accompanied the Nawab to Etawah. Najaf Khan was then besieging the fort of Agra which had fallen in the hands of the Jats. The siege took more time than anticipated and the Nawab consequently asked Polier to come to Agra and direct the operations.

It should be observed that by this time the Regulating Act of 1773 had been passed and had resulted in violent quarrels between the Governor-General and the majority of his Council. Warren Hastings' opponents found in Polier's conduct a cause for intervention.

It was known to the Governor-General that Polier had assisted Najaf Khan in the siege of Agra and he believed he had letters from him on the subject. But he had not the "most distant idea how on account of Polier's conduct the "credit or interest of the Company could have suffered any kind of injury".⁹ The Governor-General's explanation did not satisfy the majority in the Council. It condemned Polier's conduct as irregular and considered it undesirable that "he should be permitted to continue in the dominion of the Vazier" and issued order for his recall.¹⁰ Warren Hastings objected to this,¹¹ but under the Act, the Governor-General had no power to override the decision of the majority. Meanwhile, Shujauddaulah died after a short illness recommending his son Asafuddaulah to the care of the English. Immediately after his accession, Asafuddaulah instructed Polier to draw up plans for erecting a chain of forts in the frontier of his kingdom. Before Polier wrote to the Government of Bengal asking for their permission to proceed with the work, the order of recall reached him.¹² On 9 February, 1775 Polier addressed a long letter to the Governor-General and the Council in which he mentioned his past services to the Company and begged for sufficient time to settle his affair. But it took some time before Polier could be prevented upon to leave Oudh. On 26th April, 1775, the Governor-General-in-Council instructed Colonel Gaillez commanding the 2nd Brigade to proceed to Oudh, and if Polier "should be still at Fyzabad to require him positively to leave that place within five days from the receipt of this order," and "if he should not comply," to put him under arrest and cause him to be tried by a General Court Martial for disobedience of the orders of the Governor General and Council.¹³ Colonel Gaillez wrote to Polier informing him of the order of the Council, but before his letter reached him, he had left Fyzabad and proceeded to Calcutta.¹⁴

9. Sec. Cons. 19 Dec., 1774 (2).

10. Sec. Cons. 23 Jan., 1775 (6).

11. *Ibid.*

12. Sec. Cons. 24 Febr., 1775 (10).

13. Sec. Cons. 26 April, 1775 (5).

14. Sec. Cons. 31 May. 1773 (14)

On 20th August, 1775 the matter was reopened when Polier addressed another letter to the Governor-General and Council. He complained that his letter of February had not been replied to and he had to leave the Nawab's territory because he felt any delay would be construed as an act of disobedience. He saw no reason why his private commercial concerns should be regarded as improper. Consequently he begged for sufficient time to settle his affairs which he believed would take eight or nine months. Should the Government object to his return on the ground that a servant of the Company must not be concerned in any mercantile transaction, he was ready "though unwillingly" to resign his office.¹⁵

Polier's letter did not produce any effect. On 14 September 1775 he was informed that by helping Najaf Khan he had exceeded his authority that it was "very unbecoming" of an officer "to be concerned on trade." That he carried his business in other people's name did not justify his action and only showed that his presence was unnecessary, and instead of remonstrating with the Board he ought immediately to have obeyed its orders." Polier was at liberty to resign but he would not be permitted to go back to Oudh.¹⁶ On 5 October, 1775, Polier, informed the Governor-General and Council that he desired to represent his case to the Court of Directors. In order to attend his affairs properly he wanted to resign the Company's service and proceed to England."¹⁷ It can hardly be denied that Philip Francis and his friends had acted with some amount of harshness towards Polier, and that he had become a target for Hastings' enemies.

Polier resigned in October, 1775. For sometime he completely went out of picture and little is known about him. After his resignation he accepted service with the Emperor for a short period. He, however, did not leave India. In a subsequent letter he stated that circumstances prevented him from returning to Europe.¹⁸ Towards the end of 1776, Monson died and Warren Hastings once more began to command the majority in the Council. Polier's fortune must have been at a low ebb for he was anxious to be readmitted in his former office. In 1778, he prayed for readmission in service,¹⁹ but it was two years later that the post of the Engineer and Architect of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh was offered to him. He was also permitted to stay at Lucknow.²⁰ But shortly after this post was abolished, probably as a measure for relieving the financial burdens of the Nawab.

15. Pub. Cons. 14 Sept., 1775 (6).

16. Pub. Cons. 14 Sept., 1775 (7).

17. Pub. Cons. 30 Oct., 1775 (7).

18. Pub. Cons. 15 April, 1782 (14).

19. *Ibid.*

20. Pub. Cons. 22 June, 1780 (8); 15 April 1782 (14).

On 31st December, 1781, Polier informed the Governor-General and Council from Benares that the post had been annulled and prayed to be restored to the Company's service.

Not much is known of Polier after his re-entry in service. He occupied a "large bungalow" at Lucknow and Hodges who stayed at his house during his tour in Upper Provinces in 1783 speaks of his "wonted hospitality".²¹ Polier had cultivated some interest in Indian history and literature and became a collector of Oriental manuscripts. In 1784, when the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in Calcutta, he became one of its earliest members. At a meeting of the Society held on 22nd January, 1784, his name was proposed by Francis Gladwin and in the next meeting held on 29th January he was duly elected.²² As he did not reside in Calcutta it was not possible for him to attend the meetings regularly. But occasionally he used to read papers in the Society and communicate articles written by others. On 29 February, 1787, he communicated to the Society a paper written by Dr. John Williams.²³ On 20 December, 1787, he read a paper on the "history of the Seeks".²⁴ He also sent a paper on "the distillation of roses as practised in Insin" and a "translation of the inscriptions on pillars in Firoj Shah Kotla", both of which were read at a meeting of the Society on 27th March, 1788.²⁵ In 1789, Polier returned to Europe, married two years later, and settled down near Avignon.²⁶ On 9 February, 1795, he was murdered by robbers. His collection of the Vedas were presented by him during his life time to British Museum which also acquired some of his Persian manuscripts. The Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris possesses some of his Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit manuscripts, and the Bibliothèque Cantonale of Lausanne "contains a manuscript catalogue of 120 Oriental works with annotations by Polier".²⁷

21. Hodges, *Travels in India*, p. 143.

22. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society*, 22 Jan., 29 Jan., 1784.

23. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society*, 29 Feb., 1787.

24. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society*, 20 Dec., 1787.

25. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society*, 27 Mar., 1788.

26. *Bengal Past and Present*, 1910, p. 177; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 339.

27. *Ibid.*

DESTRUCTION OF WILD ANIMALS IN U. P. AFTER THE MUTINY

BY

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Having been recently invited by the U. P. Historical Society to examine the post Mutiny records preserved in the Record Room of the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, I came across a bundle of records of 1877-96 which throw valuable light on the policy of the Government of N. W. Provinces and Oudh regarding the destruction of wild animals.

A perusal of the papers shows that the government initiated a systematic plan for the destruction of wild animals.

The following details would indicate the nature of the policy :—

1. Rewards were regularly given for the destruction of the wild animals. The reward for each full-grown tiger was Rs. 10. (Circular No. 3892 of 1876).

2. Tables exhibiting the total mortality were regularly issued. (e.g. Resolution No. 557 of 1886).

3. The number of arms licences was steadily increased. (Resolution No. 1151 of 1889 and No. 1235 of 1890)

4. Dr. A. Fuhrer, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, circulated a note giving the diagnostic characters of the various kinds of cubs so that, for example, *Shikaris* in claiming rewards for wolves might not impose upon magistrates by substituting jackal and fox cubs. (Circular No. 1207 of 1890).

5. In certain districts a special staff of *Shikaris* was employed for the destruction of wild animals. The men received pay at the rate of Rs. 2 per month besides the reward according to scale. (Circular No. 22 of 1882).

6. The Municipal Boards were induced to take up the matter. (Circular No. 928 of 1885 and No. 557 of 1886).

7. The zamindars were encouraged to extend their co-operation in the matter. (Circular No. 699 of 1887).

The following table of figures would give an idea about the extent of operations:—

Year.	Number of animals killed.	Rewards paid. Rs.
1887	3910	9,578
1878	4495	10,938
1879	3032	8,176
1880	2924	7,295
1881	3037	8,425
1882	2932	8,235
1883	3907	10,341
1884	3679	9,384
1886	4545	14,169
1887	3416	12,733
1888	4553	14,647
1889	2755	9,278

(*Vide*—Resolutions No. 2733 of 1883, No. 1235 of 1890, etc.)

The papers reveal that frauds were commonly practised in the matter of the claims regarding the rewards. (Resolution No. 928 of 1885). The zamindars were usually apathetic. (Resolution No. 699 of 1887). The Municipal Boards did not pay adequate attention to the problem. (Resolution No. 557 of 1886). Religious scruples sometimes caused difficulties. A curious case is cited in Resolution No. 699 of 1887 which refers to a Vice-Chairman of a certain Municipal Board who actually incited the animal-killers not to kill animals and paid them for complying with his secret instructions!

PREROGATIVE RIGHT OF THE CROWN TO CEDE TERRITORY IN BRITISH INDIA

BY

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A critical study of the Bhawnagar case of 1875.

The object of this paper is to survey the legal position in India in relation to the power of the Crown to cede territory and to trace its development up-to-date. The issues specially examined are: whether the Crown can (a) cede territory in India

by a treaty, (b) cede territory in times of peace, and (c) execute a cession without the sanction and co-operation of Parliament; whether the Indian Legislatures can cede by an Act any of British territories in India; whether a legislative enactment is essential for the readjustment of the jurisdictions of the Courts.

In the case of India, however, the right of the Crown to cede territory is a little more definite than in England. Before the Government of India was transferred to the Crown, the East India Company, both in times of peace and in war, invariably ceded to and exchanged with Indian rulers and princes territories without any intervention on the part of the British Parliament. The cession extended not only to the territories acquired directly by conquest but also to territories ceded as a result of that conquest. The power of cession seemed to be of great amplitude as it was not only confined to the conclusion of peace and the rectification of the frontiers, but was often governed by motives of policy and expedience.

Originally the Government of the Company in matters of making treaties and ceding territories exercised an authority delegated to it by the British Crown. To this may also be added the authority which the Company inherited from the Moghul source. The right to make treatise with the Indian princes and cede and dispose off territories acquired by conquest from them was vested in the Company by the Charter of 1758. Parliament never questioned or infringed that prerogative right; it only regulated it by providing, under the Acts of 1772, and 1784, the supervision and control of the Central and the Home Governments.

With the end of the Company's rule in India, the Crown succeeded to the powers under Sec. 2 of 21 and 22 Vic. C. 106, which included the power to cede territories. The Government of India actually readjusted and ceded many territories thereafter. This prerogative right of the Crown, which had been exercised over a fairly large period, was never challenged in the Courts till 1870. The Bombay High Court decided in *Damodhar Gordhan versus Deoram Kanji* that the Crown was not competent to cede territories in India without a parliamentary enactment. That case opened the whole controversy on the issue under consideration, and in the following pages is traced the history of the case and arguments advanced for and against the presumption of that prerogative right.

The districts of Dhundekka and Goga, which included Bhawnuggar, were ceded, according to the treaty of Bassein of 1802, to the British Government in India. The Bombay Government, however, did not extend its laws and regulations to them. It permitted the Chief of Bhownuggar to continue to rule over those territories. But in 1815, the Company's Government withdrew those territories from the Chief's rule on the ground of his having committed serious abuse of authority. By regulations

VI of 1816 and II of 1827, the jurisdiction of the Company's Court was extended to them. That, however, created an anomalous position, for while the Chief exercised the power of a ruler in Kathiawar States, he was subject to ordinary British laws in his place of residence and the two largest towns attached thereto. On that ground he persisted in his claim to get back those territories. Successive political agents also recommended the same. After prolonged negotiations an agreement was effected between the Thakur and the Government of Bombay in 1860, for severing those territories from the districts of Goga and placing them under the Kathiawar Agency. The Secretary of State advised the Bombay Government to consult the Government of India as some of the provisions of the agreement might need legislative sanction. On reference the Government of India approved of the draft of a Bill and suggested that the matter might be more conveniently taken up by the Bombay Legislative Council with the sanction of the Government of India.

The Advocate General, who was also consulted in the matter raised an important issue. He contended that if Kathiawar were a foreign territory, Indian Legislatures were not competent to transfer Bhownuggar from the jurisdiction of Ahmedabad Court to that of Khthvawan. Section 22 of the 1861 Act definitely prohibited that. That raised the question whether Kathiawar was a foreign territory or not. The Secretary of State wound up the controversy on 31st August, 1864 by giving his ruling that notwithstanding the paramount power exercised by the British Government over the place, it did not constitute a part of the British India. The Government of India thereupon, informed the Bombay Government that they could lawfully proceed with the transfer of villages in accordance with an agreement made with the Thakur. Accordingly the Bombay Government, issued a notification on the 29th January, 1866, transferring those territories to the Kathiawar Agency and exempting them from the jurisdiction of the revenue, civil and criminal courts of the Presidency.

After four months the Bombay Government again urged the Government of India to pass an act, giving legal effect to the whole affair. The Government of India did not think that an act of the Legislature was necessary. They based their decision on the opinion tendered by the Crown lawyers, that the Governor General-in-Council had discretionary power to cede territories to the Indian States. As to the jurisdiction of the British Courts, they maintained that it would cease the moment the territories ceded. That view was finally approved by the Secretary of State in 1870.

The Issue had hardly reached its final stage when an adverse decision of the Bombay High Court in *Damodhar Grodhan vs. Deoram Kanjee* again revived the controversy. The question that arose was whether the Government by its executive action

could cause to abrogate the civil and criminal jurisdiction of a British Court, suspend the operation of British regulations and affect the jurisdiction of the Bombay High Court. The territory of Bohnuggar having been brought under the British Courts of Law by the Regulations of 1827, could the effects of the Regulations be nullified by an executive fiat? The legal Remembrancer who was consulted in that affair, advised that an Act of the Governor-General-in-Council was essential for the legal transference of that territory. The Government of India, which did not agree with the view taken up by the Bombay High Court, maintained that the right to cede territory was an act of sovereignty and that a territory ceded would automatically be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Government and of the courts of the power ceding it. Mr. Hobhouse, in a separate minute, affirmed that regulations of 1827 on which the Court banked so much for its decision, did not in any way define the territory of the Bombay Presidency. Those regulations merely extended the British laws to the newly attached territory. As for the power of enlarging or diminishing the boundaries of the Presidencies he maintained that it rested with the sovereign authority.

However, to overcome that technical difficulty, the Government of India added a new clause No. 113 to the Evidence Act, which provided that a notification of the Government regarding the cession of British territories to a native prince was a conclusive and valid proof of that step from the date mentioned in the notification. In accordance with that new provision, the Government of India issued a notification on the 3rd January, 1873, proclaiming the cession of Bohnuggar and ten other villages to the Chief of Bohnuggar.

The Government of India, however, never felt satisfied with that step, for the decision of the Bombay High Court affected retrospectively the grants made since 1857. Moreover, they apprehended that the Court, might challenge their scheme of notification of cessions under the Evidence Act. Two courses seemed opened to them; either to ask the Parliament to pass an Act or to bring an appeal before the Privy Council. But none of these courses seemed very effective in themselves.

The Privy Council without going much into the merits of the aforementioned problem held that the Crown had such a power. They stated :—"the question, whether the law thus laid by the High Court of Bombay is correct, was fully and ably argued at the Bar in July last; and their Lordships would have been prepared to express the opinion, which they might have formed upon it, if, in the result of the case, it had been necessary to do so. But having arrived at the conclusion that the present appeal ought to fail without reference to that question, they think it sufficient to state that they entertain such great doubts of the soundness of the general and abstract doctrines laid down by

the High Court of Bombay, as to be unable to advise Her Majesty to rest her decision on that ground."

But as to the smaller issue regarding the readjustment of the jurisdiction of the Courts involved in an act of cession, their Lordships maintained that a legislative enactment of the Governor-General-in-Council was essential for it. "The nature and effect of the act, so described as a cession to the state of Bhownuggar, remains (as it was before) a proper subject for judicial inquiry. What was attempted was, in their Lordship's judgments, neither more nor less than a rearrangement of the jurisdictions within British territory by the exclusion of a certain district from the regulations and Codes enforced in the Bombay Presidency, and from the jurisdiction of all the High Courts, with a view to the establishment therein of a native jurisdiction under British supervision and control. But this could not be done without a legislative Act, which in this case, was never passed."

The Indian Courts thereafter have upheld the authority of the Crown to cede territories in India. In 1878, Allahabad High Court held in *Hari Singh versus Raja Partap Singh* :—

"That the Crown is competent to cede territory in its Indian dominions without the intervention of Parliament. The prerogative of the Crown is exercised with the advice and through the agency of the responsible minister of the Crown. In this case before us, it is shown that the cession of territory to his Highness the Nawab of Rampur was affected by the Government of India, that it was accepted by the Secretary of State as fulfilling instructions conveyed to the Government of India, and that it was approved of by His Majesty's Government. We have then sufficient evidence of a cession by the Crown; and when it is proved that a cession has been so made, it is not for this Court to inquire whether in the particular instance the exercise of the prerogative was called for."

The legal position under the Acts of 1919 and 1935 has remained the same, excepting in so far as the latter Act requires, under Section 110 (b) (i), that the Crown in matters of annexation of a territory should consult the Government and the Legislature of the Province or of the Federation concerned. The Crown, therefore, possess to-day, as it did before, the right to cede territory without the intervention British Parliament. But without an Act of the Legislature, he cannot take a less important step of rearranging jurisdiction.

As India marches on the road of democracy, the Indian Law, would, no doubt, more and more tend to correspond to the the English Law, because it is inconceivable that a responsible Government would exercise such an important right without taking into confidence the national Parliament.

THE BATTLE OF SITABALDI

BY

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The hunt of the Pindaris merged into the Maratha War of 1817, and of all the battles fought during this war, that of Sitabaldi was one of the most contested and consequential. It was fought for two days—the 26th and 27th November, and the Nagpur army consisting of 1,795 men and officers, both Indian and European commanded by Lt. Col. H. S. Scott, with four six-pounders manned by Europeans of the Madras Artillery covered itself with glory by winning a brilliant victory over the vastly superior troops of Appa Saheb, nearly 20,000 strong.

The circumstances that led to the battle may be thus outlined briefly. After the death of Raghoji II in March 1816, his young son Parsoji succeeded to the throne with Mudhoji, better known as Appa Saheb as Regent. In May 1816, a treaty was made by Appa Saheb with the English by which he promised to pay a subsidy of 7½ lacs a year for the expenses of the subsidiary troops. Then he set about consolidating his authority which was completed by October 1816. In February 1817, he got Parsoji murdered, and succeeded to the throne.

In the meanwhile Marquiss of Hastings had been forming plans for the suppression of the Pindaris who had been very active for the past few years. He had rightly anticipated that their suppression might lead to an offensive against the Maratha Powers. And so it did. On the 5th November, 1817, Baji Rao II marched out of Poona, and plundered and burnt the British Residency there. On the 23rd November Appa Saheb notified the British Resident at Nagpur Mr. Jenkins, that he was going to receive the robes of office from the Peshwa the next day, and requested him to attend the ceremony. The Resident protested against his action since the Peshwa was at war with the British. But Appa Saheb did not listen, and on the 24th November received the robes of office publicly. On the morning of the 25th all communication between the Residency and the city was prohibited: the Resident's messengers were refused permission to carry a letter to the court; and the markets were closed to the English troops and their followers. Towards the noon the Raja's troops to the number of about 2,000 mounted Arabs approached the Residency. The Resident being apprised of this, sent orders to Lt. Col. Scott at 2-30 P. M. to march immediately from his cantonments at Telinkhery and post himself on the Sitabaldi hills, which he occupied between 4 and 5 o'clock that afternoon. The Marathas did not harass the line of march, and allowed the British to encamp on the two hills of Sitabaldi in full sight of the Maratha army—a position which

was perhaps the strongest in the vicinity of Nagpur. The whole day of the 26th was utilized by the Raja's officers in forming a ring of troops and guns round the hills, and about sunset came two ministers from the Raja to represent his grievances to the Resident. While they were in close conference the action began, accidentally, it is believed, and not with the knowledge of the ministers deputed to the Residency.

"At the sunset of the 26th November, whilst the sentries were being posted, the Arabs opened a smart fire, and immediately commenced a general assault upon the British position; their greatest efforts were directed against the hill on the left. It was gallantly and successfully defended by Captain Sadler and the 24th Regiment, but at one time they were so nearly pressed, that a reinforcement of 3 European Officers and 70 Sepoys from the 1st Battalion, 20th Regiment, was sent to their assistance; the Arabs had near at one time penetrated the lines of defence. In this assault Captain Sadler was killed and his Adjutant, Lieutenant Grant, received two wounds. On the right the attack was principally against that face of the hill fronting the city; 10 guns were brought to bear upon it, and a heavy fire kept up for 5 hours, the Arabs issuing from behind the huts, firing and returning. Two tumbrils having accidentally exploded, the Arabs seized the opportunity and made a rush up the hill. They were received with the greatest steadiness and repulsed. Several men were scratched by the explosion; their cries and those of the wounded, together with the howls of the Arabs whilst advancing to the assault, rendered the scene awful (sic) in the extreme. After a severe contest, successfully maintained by the small and gallant force opposed to the assailants, the latter retired, but kept up a smart fire upon both hills throughout the night; their guns were served and their rockets flew about in every direction. Towards morning, the 1st Battalion, 34th were so fatigued with their continued exertions in the defence of their post, that the Residency escort under Captain Lloyd was sent to their assistance."

"In the morning of the 27th the British position was completely surrounded by clouds of Horse and large bodies of Infantry; before 10 O'clock, the plain for nearly a mile was entirely covered with them; a body of Horse entered the compound of the house in which the Ladies had been placed. Fortunately at that instant, Captain Fitzgerald, with his 3 troops, charged a large body of them in the most gallant and successful manner; he passed and re-passed through them twice and dispersed them with an immense loss; he afterwards charged and took 2 guns. This success inspired the troops on the hill with fresh spirits. About 11 O'clock a numerous body of the enemy advanced slowly and in compact order towards the small hill on the left; when close to it a large party of Arabs rushed up and carried the

defences sword in hand; they immediately ran up several guns to the summit and opened a dreadfully destructive fire upon the 24th Regiment and escort as they retired down the hill. At the foot of it a rally was made, and one of the enemy's tumbrils exploding, immediate advantage was taken by our gallant troops, who, rushing up to the assault, re-took their position and repulsed the enemy in every direction—a party of the 1st Battalion, 20th Regiment under Captain Stone, at the same instant making a dash at another body of Arabs, whom they also routed and took from them two guns and 12 prisoners. The enemy, now completely dispirited by their failure in the assault and the success of our troops, desisted from any further attacks and retired to a distance. In the assault upon the small hills, Lieut. Grant of the 24th Regiment received a third wound, which proved fatal. Lieut. Carke, Dr. Neven and Mr. Sotheby were killed by the cannonade, the latter whilst bravely endeavouring to rally the escort; Captain Lloyd was severely wounded.

“During the temporary possession of the hill by the Arabs, they entered the hospital of the 24th Regiment and barbarously murdered every person of it.”

The above account of the battle is based on the Government Gazette issued on Thursday the 1st January 1818, the Military Calendar Vol. III pp. 151-166, and the report of the battle dated 30th Nov. 1817, submitted to Lt. Gen. Sir T. Hislop by Lt. Col. H. S. Scott, and seeks to correct certain statements made by Grant Duff in his version of the battle in the History of the Mahrattas Vol. II edited by Edwardes, pp. 494-496. In the first place Grant Duff says that before Capt. Fitzgerald, posted in the Residency grounds charged, he had repeatedly applied for permission to Col. Scott for making a charge on the Arabs, but each time he had been refused to permission. Ultimately when the Arabs entered the huts of the British troops near the Residency and shrieks of the women and children reached the ears of the Sepoys he applied once again and Col. Scott's reply was “Tell him to charge at his peril.” “At my peril be it” said the gallant Fitzgerald, and immediately he advanced, drove and dispersed the Arabs by a determined charge, and pursued them to a distance. This is wrong and is a bit of camp gossip which obtained currency later on. It is nowhere supported by the accounts of the men who were present on the spot. Indeed Gen. Hearsey who (then a Cornet in the 6th Bengal Cavalry), took part and was wounded in the charge that day writes that far from grudging to grant permission to Capt. Fitzgerald, Col. Scott actually ordered him to charge. “Brigadier Scott then called me to order Capt. Fitzgerald” he says, “to take the first available opportunity that might occur to charge the enemy.” (Papers Respecting the Pindarry and Mahratta War p. 257). In fact Col. Scott himself wrote commending Capt. Fitzgerald “for his

promptitude and decision in seizing the critical moment for making the attack" (Papers Respecting the Pindarry and Mahratta War p. 135).

Then in his account of the battle, Grant Duff mentions one Lt. John Grant, Adjutant of the 24th Regiment who took a valiant part in the storming of the smaller hill and was thrice wounded and killed. His name was not John Grant but George Grant.

Then as regards the number of troops on the British side that took part in the battle excluding the sick, unarmed recruits, and recruit boys was 1795 and not 1400, and the number of casualties was 365 and not 333 as given by Grant Duff.

With regard to the results of the victory there are no differences of opinion among the historians. Appa Saheb had to submit to the dictates of Jenkins though he pretended to disavow the unauthorised attack of his troops on the 26th and 27th November. On the 29th November arrived at Nagpur Lt. Col. Gahan with a Brigade, on the 5th December arrived Major Pitman with a detachment, and before the middle of December arrived Genl. Doveton with the whole of the second Division of the Deccan army. After their arrival Jenkins demanded, on the 15th December, the absolute submission of Appa Saheb by which he meant that Appa Saheb must disband his troops, place his dominions at the disposal of the British, and surrender himself as a hostage for the fulfilment of these conditions. What actually happened after this, falls outside the scope of this paper.

SHEIK AYAZ OR HAYAT SAHEB OF BEDNORE

BY

DR. K. N. V. SASTRI, Professor, Mysore University.

In my study of Tipu Sultan for the last twenty years, I have come across facts which make me suspect that one of the conspicuous traits in his character was the inferiority-complex and that one of the causes of his downfall was this complex.

Tipu Sultan was always compared and contrasted by Haider Ali with a slave. Sheik Ayaz; this must, no doubt, have gone solely against the grain of Tipu Sultan who was a young man proud of his birth and conscious of his own powers. No boy likes comparison with another boy when the judgment would not be favourable to himself, and Tipu Sultan was no exception. One important result of Haider's method was that Sheik Ayaz became aware of his superiority over Tipu Sultan and exhibited his

contempt for him by ignoring him and, worse still, by trying to ill-treat or report against him.

Tipu's inferiority-complex attained the mastery over his mind and conduct when the slave was made the Governor of Chitaldrug and Bednore in turn and he himself was kept under close observation at Seringapatam or sent at the nominal head of military contingents to Malabar or South India. Bednore was the most favourite province of Haidar Ali and even considered by him as the source of his luck, and a slave was appointed to govern it in Haidar's name. Tipu Sultan's spirited will had gone underground and his calculating mind and mentality had taken its place in his public life.

When Haidar Ali was on death-bed at Arcot, he suggested to his assistants, most of whom were Brahmans, that they might send for Tipu Sultan and ask him to continue his work. It is significant that Sheik Ayaz was not nominated for the succession. This 'will of Haidar Ali' had two direct results. Tipu Sultan was thankful to his father, and Sheik Ayaz surrendered Bednore to the enemy at the first opportunity and ran away from Mysore State. But this flight to the enemy's territory, although inconsequential, made Tipu Sultan nervous, as he could not be sure what use the British would make of him against their designs on Mysore. One of the causes for Tipu Sultan's hatred of the British was the presence of Sheik Ayaz in their dominions and the help which he was rendering to them for the defeat and downfall of Tipu.

II

Tipu Sultan was a Muslim and he knew that slavery in Islam is a very honourable institution. Sheik Ayaz enjoyed a high status and commanded much respect. Haidar Ali treated him not only as a son but also as an ideal of a son, and further appointed him as his own representative at Bednore (and Chitaldrug). It looks as though Ayaz was trained for government while Tipu Sultan was reserved for fighting.

III

Sheik Ayaz had an eventful life and career. He was born in the Velluva House, a feudal manor in the territory of the Raja of Cherakkal in North Malabar. He was a Hindu and belonged to the Nambiyar caste or rank. The Karamavar or the head of his family, it is said, suffered from periodical fits of madness and during one such fit murdered one of the guests whom he had invited to a feast in his house. Great commotion resulted and Ryru (for that was his name) would have met with the summary justice of the outraged Nayar gentry, had not his nephew, a boy of twelve interfered with great determination and resourcefulness. This boy's name was Kamaran.

The Raja of Cherakkal confiscated the property and assets of the manorial house of the Velluvas and sent some of the members into exile. Kamaran was sent for and ordered to in the King's army to do compulsory service.

The Cherakkal troops soon learnt to admire this young recruit and his ability, even as a boy, was so great that he was respected by all. It is said that he was sent by the Raja to negotiate certain treaties with the East India Company's factor at Tellicherry to negotiate the lease of Dharmapatan Island which belonged to Cherakkal. When the Ikkeri army made an inroad into the Raja's territory in Nileswaram, probably assisted by the Prince Regent who had all along been planning treachery against the Cherakkal throne, Kamaran was sent to repel the invasion, an undertaking which he conducted.

Later, the Raja of Cherakkal sent Kamaran as his ambassador to the Chief of Ikkeri. The Prince Regent's partisan were so deeply concerned that they planned to do away with Kamaran. A trap was also laid for him and Kamaran fell a victim. Believing him to be dead, they stuffed his body into a sack. As the body was being carried through the forest to be consigned into a river, the bearers were surprised by two armed men. They ran away and the armed men, approaching, uncovered the sack and there was revealed to them the body of an exquisitely handsome man. Kamaran who had only fainted came to his senses. The two armed men to whom he owed his life were no other than Hyder Ali and an aide who had come thither on a secret reconnaissance. Kamaran, overwhelmed by gratitude, attached himself to Hyder Ali who looked upon him as his special protege. Kamaran was taken into Tolam and given the name of Sheik Ayaz.

Another version, current on the West coast as widely as the one narrated tells us how Kamaran was taken as a prisoner in the first invasion of Malabar by Hyder. When thousands of captives, men, women and children were paraded before him, Kamaran's smart address and handsome and noble appearance struck the conqueror as specially note-worthy and the boy was taken into his personal service and brought to Mysore to be brought up in the Palace. He became a Chela but rose so high in Hyder's estimation and service as to be styled by Hyder Ali as "his right hand in times of danger".

Ayaz lived for not less than twenty years in Mysore and enjoyed great power and prestige. It must be said that he did not abuse the trust even once in his life. Tipu Sultan appeared like a shadow in comparison with Ayaz. Ayaz married and had children, and Haidr Ali trained him for responsible work. When there was once trouble in Malabar, Ayaz was sent to punish the offenders. When Chitaldrug fell, he was appointed as its governor, and when Belnore and Sunda fell he was promoted and transferred to the new province.

The condition of this province was so good under his charge that there was universal praise for it. The people themselves bore witness to its prosperity. The officers of his government showed their loyalty to him by leaving the Mysore service or dying at the hands of Tipu Sultan after the fall of Bednore to Tipu Sultan. Travellers found abundant proofs of peace and progress, in utter contrast with Haidar Ali's home province, in this distant Mysore dominion. A permanent European Resident Donald Camphell, held the administration of Ayaz as a model for the British rule in India. Even Tipu Sultan's mother bore testimony negatively by writing to him, just after Haidar Ali's death, that "the enemy are creating much mischief here (Seringapatam), and disturbances are breaking out at home. Why therefore do you remain where you are unmindful of all that passes? Make peace upon any terms and come here to settle matter. Otherwise, Biddenore will be lost."

Ayaz left Mysore in flight after Haidar's death and went under the protection of the British at Bombay. Unfortunately, he was neglected by them and his pension was so small that he died a poor man.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT UNDER CARTIER AND SHUJA-UD-DLAUH (April, 1771—April, 1772).

BY

NANI GOPAL CHAUDHURI, M.A.,

After the departure of Emperor Shah Alam II from Allahabad on the 15th April, 1771, some misunderstanding arose between the English and Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh, over the cession of the forts of Allahabad and Chunar to the English, the removal of the French from the Court of Shuja-ud-daulah, and the opening of the markets of Oudh to the English Company. These were the main problems which engaged the attention of Mr. Cartier, the Governor of Bengal, for the remaining period of his administration.

The forts of Allahabad and Chunar were considered by the Bengal Government as two advanced out-posts for the defence of British possessions. In addition to their strategic importance, the maintenance of English garrisons in these forts was essential for guarding against any hostile scheme that the Nawab of Oudh might form against the English. Besides these advantages common to both the forts, the fort of Allahabad had another

advantage from its situation in the heart of Northern India. From this fort the English army might march in any direction to counteract the advance of an enemy's army.

The British authorities of Bengal obtained the right of garrisoning the forts of Allahabad and Chunar by the Treaty of Allahabad (16th August, 1765). In that treaty it was stipulated that the English would not evacuate the fort of Chunar until the compensation for the war carried against Shuja-ud-daulah was fully paid by the latter.¹ But though the compensation was paid in full, the English did not withdraw their garrison on various pretexts. Mr. Verelst, the predecessor of Mr. Cartier, kept a strong English force in the Chunar fort throughout his regime 'in spite of the Vazir's persistent opposition'.² The fort of Allahabad was garrisoned by the English troops for the protection of the Emperor and his demense.

When the Emperor's willingness to leave Allahabad became known to the Wazir, the latter tried to get possession of the fort of Allahabad from him. He consented to supply the Emperor with 'money and a body of troops to accompany him on his expedition' on condition that he should 'deliver over to His Excellency (*i.e.* Shuja-ud-daulah) the possession of Allahabad fort.' The negotiation was so secretly carried on that the Select Committee at Fort William did not get any scent of it until 'the terms of the cession were actually determined upon.'³ It became evident from the correspondence that passed between Shah Alam II and Sir Robert Barker, the British Commander-in-chief, on the one hand and between Shah Alam II and Shuja-ud-daulah on the other that the Emperor was constrained to give up the fort to Shuja-ud-daulah. For in response to an Arzee⁴ from Sir Robert Barker to the Emperor requesting him to ask Shuja-ud-daulah to allow the English troops to remain in the fort as long as it might be necessary 'for the defence of the Fort and the protection of Allahabad and Corah', the Emperor wrote a private letter⁵ to Sir Robert Barker in which he agreed to the proposal of the latter. But in another letter⁶ to him sent through Shuja-ud-daulah, the Emperor asked Sir Robert Barker to 'evacuate the said fort and deliver it over to' Shuja-ud-daulah. It seems the Emperor was willing to deliver up the fort to the English, but being hard pressed by Shuja-ud-daulah the Emperor was compelled to hand

1. Treaties, Engagements and Sanads by C. U. Aitchison Vol. II (1863) No. XX Articles 7 and 10 p. 78.

2. Verelst's Rule in India, Chapter I, p. 17.

3. Bengal Public Letter to the Court of Directors (Home), 31st August, 1771, para 5.

4. Sel. Com. Prog., 12th September, 1771.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

it over to him. The English might have occupied the fort on the strength of the Emperor's letter to Sir Robert Barker and in the name of the Emperor but in that case an 'irreconcilable breach' highly detrimental to the Company would have taken place among the parties concerned. However, in the course of a conversation with the Nawab-Wazir, Sir Robert Barker came to learn that the Nawab-Wazir wanted the evacuation of the fort 'only to secure his nominal possession and to have his flag exhibited on the walls—that the cession might be publicly known.'* The Wazir was not averse to the English troops garrisoning the fort as long as it might be 'necessary for the defence of the Province of Corah and Soubah of Allahabad' and particularly at a time when the Wazir feared that the Emperor might be compelled to make over those provinces to the Marathas.⁷ The Select Committee left this matter to the judgment of Sir R. Barker.⁸

Shuja-ud-daulah made two proposals to Sir Robert Barker regarding the garrisoning of the forts by the English troops. By these proposals in the case of the Allahabad fort the English were required to deliver up the fort and evacuate it, whenever demanded by Shuja-ud-daulah and in the case of the Chunar Fort the English troops were allowed to garrison the fort as long as it would be necessary 'for the affairs of the westward' or for his interest and it was to be delivered up when 'the English would have' no further business to the westward.⁹ But as no mention was made of the English 'connections and engagements' with the Emperor regarding the garrisoning of the forts by the English and as 'the possession of both the forts was on too precarious a footing', Sir Robert Barker and the Wazir 'came to a resolution with the mutual consent and satisfaction to let the respective garrisons remain in their present situation until it (was) known in what manner His Majesty's expedition (would) turn.' The expedition proving successful Shuja-ud-daulah would take 'possession of the fort of Allahabad' and would put the English 'in possession of Chunar Gur on the best terms.'¹⁰ The Select Committee approved the measures which Sir Robert Barker had taken.

The Select Committee wanted to obtain the cession of the fort of Chunar in perpetuity from Shuja-ud-daulah, if they failed to get possession of the fort of Allahabad. Of the two forts the

7. *Ibid*, 12th September, 1771, letter from Sir R. Barker, dated Fyzabad, the 29th August, 1771.

8. *Ibid*, letter to Sir R. Barker, the 12th September, 1771.

9. *Ibid*, 10th November, 1771, the proposals were enclosed with the letter, dated, Fyzabad, the 12th September, 1771 written by Sir R. Barker to the Select Committee.

10. *Ibid*, 10th November, 1771, letter from Sir R. Barker, dated, Fyzabad, the 12th September, 1771.

fort of Chunar was more important to the English as it was situated almost on the very line of the frontier of the English possessions and was, consequently, of immense importance to them in protecting their possessions from foreign invasion. But Shuja-ud-daulah also could not cede the fort of Chunar in perpetuity as 'the importance of this post in the very heart of his dominions must render a grant of this kind as totally opposite to his interest as it must be repugnant to his pride.' So the Select Committee was not at all surprised 'that the Wazir should hesitate upon ceding the fort of Chunar' to the English in perpetuity. The Select Committee, therefore, desired the next best alternative of getting the Wazir to consent to allow the English to maintain a garrison in it and to withdraw his own garrison from the Chunar Fort as long as the troubles in the country or the interests of the Company required.¹¹

The progress of the Maratha arms in the Rohilkhand and the cession of the provinces of Kora and Allahabad to the Marathas by the Emperor, compelled Shuja-ud-daulah to come to an amicable settlement with the English over the cession of the two forts. He gave orders to his troops to evacuate the fort of Chunar which he 'ceded to the English Company for as long a term as they (might) be desirous of retaining it. Consequently one English battalion was ordered to take possession of it. Nor was he desirous that the English troops should be withdrawn from the fort of Allahabad as long as the commotion in the northern India lasted. The only condition which he wanted the English Company to fulfil was to allow him to hoist his flag on the walls of the fort' as an acknowledgement of his authority¹².

An agreement regarding the cession of the fort of Chunar was concluded on the 20th. March, 1772 between Shuja-ud-daulah and Brigadier General Sir Robert Barker.

The next subject that gave rise to misunderstanding between the English and Shuja-ud-daulah was the removal of the French men from the court of the latter. The Court of Directors asked the Bengal Government to endeavour 'to obtain the removal of M. Gentil from the Court and Council of Shuja-ud-daulah.' Their suspicion about M. Gentil was not at all unfounded. First, being influenced by M. Gentil Shuja-ud-daulah took about six hundred French men into his service.¹³ Secondly, he endeavoured 'to attach the Indians to the French nation'¹⁴. Thirdly,

11. *Ibid.* 10th November 1771.

12. Letter to the Court of Directors, dated, the 26th March, 1772, para 14.

13. The memoirs of Gentil by Sir Evan Cotton—Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings of Meetings—1927 (Vol. X), p. 23.

14. *Ibid*—p. 28.

during his residence at the Court of the Wazir, he 'with the approval of (the French) minister', took a keen interest in the politics and administration of the country¹⁵. Also.

Sir Robert Barker informed the Select Committee that the French men were receiving preference and encouragement at the court of Fayzabad and suggested that steps should be taken for preventing them from 'passing up the country,' in order to render the English 'alliance and friendship with Shuja-ul-Dowlah much less liable to interruption and disputes'¹⁶. The Select Committee asked the Councils of Revenue at Murshidabad and Patna to prevent the French emigrants from proceeding beyond the boundaries of their (*i. e.* English) Provinces¹⁷. In order to avoid the French Company's lodging any protest against discrimination in their case only, the Council of Revenue at Patna applied to Maharaja Shitabroy not to allow 'any European to go out of the provinces without a particular Perwannah from the Government.' When it would be necessary for any English military Officer to cross the boundary in order to join the English troops stationed in Shuja-ud-daulah's kingdom he should be furnished with a proper passport¹⁸.

The Select Committee wrote the Shuja-ud-daulah referring to the encouragement he had given to the French men by taking them in his service. He was asked to dismiss the French men from his service but he was unwilling to comply with the request of the Select Committee¹⁹. It remained for Warren Hastings, the successor of Cartier, to compel Shuja-ud-daulah to dismiss the French men including M. Gentil from his service.

The third subject that embittered the mind of Shuja-ud-daula was the opening of free commerce to the English Company throughout his Kingdom. The Treaty of Allahabad concluded on the 16th August, 1765, allowed 'the English Company to carry on a trade, duty free, throughout the dominions of Shuja-ud-daulah'²⁰. The English Company did not exercise this right conferred on them by the Treaty of Allahabad 'lest the misconduct

15. *Ibid*—p. 29.

16. Sel. Com. Prog. 6th Dec., 1771—letter from R. Barker, dated, Mongheer the 22nd November, 1771.

17. Sel. Com. Prog.—6th Dec., 1771—letters to the Council of Revenue at Murshidabad and at Patna, dated the 6th Dec., 1771.

18. *Ibid*—10th Jan. 1772—letter from the Council of Revenue at Patna, dated, the 26th December, 1771.

19. *Ibid*—10th Jan., 1772—(i) Letter to Sir R. Barker, 10th Jan., 1772 (ii) Letter from G. Harper, dated, Fayzabad, the 16th Dec., 1771.

20. Treaties, Engagements and Sanads by C. U. Aitchison (1863) Vol. II No. XX—Article 8—p. 78.

of the Agents and Gomasthas (of the Company) might occasion jealousies and disputes' between the Company and Shuja-ul-daulah. Shuja-ul-daulah was afraid of this article in the Allahabad Treaty as he knew quite well the evil effect which would ensue from a free trade in his kingdom. The fate of Mir Qasim was not unknown to him. To scare away his fear he was given 'to understand that this right would not be exercised without positive orders from England, and that, on no account, would English private traders be allowed to enter Oudh. To placate him the proposal to establish factories in Oudh had been expressly omitted'²¹. But the 'great loss sustained by the Company in the sale of their imports' due to non-enforcement of their right to trade in Shuja-ul-daulah's territories reduced them to the necessity of opening this trade. Moreover, there was a great scarcity of specie at that time in the Company's possession. The Council at Fort William thought that as the balance of trade would be in their favour specie would flow from Shuja-ul-daulah's Kingdom into the Company's territories²². The opening of this duty-free trade took the Nawab by surprise as he was not apprised of it beforehand. He had heard about it from reports which were confirmed 'by copies of publications exhibited at the cities of Moorshedabad and Patna'.²³ The reason for not informing the Nawab Shuja-ul-daulah of it beforehand are as follows:—

Firstly, the Treaty of Allahabad (1765) gave the Company 'a right to vend the Company's imports throughout his (i.e. Shuja-ul-daulah's) dominions and the treaty was till then in force.'

Secondly, 'the usual time for making the Company's sales was too near' to allow them to consult the Nawab and answer the objections which might have been raised by him.

Thirdly, to consult the Nawab on a plan which the Company was determined to put into execution in spite of his objections was to pay a mere compliment to him²⁴.

Shuja-ul-daulah raised the following objections to the plan of throwing open the trade of his country to the Company. Firstly,

21. Warren Hastings and Oudh by C. C. Davies—p. 9.

22. (a) O. C. Public No. 10—26th June, 1771—Letter to Sir R. Barker, dated, Fort William, 26th June, 1771. (b) Letter to the Court of Directors (Public), dated, the 9th March, 1772—para 30.

23. O. C. (Public) No. 9—26th June, 1771—letter from Sir R. Barker, to the Council at Fort William, dated, Cawnpur the 3rd June, 1771.

24. Letter to the Court of Directors (Public)—9th March, 1771—paras 35 and 36.

as many English traders would enter into his dominions with their merchandise, he feared there would ensue disputes between his men and the *Gomasthas* and Agents of the English merchants. Secondly, the balance of trade would be against his kingdom and consequently specie would flow from his country to the territories of the English²⁵.

However, Shuja-ud-daulah desired Sir Robert Barker to lay before the company the following condition which, if granted, would enable him to obviate the foregoing objections:—

“That no person or merchant be permitted to trade in his Kingdom without his Perwannah or Licence for so doing, as he shall then be able to know who are the traders and shall also be able to limit the trade.”²⁶. To this representation the company desired Sir Robert Barker to reply that the Company would allow no *dustics* (permits) to pass beyond their provinces and that all English traders and their agents would be amenable to his Government and that they hoped that the established duties should be levied upon the English merchants²⁷. This reply of the Company improved the Allahabad Treaty (16th August, 1765), so far as the trade clause was concerned, in favour of Shuja-ul-daulah as the English were willing to give up their right of carrying on duty-free trade in the Kingdom of Shuja-ul-daulah. This saved the Kingdom of Shuja-ul-daulah from the oppression of the English merchants which had threatened Bengal during the rule of Mir Jafar and Mir Qasim.

ADOPTION UNDER THE PESHWA BAJI RAO II

BY

MR. K. SAJAN LAL, M. A.

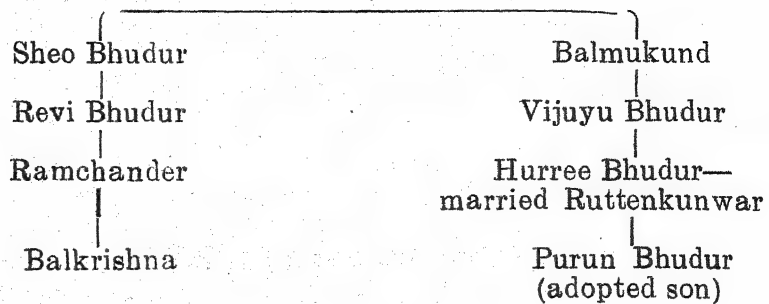
In this paper, the writer will deal with one case of adoption under the Peshwa Baji Rao II, wherein the adoption was declared valid. The case pertains to Waman Phathuk. The geneological statement is given to make it easy for readers to follow.

25. *Ibid*—paras 32 and 33.

26. O. G. (Public) No. 9—26th June, 1771—letter from Sir R. Barker to the Council at Fort William, dated, Cawnpur the 3rd June, 1771.

27. Letter to the Court of Directors, (Public)—9th March, 1772—para 34.

Waman, Surnamed Phathuk



The Peshwa bestowed the village of Great Burachee in Ulpur pargana in jagir on Waman Phathuk in 1754 A. D. Waman Phathuk left 2 sons, the eldest name Sheo Bhudur, and the youngest Balmukund. Balmukund had a son Vijuya Bhudur whose son Hurree Bhudur died childless in 1804 and his widow Ruttenkunwar without the consent of the caste adopted her own brother Purun Bhudur to be the son of her husband. The widow went to Poona to get her brother (adopted son) the possession of the jagir, and Revi Bhudur, the son of Sheo Bhudur proceeded to Poona to prevent it under the plea that Hurree Bhudur died childless, and so the adoption was illegal; and he alone as the sole survivor of Waman Phathuk was entitled to the whole jagir.

The Peshwa Baji Rao II in 1806 passed an order against the widow's claims but kindly awarded her an allowance for maintenance of Rs. 1,000 per annum at the same time giving Revi Bhudur half the village. In 1811 (A. S. 1867) Ruttenji Pundia (Muqtia of Revi Bhudur) went to Poona to endeavour to obtain a fresh order and by his interest got the cause referred to Khurshedji Modee, who passed a decision granting the widow an addition of Rs. 500 to the salary. The decision of Modee in favour of Revi Bhudur was declared to have been obtained by "misrepresentation to the Peshwa, and bribes to Modee". Later on the Peshwa annulled this order, and a regular Niwar Putr was granted to confirm his title "the Niwar Putr was granted declaratory of his being in the light of a son to Hurree Bhudur and he was directed to look upon that person's widow Ruttenkunwar as his mother and to obey her and throwing off all love for his natural father, to manage the village under her directions as long as she lived and to furnish her yearly accounts of it....."¹

Under what strange circumstances this Niwar Putr was granted reads like a fable. Perhaps it was the last act of the last Pashwa.

1. *Ibid*, p. 669.

It was sometime before the City of Poona was surrounded by General Smith's army on the 8th May 1817, the Peshwa was particularly anxious to depute an agent to Calcutta in order to try what effect he would produce on the mind of Governor General. The execution of his favourite project was only delayed by a want of a proper and trustworthy person to whom he could confidentially entrust his mission. Moro Dexit was strictly ordered to keep a sharp look out for a suitable agent and at last Ruttunji Pundia, above referred to, was selected and approved by the Peshwa. But he expressed his inability to quit his post until the business for the adjustment for which he has come to Poona was settled; This business was the suit of Purrender Bhudur against Revi Bhudur, and the latter had been in possession of the village by an order of Modee. Baji Rao who was on the alert when any intrigue of Rajkarum was in agitation told Ruttunji Pundia that there should be no hitch or obstacle for he would see the case was decided immediately. Therefore in a day or two the Peshwa held a Durbar and had the decree then produced by Purrender Bhudur drawn up, signed and sealed, the Customery order issued to Venchurkur to see that he was put in possession of the villages as directed and he gave instructions to Moro Dexit to have the decree filed and entered into the records. This event took place on 5th May and 3 days afterwards the City of Poona was occupied by the British troops; and Ruttunji Pundia was on his way to Calcutta². Thus the last act of the last Peshwa appears strange than fiction.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE TREATY OF GAJENDRAGHAR

BY

MR. R. NARAYANAN, M. A.

Konkan Institute of Arts and Science.

The terms of the treaty were :—

(1) Tippu was to pay four years' arrears to tribute to the Peshwa, part of which was already paid and the balance to be discharged in six months.

(2) Adoni was to be restored to the Nizam and he was to be restituted of whatever things plundered from there.

(3) Nergund, Kittore and Badami were to be ceded to the Marathas.

2. *Ibid*, p. 674-676.

(4) Tippu was to have Savnur and the country south of it¹.

(5) All the prisoners captured in Nergund and Kittore etc. were to be released.

As soon as these terms were accepted by both parties, in March 1787, 32 lakhs of Rupees were sent to Hari Pant. The Nizam expected to get something out of the amount given to the Marathas by Tippu. Tippu then went to Seringpatam and repatriated the Maratha prisoners kept there.

The treaty was concluded by Tippu on one hand and Holkar and Rastia on the other. There was a strong rumour in the Maratha circles that Holkar was bribed by Tippu in concluding the treaty. Hari Pant tried to get evidence but could not get any.²

Now we come to the point as to who got the better of this treaty. Wilks and Mill³ seem to think that Tippu signed the treaty at a great sacrifice and the only reason they adduce for Tippu to hasten the peace was his alarm at the progressive accumulation of the instruments of war in the hands of the English and his urgent necessity to settle his dominions on the coast of Malabar. According to Sardesai it was a humiliating treaty to the Marathas because Tippu was able to get so many places belonging to the Marathas.⁴ Malet proves conclusively that Tippu was the net gainer to the extent of 11 lakhs per annum. "Tippu had surrendered to the Peshwa three places he had lately reduced, Badami reckoned to produce a revenue of three lakhs, Kittore five lakhs, Nergund two lakhs and to the Nizam Adoni, the restoration of which implied no positive loss to Tippu as he had never possessed it. In lieu of all, Tippu had amply repaid himself by the reduction and possession of Savnur, estimated to yield 11 lakhs per annum, Kanakagiri and Annagondi, countries south of Savnur giving him three lakhs and seven lakhs respectively. Thus in aggregate, he had a balance of 11 lakhs per annum."⁵

What evidently seems to follow from the above is this. Tippu might have got more advantageous terms, but he relaxed his position due to his eager desire to forge a confederacy of

1. *Poona Residency Records*, II, Letter 57, p. 105; Sardesai *op cit*, pp. 289-90. Regarding Gajendraghar there is some difference of opinion. Malet says that Gajendraghar was given over to Tippu whereas Sardesai says that it was taken by the Marathas.

2. Sardesai, *op cit*, p. 290.

3. Wilks, *op cit*, p. 550; James Mill, *History of British India*, V, p. 261.

4. *Poona Residency Records*, Introduction, p. 15, (Vol. II); Sardesai, *op cit*, p. 288.

5. *Ibid*, p. 122.

Indian powers,—namely, the Marathas, the Mysoreans, and the Nizam—, for the sake of keeping the integrity and oneness of the country and to repel any foreign invader with concerted effort, whatever disagreement might happen to subsist between them at the time, it being provided that the disagreement in question should be suspended during the continuance of external danger.⁶

Summary

"SOME DIFFICULTIES OF THE COLLECTOR IN THE CEDED AND CONQUERED PROVINCES (1801-33)."

BY

MR. R. N. NAGAR, M.A., (Lucknow University).

The early period of the British regime in the ceded and conquered Provinces was full of discontent and unrest. The Collector, as the pivot of the administrative system, has to share the responsibilities to a large extent. But the difficulties in his way were such that even a man of average ability could not have been able to cope with them successfully. Exorbitant demand in revenue, and its continual increase, the Sales Law and other ill-drafted regulations created great unrest. Since he had to have a prior sanction of the Board of Commissioners and the Governor-General-in-Council even for trivial details, not only was his freedom of judgment, initiative and action thwarted, but he had to enter into a huge mass of correspondence which interfered seriously with his day-to-day administration. The most unfortunate thing, however, was that his relationship with his subordinate officers, who were woefully corrupt and uncontrollable was far from cordial. Finally, he had also to shoulder various other duties of considerable importance, but they were seriously neglected owing to his preoccupation with revenue duties. Thus, singly incharge of a large, often unwieldy district, and with heavy odds against him, if he, sometimes, worked faultily or haltingly, the fault was not all his.

6. Kirkpatrick, *op cit.* p. 482.

Summary.

"THE PESHWA'S MONEY."

BY

MR. K. SAJUN LAL, M.A., F.R.S.A., (Secunderabad).

Many months after Poona had been in the British possession, many months after Mr. Elphinstone's proclamation, in which he promised that all property real and personal would be protected, and the Court of justice would be immediately established; and many months after the actual establishment in Poona, and adjacent country, when inhabitants had as much right to the protection of the Courts of justice as the inhabitants of Bombay Naroba, the Kelledar of Rayagarh, without the imputation of any offence and also without the form of pretence, was taken from his house, wife and family and thrown into the common jail. His Gumashta shared the same fate with the additional severity of being kept in irons. Naroba's house was entered by a military force, and his treasure taken without a shadow of evidence that it was not his own, and his family reduced to the dire necessity of borrowing Rs. 20. They were kept in prison many months, during which Capt. Robertson endeavoured to obtain admission from them to justify those acts.

Even after the release of Naroba, the proceedings were equally extra-ordinary. His papers having been seized by Capt. Robertson, he was interrogated as to the most intricate accounts of immense sums of many years; and by inversion of the most obvious rules of justice, his property was first seized, and detained even without the pretence of any right, and then he was required to show his own title to it and thereafter he was deprived of the means of so doing by the seizure of his documents,

Summary.

"LORD DALHAUSIE'S PUNJAB POLICY: DID HE THINK OF ESTABLISHING A "HINDU" POWER THERE?"

BY

MR. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A., Lucknow.

1. The object of the present Paper is to see how far Lord Dalhousie really wanted to annex the Punjab.

2. To study if Lord Dalhousie wanted to set up a 'Hindu' or 'Sikh' Protectorate?

3. In the course of our study we find that Lord Dalhousie seriously thought of establishing a 'Sikh' or 'Hindu' Protectorate quite for some time.

4. But this was not possible. In the first place, owing to the intrigues of the Sikh court he had very soon to abandon the 'Sikhs'.

5. Owing to the fact that 'the material' for a 'Hindu' Protectorate 'did not exist' Lord Dalhousie had to give up the idea of forming a 'Hindu' Protectorate also.

6. Hence, finally there remained no option but to annex the Punjab.

Summary

THE PALASSI REBELLION—A NEW STUDY

BY

MR. P. K. S. RAJA, Annamalai University.

The Palassi Raja belonged to the western branch of the royal family of Kottayam. During the Mysorean invasion the Senior Raja and his immediate successors had fled to Travancore and the defence of Kottayam fell on the shoulders of the Palassi Raja. When Tipu came into conflict with the English in 1790 the Raja helped the latter. After the defeat of Tipu in 1792 the Raja's dominions were not restored to him but were leased to the Kurumbarnad Raja who had no right or influence in the Kottayam district. This act of injustice drove the Raja to open rebellion. He received secret help from the people of Kottayam and inflicted reverse after reverse on the Company's forces till the Company requisitioned the services of Sir Arthur Wellesley. Wellesley adopted the block house system of warfare and inflicted severe punishment on those who were suspected of secretly helping that Raja. Finally, deserted by all his people, he was effectively cornered with five of his followers by Mr. Baber, Sub-Collector of the Northern division of Malabar in November 1805. With his death the rebellion came to a close.

The Company could have gained the valuable co-operation of the Raja if it had rectified its mistake of 1792 instead of repeating it in 1795. The Company supported the unjust claims of Kurumbarnad Raja which drove the Palassi Raja to rebellion and brought untold miseries to the people.

SECTION VI

(Local History)

Dravidian History.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM.

Friends!

I address you in Tamil with a sweet word which connotes discerning love and selfless service in the cause of Truth. I cannot sufficiently thank the authorities of this Congress for conferring upon me this great privilege of presiding over this section of Dravidology specially instituted in keeping with the greatness of this Tamil University in the heart of Dravidian culture speaking the Tamil language the Dravidian language par excellence. I need not waste your precious time by proving the obvious that I do not deserve this honour. Suffice it to say that this offer coming at the last moment, as a command throughout from my teachers I as a dutiful student trained under the old order of things had no other alternative but to obey. The Acarya Mukhollasa, the blossoming of the face of the teacher into a smile satisfied with the student is the summum bonum of a student's life. I am happy that in obeying this command I am paying my homage to my two great teachers the President and Secretary of the Reception Committee.

The word, Dravidian denotes a particular variety of Indian culture rather than any particular race. Racial purity is a great myth, though this conclusion may not be palatable to the unnatural taste of the politicians of Hitler's way of thinking, trying to base their politics on racial hatred. The innumerable social groups or tribes which came into this country were harmonised within the frame work of caste system each with its hierarchy of Brahmins and others and after this fusion nothing prevented the Brahmin of one group no longer distinguished as separate, from marrying into the Brahmin families of another group equally undistinguished. That was how the problem of race was solved, if it can be called a solution.

The Dravidians and the Aryans which mean for our purpose no more than the earlier and the later group respectively may be looked upon after their fusion as something like the Northern and Southern groups of States of United States of America. The number of groups that came into India were not two but almost infinite but because of the linguistic distinction all these can be grouped under the two heads of Aryan and Dravidian without any reference to race or blood. The Dravidian group coming to occupy Southern India, though not free from Aryan admixture, individualised itself, thanks to the physical isolation of the country, by the possession and development of the Dravidian Language as the embodiment of its special contribution to the main Indian culture. The Aryan group so-called spreading in the North India had itself a Dravidian basis as shown by Anthropologists from Risley onwards, its special feature therefore consisting in its peculiar way of giving expression to its contribution in the Aryan Vernaculars. Even the languages, however, cease to be true criterions of this division. The greatest contributions to Sanskrit came from the Dravidian country from Sankara, Ramanuja, Dig Naga and the various founders and followers of the mutts of the Non-brahmin Tamilians like Gnanaprakasara who had written a commentary on Paushkaragama, a copy of which one finds, thanks to the kindness of Dharmapuram mutt, displayed in the Exhibition of this year. The vernaculars of North India themselves reveal very many characteristic features of the Dravidian languages.

The Indus valley civilisation is claimed to be the starting point of Dravidian progress. The conceptions of Yogic Pasupati, the Lord of the living beings, of the Mother and of the divinity of the Bull had their origin in this ancient civilisation. Mohenja Daro and Harrappa could not be two accidental Islands of culture. Nature knows no such isolation. This civilisation must have spread all over India and it must have a series of connections with the Indian civilisation of the later times. It is hoped that at least in the post-war period, excavations on an extensive scale will be undertaken by the Archaeological Department so as to get at the various strata, of the Indian civilisation. We are glad to learn that Dr. Wheeler the Director General of Archaeology is addressing the Indian Science Congress on "Archaeological Planning for India" which may give us his plan for the future.

Even with reference to the Indus Valley civilisation

there is the work of deciphering the script. We are anxiously awaiting the publication of Father Heras's book on the Mohanjadaro script offering a key to its decipherment. There is his further thesis that this civilisation is connected with the Mediterranean civilisation. That is not the whole of the story. The script of the ancient Pacific, is said to show great resemblances to the Mohenjadaró script. The Polynesian languages are related to the Kolarian languages which have in turn influenced the Dravidian and Aryan languages of India. The Indian intercourse with the Far East goes back to the prehistoric times. According to a Sangam verse, sugarcane is said to have been brought from the Eastern Archipelago by an ancestor of the Velirs of Tamil land. The teak rafters lie imbedded in the pyramids of Egypt, carried from the West Coast of India by the Dravidian sailors of ancient times. A comparative study therefore of the civilisations, cultures, languages and ethos of the West, the Middle East and the Far East has to become the basis of our future Dravidian studies.

The next epoch is the age of the Vedas to the Puranas. The vedic language, the classical Sanskrit and the North Indian vernaculars have developed—thanks to the influence of the Dravidian group—in a way different from their sister languages of the West. A deeper study of this problem may, as often pointed out, reveal a picture of the Dravidian culture of the respective ages. Pargitar and others, have searched with some success, for the Dravidian foundations of the Vedic and Puranic culture. Systematic work in this direction carried without prejudice, will certainly throw a flood of light, if we make careful use of the findings in Anthropology with all its recent developments in Bio-chemistry, Ethnology, folklore, Archæology, Numismatics, Epigraphy and Linguistics.

A historical study of the various Dravidian languages both cultivated and uncultivated, is required for a comparison with the parallel development of the Aryan languages and for the construction of the parent tongue on its march through the ages mirroring forth the progress of Dravidian culture. This will once for all answer the question whether the Dravidian languages are as claimed by a few diehards mere Prakrit of the Sanskrit or independent languages.

All this may suggest that only an omniscient being can with any usefulness engage himself in this study of

Dravidology and any achievement being denied to ordinary mortals living in this age of specialisation. But fortunately progress in knowledge is no longer in this age of democracy due to the geniuses alone; though these shining lights of intelligence have still a place and that too an important place. Research has become a co-operative work and here in this sphere of Dravidology, all votaries of knowledge can contribute their mite. This is in keeping with the great ideal of the ancient Tamilians expressed by the great poet Kanian Poonkunranar who claims every village in the world as his native home any every human being as his brother. The Universities of Madras, Andhra, Annamalai and Travancore have provided for this kind of studies. The University of Calcutta had also provided for the study of Dravidology and the first series of lecture were delivered by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar giving an outline of Dravidian culture. It is high time other Universities woke up to this importance of this subject which has assumed globular proportions.

So much for the basic foundations of Dravidology. The history of the Dravidian culture as the history of South India is known in outline. The literatures of the Dravidian languages do not carry us very much beyond a few centuries before the birth of Christ. The oldest known work is *Tolkappiyam* in Tamil. The Sangam literature gives us a picture of the beginning of the Christian era. The Gajabahu Senguttuvan synchronism as already emphasised by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and further strengthened by Mr. V. R. Dikshitar and others is very important. Though the Madras University has published a book on the Chronology of the Sangam Kings, I do not think anybody is satisfied with that picture of refraction. The next milestone fixed by the late Professor Sundaram Pillai is the age of Sambandar in the epoch of the Pallavas in the 7th century. In between the Sangam age and the Pallava age the dense darkness has not been pierced by any ray of light. The Kalabra interregnum is still a puzzle. The Pallava period has been more or less worked out thanks to scholars like Dubreuil and others. Professor Nilakanta Sastri has given us an almost complete picture of the Cola and also a tentative sketch of the Pandyas. The Chera history has been attempted by Sri K. G. Sesha Aiyar but no one can rest content with that Silhouette. The Muslim influence has yet to be studied in detail though this work has been happily begun by the Osmania University. The Vijayanagar history but for a few points still open for

discussion, has yielded almost all its treasures to patient research. The history of the British connection with South India and the various petty principalities are being worked out by this University under the able guidance and lead of Professor C. S. Srinivasachariar.

Be it remembered that all this is the result of research of recent years. We can therefore be justly proud of our achievements. But when we realize the work yet remaining on hand, we naturally feel "So much to do and so little done"! The classical literature in Tamil has to be translated into English. The translation of Tiruvacakam, Kural and Naladiyar had opened the eyes of the West. A translation of the Sangam literature will place this treasure at the disposal of the world; and researches therein will become worldwide. Nor have we all the inscriptions of this country in print. The Epigraphical department is still printing the inscriptions collected in the early years of this century. May I from this platform appeal to the Hindu Religious Endowment Board to take up this question of printing the inscriptions of the Temples under their jurisdiction at an early date and selling them for a normal price. These inscriptions have to be translated and the old translations revised in the light of recent researches. The Research Department in Tamil of this University has found it necessary to reinterpret a few crucial inscriptions in the light of which it is engaged in writing a history of the Chola period in Tamil. The important records of the Mackenzie Collections have not as yet been published and many of them are of great historical value. The Kenga Desa Rajakkal Caritam, it is now realised gives a fairly accurate summary of the events. We hope Prof. Srinivasachariar who has translated the Karnataka Rajakkal Caritam will publish it with his valuable note.

But all these remarks concern the political history which is given only a minor place in our modern conception of history. The tracing of the constitutional development from the earliest times has yet to be attempted. Though the economic aspect of the various periods has been dealt with piecemeal, no attempt has been made to give a detailed and connected narrative. The social history can be easily written with the help of the literature and inscriptions. Tolappiyam gives a beautiful and idealistic picture of the Tamil civilisation. Tirukkural has portrayed forth the ideals of Man for all times and climes. The inscriptions reveal to us a society based on the institution of the

temples which played the part of colleges, hospitals, poor-houses, theatres, libraries, art galleries, academies of music and literature and village assemblies. The chieftains and poligars started a new era of force and patronage and with the advent of the British our Society has been undergoing a rapid change especially during the period of the Second World War which has forcibly set us all athinking of politics, sociology and economics. We are all playing the game and it is impossible for us to be also at the same time the disinterested onlookers of the game for assessing its permanent value.

The cultural history is much more important than any of these. The mural paintings in Tamil land as hinted in one of the poems of Anduvan are as old as the Sangam age. But no traces of these are, however, found in Tirupparankunram where the poet had seen these works of art. The paintings of Cittannavasal belong to the Pallava Period. The late lamented S. K. Govindasami of the History department of this University brought to light the existence of the Chola paintings in the Tanjore temple behind the two later plasters each containing the paintings of the Vijayanagar and Nayak periods, respectively. These latter reveal the influences of Mughal art. The mural paintings of the Padmanapuram Palace in Travancore of the 16th century show traces of Arabic influence. After Ravi Varma's attempt which reveal the Western influence, the Southern country has not produced any great painters of eminence. The Bengal school reigns supreme and is being followed by the amateur painters of this land.

Coming to other arts, there is ample material for constructing a history of architecture, especially of the Temple and of iconography which are the distinct contribution of the Dravidian cult of Beauty. The Pallava temples of Mahabalipuram and Conjeevaram, the Chola temples of Tanjore and Dharasuram and the Pandya temples of Tinnevely and Tirupparankunram, the Tenkasi temple of the later Pandyas, the Rayar gopurams of Chidambaram and Tiruvannamalai representing the Vijayanagar architecture, the Nayak and Mahratta extension of the temples of Madura and Tanjore, the extensions made by the Setupatis to Rameswaram, where the peculiar pillars in the corridors create a beautiful illusion of an arched vault, the architectural patterns of Tiruvilimishalai and Avudaiyarkoil, the later buildings like the Tirumalai Naicken Mahal, the palaces of Travancore and

Mysore, the Fort St. George, the San Thome Cathedral and other Churches of South India, the mosques and mansoleums of the Muslims, the temples of later times coming down to modern age of Nattukottai chettiars and others, the recent buildings of the Universities, Government and millionaires—all these explain to us the history of the varying influences on South Indian architecture. The love of the minutest details is beautifully expressed in the ivory carvings and other works of art spread all over the Southern country. There is a beautiful ivory carving of the realistic school preserved in the museum of the Alagar Temple of the Madura District where the artist had carved an unfortunate husband in between his junior wife and the senior wife, the faces expressive of their mental conflict.

The Tamil country is nothing, if not musical. No work is performed without its befitting music whether at the cradle or at the grave, in the temple or on the fields, in the smithy or on the battlefield. The history of Tamil music has been written by Swami Vipulananda, Professor of Tamil in the Ceylon University, wherein he has proved that the basis of the Carnatic music is the ancient Tamil music. Sangita-Ratnakaram one of the earliest Sanskrit work on Music refers to Tevaram tunes and other tunes of Bhashangam or Tamil tunes. No wonder our University works for reinstating Tamil music in its old place of honour, under the enthusiastic leadership of its founder Pro-Chancellor Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar. Yal the oldest musical instrument of Tamil was still now known to us only through its description in Tamil literature which suggests that this Yal moved, as nothing else did, the hearts of the ancient Tamils. Swami Vipulananda has reconstructed the model of a Yal of many strings, which is exhibited in the session, but he feels certain technical difficulties in constructing a real Yal. I thought, therefore I was very fortunate, when I whilst attending the All-India Philosophical Congress last week, saw in the Trivandrum Museum a musical instrument which by its very resemblance to the Yal described in the Sangam literature attracting all my attention. On closer examination it was found to be the Per Yal of 22 strings mentioned in Perumpanarrupattai of the Sangam age and I learnt that it was known as Yazhal Wagic in those parts of Malabar. This has to be studied in detail to reveal its secret of construction. Dancing is intimately connected with music in South India. The arts of Bharata Natya of the South, of Kathakali of Malabar and of Terukkuttu of the Tamil land

are peculiarly Dravidian. Malayalam has realised the importance of Kathakali but the Tamil country has not yet awakened to the artistic beauty of the Terukkoottu which is really a continuous flow of Bharata Natya and vocal music a harmony of dance, music and poetry.

Literature mirrors forth the culture of a country better than any other art. One has to confess that an authoritative history of Tamil literature has yet to be written. The date of almost every poet of eminence is in doubt, but fortunately the general outline has been sketched and this has impressed the minds of all lovers of art and knowledge. The Nineteenth century introduced the classics of Tamil land to the West—thanks to a band of selfless western scholars like Hoisington, Pope Gover and Caldwell. This work unfortunately had not been continued though Indians like Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar and Mr. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar have translated respectively the last chapter of Manimekhalai and the whole of Silappatikaram. Even the Sthala Puranas of the last few centuries have an importance of their own. They are merely versifications of the folk tales of this land and their religious garb should not scare anyone away from this mine of gold. Everyone of these books contain an introduction really an Utopia of its own, a plan for an ideal land. A history of these Utopias is worth writing. These compositions are rightly condemned for their exaggeration and hyperbole but the student of history can never forget the great service rendered by the glorification of every village in Tamil land as the seat of divine grace, thus bringing a ray of hope to the people stuck up in the slough of despondency, inspiring all their work and developing some jest for life in these dark days of famine and pestilence.

Kambar the great epic poet of Tamil land is said to have influenced Tulsi Das, who according to a tradition, listened with rapt attention to the discourses on Kambar's Ramayana of Kumaraguruparar the founder of the Saiva Siddhanta Mutt at Benares. We do not know how far this tradition is true; for the mutual influences of the various literatures of India have yet to be studied and published. The Muslims and the Christians have enriched Tamil by their religious epics and songs, thus making Tamil the language of harmony of all cultures; a harmony which will repay a careful analysis and devoted study. A collection of these rare books will be found in the exhibition but even this work of collection has become so very difficult

that it is necessary that an attempt at a complete collection should be made at once before these rare copies disappear altogether from this country. The earliest printed Tamil work is said to be in the University of Sorbonne and in the library of the Vatican. A serious search in the libraries of the West especially of the Vatican and of the University of Coembra for manuscripts from Tamil land, has to be instituted at an early date. It is confidently hoped by many who are best able to judge, that this may present to us a new aspect of the Dravidian culture. Recent years have seen the birth of a good volume of literature ; some full of hope some of misgivings but all looking for the future.

The history of religion and philosophy of the Tamil land though yet unwritten, promises to be of immense importance. The South in its political isolation and freedom from invasions and conflicts experienced by the north, preserved and developed the Indian culture in its pristine purity. The Parsees, the Syrian Christians and the Moors came here not as invaders, but respected guests welcomed with love. The spirit of toleration and the attempt at harmony have coloured and shaped the thought of the southern country. The Jainism of South India has a characteristic of its own. So was Buddhism of the South. Dig Naga and Dammapala, are very great names of the Nalanda University who developed Buddhist logic on original lines. They, it ought to be remembered, belonged to Conjeevaram. Dramidacariyar the precursor of Ramanuja, Sankara, Ramanuja and Vedanta Desika had Tamil as their mother tongue. The conception of Nataraja the idea of all the creation as the lila or play or dance of Siva is the message of this place of Chidambaram where we have all assembled to-day. Tevaram, Tiruvacekam and Nalayiram clearly prove that Tamil is the language of divine experience. It is the Bhakti cult of Tamil land as old as Paripatal of the Sangam age which preserves the technical terms of the Pancaratna, that spread to the North. The Saiva Siddhanta has been accepted on all sides as the beautiful product or development of the Dravidian thought. So is the Tenkalai Vaishnavism. The original texts on these are to be found in Tamil alone. But unfortunately these still remain a close book to the many of the thinkers of the world, though Das Gupta in his latest volume on Indian Philosophy has summarised a few of the Tenkalai Vaishnavite works. What is Indian Philosophy without Sankara, Ramanuja and Dig Naga the intellectual giants of Dravidian country ?

The Siddha School of South India has made a unique contribution to ecclesiastic thought. Though this school is as old as Tirumular of the Pallava or Pre-Pallava era, specialising in its experiments on the unconscious and the superconscious and emphasising the great truth 'Love is God', most of the writings of this school now available belong only to the last two or three centuries. Their experiments in Chemistry especially with minerals and poisons which they tried to sublimate into harmless but useful medicines may be looked upon as the continuation of the experiments of the Muslims praised by Roger Bacon and others, though ultimately these Siddha school produced a new system so much different from the Unani system of the muslims. The Sufi mysticism harmonised with the Vedanta is visible in their poems. The value of this treasure house of scientific and philosophic learning has not as yet been assessed at its proper value and that can be done only by a body of unbiased scholars well versed in modern science and philosophy. The scholastic philosophy found its way into Tamil through the writings of Robert De Nobili, Aloysius, Gonsalves and Beschi and these have to be studied from this point of view. Lastly, we have a line of poets of universal religion ending with Ramalinga Swamigal of the last century who preached to the ever struggling world his Samarasa Sanmarga or the Universal Religion of Love and Wisdom in the mellifluous verses which seem to be bearing fruits in the New Age which is now taking shape and form. The prevailing tendency as is made clear by the Master of Modern Tamil prose Mr. T. V. K. and others are to produce in spite of what is happening in Indonesia and in our country, a happy commingling in this land of United culture, of the ideals of the East and the West; which has ever been the message of Dravidian culture all through its vicissitude in its onward march in quest of the infinite truth, infinite knowledge and infinite bliss.

I have attempted the impossible but I fondly hope that I have sufficiently emphasised the importance of Dravidology though pointing only just to an arc of that universal circle. May that universal spirit which has been inspiring the eternal pilgrimage of the Dravidian culture guide our research and may that kindly light of love lead us from progress to progress in our search after the infinite truth!

A PASSAGE IN THE PRASASTI OF RAJĀDHIRĀJA I CHOLA

BY

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One section of the *prasasti* of Rajādhirāja I has remained obscure for quite a long time, and in my *Colas* I, p. 274, I passed lightly over it, only expressing a doubt about the interpretation offered by Hultzscht at SII. p. 54. Further study, and very helpful suggestions made by Mr. Desikavinayakam Pillai of Putheri (Travancore) and by Dr. N. Venkataramanyya, Reader in Indian History, University of Madras enable me to give a satisfactory and definitive interpretation of the text, and that is my reason for reverting to it now. The passage reads as follows:

Ahavamallanum-añjarkevutan
tāngarum-paḍaiyal āngavan senaiayuṭ-
Kaṇḍappayanum Kāṅa-daranum
vaṇḍamar kaḷirroḍu maḍiyat-tiṇḍiral
virudar Vikkiyum Vijayādittanu-
karumuraṭ-Cāgamayyanu-mudalinār
samara-biruvottuḍaiya viriṣuḍarp-
pon-noḍaik-kari puraviyoḍum piḍittut-
tannāḍaiyir-cayan-gonḍonnār
Koḷḷippākkai-yuḷleri maḍuppittu

Hultzscht's translation of this passage reads as follows:¹ 'When even Ahavamallan became afraid; when Gaṇḍappayan and Gaṅgādharaṇ, (who belonged) to his army, fell along with (their) elephants (*whose temples*) swarmed with bees, (*in a battle*) with the irresistible army of Kevudan; (and) when the (two) warriors of great courage—Vikki and Vijayādityan, Sāgamayan of great strength, and others retreated like cowards,—(*the Chola king*) seized (*them*) along with gold of great splendour and with horses, elephants and steeds, achieved victory in his garment,² and caused the centre of Koḷḷippākkai, (*a city*) of the enemies, to be consumed by fire.'

This translation is now seen to be wrong at two points, both important though the second is much more so than the first. The first and the less material point is that Kevudan, the commander, is an invention due to mistake; I suspected this name from the

1. SII III p. 56.

2. This may perhaps mean that he did not undress and rest until he had caught and defeated his enemies—(Hultzscht's note).

first, and the proper meandering and correct splitting of the works was suggested some years ago by Mr. Desikavinayakam in a private letter to me. It is *anjarku-evu-tan-tangarum-padaiyai* meaning respectively 'to become afraid', 'send forth,' 'his own' 'by his irresistible army' i.e. so that even Āhavamalla (in spite of his name 'wrestler in battle') became afraid by the despatch of his irresistible army. Thus no Chola Commander is mentioned by name here, though some names of the Chālukya generals occur in the succeeding lines.

The second and the more important point relates to the phrase *tannadaiya-cayangondu* rendered by Hultryseh into 'achieved victory in his garment'—a translation in itself very near nonsense, and pushed right across the border by the explanatory footnote appended to it.

We may note a slightly different version of the same incident in another inscription of Rajādhirāja, which reads ;³

tan koḍippadaiyai yevik-kannāḍakar viḍukaḍa-kari puraḷat-
tannāḍaiyir-ramiṭ-paraṇi-koṇḍu

This passage clearly indicates that Tannāḍai is the name of a place where an important victory was gained by Rajādhirāja which was celebrated in a *parani*, a literary genre in Tamil adopted for describing martial victories,—the *Kalingattupparani* being the best known poem of this class. This short passage says that the Choḷa monarch despatched his troops under his flag, they met the Karṇāṭaka forces and destroyed many elephants belonging to them at Tannāḍai, and thus entitled Rajādhirāja to the distinction of a *parani* being composed in his honour. There would be no point in saying that the monarch accepted this poem with his robes unchanged—as we should say if we adhere to Hultzsch's interpretation of *tannadai*. This point was first raised by Dr. N. Venkataramanyya who also suggested its identification with Dhānyakāṭaka on the south bank of the Kṛishṇā river in the modern Guntūr district. He has since suggested another possibility that Dhannāḍa is the same as Dhannavāḍa, a fortified place in the Jammalamadugu taluq of the Cuddapa district. But I think on the whole the identification with modern Dharnikot is to be preferred for two reasons. First the battle of Dhannāḍa is followed by an invasion of Koḷlipakkai, Kulpak, about 40 miles N. E. of Hyderabad, for which Dharnikoṭa gives a much better starting base than any place in Cuddapah is likely to give. Further the wars between the Chālukyas and Choḷas in this period were waged on two fronts one in the west across the Tungabhadra in Gangavāḍi and Nōḷambavāḍi, and the other in Vengi. The Vengi campaigns usually took the coastal road which continued till recently to be the main military road from Madras

to Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Route No. 177 in Scott's *Routes in the Peninsula of India* (Madras, 1853) takes one from Ft. St. George to Nellore, Ongole, and the right bank of the Krishna river, which is crossed at Pondigul in the Palnad taluq for entering into Hyderabad territory. To these reasons may be added further the evidence of the Kalidindi plates of Rajarāja Narendra,⁴ most probably referring to this very campaign of Rajādhirāja, and clearly locating the scene of important military encounters between Chālukya and Chōla forces in the deltaic region of the Krishna river. To my mind there is no room for doubt now that Tannāḍai (Dhannāḍa) is a place name, and that it must be identified with Dhanyakataka, Dhanikot as it is known to-day. The name Dhannāḍa occurs in some other inscriptions as well besides the *Velugotivarivamsavali*, but I know nothing that militates against the identification proposed.

I would now therefore render the passage under discussion from the *prasasti* of Rajādhirāja in the following manner, keeping close to the form of Hultzsch's original rendering for facility of comparison: 'When even Ahavamalla became afraid, when Gaṇḍappayan and Gaṇḍāharan, (*who belonged*) to his army, fell along with (their) elephants (*whose temples*) swarmed with bees, (*in a battle*) with the irresistible army which the Chōla sent (*against them*); and when the (*two*) warriors of great courage Vikki and Vijayādityan, Sāgamayan of great strength, and others retreated like cowards,—(*the Chōla king*) seized (them) along with gold of great splendour and with horses, elephants and steeds, and achieved victory at Dhannāḍa, and caused the centre of Kollippakkai, (*a city*) of the enemies, to be consumed by fire'.

A CHRONOLOGICAL NOTE ON THE REIGN OF KAMPAVARMAN PALLAVA.

BY

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I have shown elsewhere¹ that C. 872-890 is the most probable period that may be assigned to the reign of Aparajitavarman, and that Kampavarman and Aparajitavarman were joint-rulers.

4. ed N. Venkataramanyya, Bharati.

1. In a forthcoming publication.

Three inscriptions² from Tiruvorriyūr, all engraved in the same hand, similar in language and terminology even to such details as the penalty to be paid for non-fulfilment of the stipulated terms, to wit a small fine in *Kanam* per day payable to the *dhar-masanam* or court of justice, are a clear enough indication that the two Rulers were contemporaries on the throne unless it was that some later scribe reinscribed them all at a subsequent date, which conjecture appears improbable in the contest of the inscriptions. These inscriptions lead to the conclusion that the 7th regnal year of Kampavarman corresponded to the 6th of Aparājītavarman.

*Nandikampesvaram*³ (the name of a temple) and *Nandikampesvara-caturvedimangalam*⁴ (the name of an *agrahara*)—two names occurring in inscriptions from the North Arcot district indicate that Kampa was a son of Nandivarman III. His latest regnal year is 32. It is worthwhile examining a few of the inscriptions of his reign that throw light on the date of his reign.

A Solapuram⁵ (North Arcot) record, dated in the 8th year of Kampavarman's reign, states that Rajāditya built a tomb and a Siva temple over it in memory of his deceased father Prithivi Gangaraiyar. The mutilated Sanskrit verses at the commencement of the inscription mention the names of the two progenitors of the Ganga line. Rajāditya is described as a son of Prithivi Gangaraiyar and a contemporary of Vijayakampavarman. Prithivi Gangaraiyar in obviously the western Ganga Prithivipati I (Dindiga) who died in the hour of victory in the battle of Sripurambiam (880 A. D.) We know that Prithivipati had a son named Mārasimha. Was Mārasimha also called Rajāditya? Perhaps Rajāditya was another son of Prithivipati. We may reasonably conclude that this record was inscribed in 880 A. D. soon after the death of Prithivipati I; and in that case 880 was the 8th year of Kampa's reign.

An inscription from Melpatti⁶ (also in the North Arcot district), dated in the 10th year of Kampa's reign, records that when the army of Pirudi Gangaraiyar was stationed at Kāvāṇṇūr, the "*Kavidi* who took Perunagar", a soldier of Vāṇaraiyar (the Bāṇa King), opposed it and fell in the encounter. To identify the Pirudi Gangaraiyar of this record with Dindiga Prithivipati I, as is sometimes done⁷, is to overlook the patent fact that Prithivipati I was in friendly terms with the Bāṇas, and had married his daughter Kundavvai to the Bāṇa King

2. S. I. I. XII Nos. 90, 91 and 99.

3. E. I. VII p. 196.

4. 469 of 1925.

5. 429 of 1902.

6. 171 of 1921.

7. Cf. S. I. I. XII Int. pp. VI-VII (E. I. XXIII also.)

Vikramāditya I surnamed Jayameru and Vidhyadhara. We have no evidence that Marasimha II, son of Prithivipati I, ever reigned, and it is generally believed that Prithivipati II must have assumed royal authority soon after the death of Prithivipati I. The battle between Prithivipati's men and the Bāna noble,⁸ recorded in this inscription, must relate to one of the earlier clashes that led to a flare up in the Bāna country resulting in a series of conflicts between Prithivipati II and the Bānas until Parāntaka Cola I, in his career of aggrandisement, lent his powerful support to Prithivipati, destroyed Bāna sovereignty and conferred it on him together with the title of *Banadhiraja*. This record may be dated 882 A. D.

An inscription of the 19th regnal year (C. 891 A. D.) of Kampa from Tiruvorriyūr⁹ records the construction of a temple by Nirañjana, the high-priest and head of a Saivite monastery, and the endowments that he made to it. Nirañjana's disciple Caturānana Paṇḍita succeeded to the headship¹⁰ soon after 949 A. D., the year of the battle of Takkoḷam. Apparently of Keraḷa origin, Caturānana took service under Parāntaka Cola's son, Rajāditya, and won the confidence of his royal master. When Rajāditya was slain in the battle of Takkoḷam, Caturānana was struck with remorse that he had not died in battle fighting by the side of his master, bathed in the Ganges by way of expiation, and took initiation into *Sannyasa* from Nirañjana, whom he shortly succeeded as high-priest. Nirañjana's death may have occurred in 950 or 951, about 60 years¹¹ after the construction of the temple of Nirañjaneśvarattu Mahādeva mentioned in the inscription under review.

Another Tiruvorriyūr inscription¹² mentions a gift by Pūḍi Ariñjigai (Arindikai), queen of Viḍelvidugu Iḷangovelār of Koḍumbāḷur in Konāḍu.¹³ The date of the record is not clear; but the Government Epigraphist thinks that it may be 11, 13 or 16,¹⁴ corresponding to 883, 885 or 888 A. D. This chief who assumed the Pallava surname *Videlvidugu*, was also known as Tannavan

8. *Kavidi* is an ancient title of nobility.

9. S. I. I. XII No. 105 (372 of 1911.)

10. 181 of 1912 (See also M. E. R. 1913 Part II p. 93.)

11. Monks are known to have been heads of monasteries for more than 60 years. Inscriptions of the 31st year of the reign Rajendra I, corresponding to 1043 A. D. (104 of 1912) 399 of 1896; (S. I. I. V. 1354)—mention a Caturānana, who must have been a successor of the Caturānana, who became Nirañjana's disciple and was patronised by Krishna III. A still later Caturānana is mentioned in two inscriptions of the 9th year of Rajadhiraja II—371 of 1911 and 206 of 1912.

12. 174 of 1912; S. I. I. XII No. 103.

13. Now included in the Pudukkottai State.

14. 11 is the most probable date.

Māraṇa Bhūti,¹⁵ and later figured as a Coḷa vassal recording his gifts in the 21st and 27th years (892 and 898 A. D.) of Āḍitya's reign. He started his political career by disowning his allegiance to Pāṇḍya rule, and became a Pallava feudatory. His house (the Irūkkuvēl house of Koḍumbāḷūr), that was connected with the Coḷas by ties by matrimony, rendered active help to Vijayalaya and Āḍitya in their task of reestablishing the Coḷa power in the South. Māraṇa Pūḍi Iḷāṅgoveḷar finally proclaimed himself a Coḷa vassal after Āḍitya completed his subjugation of Tondaimaṇḍalam about 890 A. D. The chronological scheme proposed in this paper admirably fits in with the sequence of events connected with the reign of Kampa, the development of Coḷa power and the evolution in the political and diplomatic career of Tennavan Māraṇa Pūḍi also called Viḍelviḍugu Iḷāṅgoveḷar.

Overlapping reigns and joint sovereignty of two or more kings were common features of Pāṇḍya, Coḷa and even Cāḷukya chronology, and there is no reason to believe that they were quite absent in the history of the later Pallavas. The period 871-2 to 903 A. D., that is here assigned to the reign of Kampavarman, is a good approximation based upon the materials now in our possession. Though Kampa and Aparājita were joint-rulers, the latter seems to have been the more active and efficient partner. Aparājita led a combined army against Varaguṇa, and at Sri-purambiam broke the back of Pāṇḍyan resistance. The price of Coḷa participation in the alliance against Varaguṇa meant the gradual but inexorable nibbling of the Pallava dominions by Āḍitya Coḷa. Kampa has no achievement to his credit, and when Āḍitya Coḷa's grasp over Tondaimaṇḍalam tightened, he must have bowed to the inevitable and become his vassal. Kampa continued however to date records in his own regnal years—a privilege which distinguished vassals often exercised. One of Āḍitya's queens seems to have been a Pallava princess;¹⁶ this may also account for the continuance of Kampa's nominal sovereignty. All the inscriptions of Kampa's reign, that have come to light so far, are confined to the Chingleput and North Arcot districts with the exception of one at Malliam in the Gudur taluk of the Nellore district.

15. See the author's Sankara Parvati Lectures (Madras University) now in the Press.

16. Sastri : *Colas* p. 137 ; 161 of 1928.

THE PROBLEM OF THE LOCATION OF SRIMULAVASOM THE FAMOUS BUDDHIST VIHARA OF SOUTH INDIA

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References to Srimulavasom.

1. Monsieur Foucher discovered in Gandhara an image of Buddha with an inscription engraved on its pedestal stating that it was the figure of "Lokanatha of Mulavasa" in the Dakshinapatha."

2. Another inscription which makes reference to Srimulavasom is a copper plate grant of Vikramaditya Varaguna of the Vrishnikula. "The inscription is engraved on two copper plates. The first side of the first plate contains the end of the Tamil portion of the document which is lost. The Sanskrit portion begins on the second side of the 1st plate and is continued on both sides of the second plate. The Tamil fragment contains the boundaries of the land that was granted. The second part of the record in Sanskrit begins with an invocation to Sauddhodani, the Dharma and the Sangha." "The date of the inscription is 30th December, 868."

The inscription when translated reads "He who is himself full of happiness.....may he, the son of Sauddhodana support all the three worlds. May the Dharma and the Sangha be, for a long time, like two eyes to Goddess Earth. May the moonlike radiance of the Buddha long grant prosperity to us his worshippers."

The donee of this grant is said to be the Bhattaraka of Srimulavasam.

This inscription is of very great importance to history of Buddhism in Kerala. A king by name Vikramaditya Varaguna of Vrishnikula makes a grant of some land to the Bhattaraka of Srimulavasom. The passage invoking the Sauddhodani, the Dharma and the Sangha to bless the transaction is sufficient evidence to establish that Srimulavasom for the benefit of which the gift was made was a Buddhist temple and that the donor was himself a patron of Buddhism.

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1. L. Iconographie Bouddhique, A. Foucher Part I p. 105.
 2. Travancore Archaeological series, Vol. I, p. 187.

Vikramaditya Varaguna whose copper plate grant is quoted above is identified as the king of Venad who was the son and successor of Kokarunandakkar and he (Vikramaditya Varaguna) reigned at about 868 A. D.³

3. A third reference to Srimulavasom is found in the Mushikavamsa, a Sanskrit Kavya. From the Mushikavamsa⁴ it could be learnt that Srinulavasom was a celebrated Buddhist temple in ancient times. The Kavya records that in the reign of Vikramaraman, the king of the Mushika country, which comprised all the tract of land lying between Perumpuzhai and Pudupattanam,⁵ the sea began to encroach upon land and was almost submerging the temple of Jina (Buddha). By throwing large blocks of stone he strengthened the shore and saved the temple from destruction.

There is another passage in the Mushikavamsa making a direct reference to Srimulavasom and having a bearing on the location of the temple. Valabha, a nephew of Ramaghata, proceeded southwards to join the king of Kerala to oppose the Chola king. On his way the news of the death of Ramaghata and the usurpation by one Vikramarama reached him. He proceeded straight against the usurper. On his way he paid a visit to the rich and flourishing temple of Sugata at the holy and righteous town of Mulavasa, worshipped the lord of the temple, and received the blessings of the Jaina great men (Buddha) of that place and proceeded directly to the capital of his kingdom.⁶

The evidence of the Mushikavamsa corroborates the testimony of the copper plate grant in testifying to the existence of a flourishing Buddhist temple, Srimulavasom, some where on the west coast of India.⁷ That this temple was a famous one is shown by the patronage extended to it even by the kings of the land. It seems probable that the temple to which Vikramaditya Varaguna granted extensive landed property was the same as the temple visited by Valabha and referred to in the Mushika Vamsa.

The location of the temple.

The donor of the copper plate grant referred to above is a king of Venad and it is reasonable to presume that the temple was situated either within the territory of Venad or atleast not far away from its territorial limits.

With the evidence now available it would be difficult to fix more precisely the location of the Srimulavasom temple. But

3. T. A. S., Vol. I, p. 187, 188.

4. T. A. S., Vol. II, p. 106 "It will be found that the matter contained in the last sargas appears to be historical, do pp. 112-13, 116.

5. J. R. A. S. 1922 p. 170.

6. T. A. S. Vol. II p. 116.

7. J. R. A. S. 1922 p. 173, T. A. S. Vol. II 117.

there is one feature in the distribution of Buddhist images in the west coast which lends support to the view that the famous Buddha temple of Srimulavasom must have been situated on the Sea coast somewhere in central Travancore.

The Buddhist images discovered in the west coast are few and they are, most of them, found in central Travancore. The first is the well-known image of Buddha made of black stone known to Travancoreans as Karumadi Kuttan, found by the side of a canal in Ampalapuzha taluk in central Travancore. The second image was discovered in a compound near the Traveller's Bungalow at Mavelikkara in central Travancore. The third image was discovered at Bharanikkavu, again near Mavelikkara. The fourth image was discovered at Marudurkulangara in Karunagappalli taluk and the fifth was discovered at Pallikkal in Kunnattur taluk. It is significant to note that all these images were discovered in central Travancore (see map attached).

The explanation for this phenomenon is not far to seek. The existence of the two mountain passes on the Sahyadri viz., the Gudallur pass connecting Kanjirapalli with Kambam and Uttampalayam in Madura and the Aryan-Kavu pass connecting central Travancore with Tinnevely, accounts for the spread of Buddhism in central Travancore. It is probable that along these high ways entered the early Buddhist missionaries who propagated their religion in the regions of central Travancore to which these passes gave them first access. The images described above are now the sole relics of a time when perhaps several Buddhist temples flourished housing these images. Srimulavasom was one such temple and it must have been situated on the coast very near the places where the other images of the Buddha have been discovered i.e. in Ampalapuzha taluk in central Travancore. No traces of the temple have survived. It is surmised that the temple has been completely washed away by the sea and this is not improbable considering the fact that the sea has made considerable encroachments on land in that part of the country even in recent times.

How far does the evidence of the Mushikavamsa support the view that the Srimulavasom was situated in Central Travancore? The fact that Valabha is described in the Mushikavamsa as having visited the flourishing temple of Sugata on his way back to the capital of his kingdom may suggest that the temple was located not in Venad but somewhere further north on the coast of Malabar. But the evidence is not conclusive. Until more conclusive evidence is obtained to the contrary it would be reasonable to hold that the Buddhist temple of Srimulavasom was located in Ampalapuzha taluk in central Travancore.

A POLITICAL EXPERIMENT OF THE SANGAM AGE

BY

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There is an interesting poem, in the Sangam anthology of objective poetry called Pura Nanuru, whose full significance has not as yet been completely grasped. This is the verse No. 58 by the Sangam poet Kannanar, son of Kari, of Kaverippumpattinam, commemorating the occasion of the coming together of a Cola and a Pandya. The Cola was Peruntirumāvalavan, who is said to have died at a place known as Kurappaḷi. It is not clear, whether he is the same as the patron of Paṭṭinappaḷai, who is sometimes identified with Karikalan. The epithet "Perum Tiru" is very significant, giving us a clue that he was a great king. The Pandya was Peru Valuti, the Pandya the Great and he is said to have died at a place known as Velliampalam, which is however, the name in modern times of the Nataraja's temple at Madura. There are four Peru Valutis known to us through the Sangam work: *viz.* (1) Mutukuṭumipperu Valuti (2) Ukkira-p-peru Valuti (3) Karunkai olvāḷ Perumpeyar Valuti and (4) Peruvaluti above named. If the Cola above referred to, were to be identified with Karikala, this Pandya should be identified with Karunkai olvāḷ Perumpeyar Valuti praised in a verse by the maternal uncle and political adviser of Karikala, Irumpitarttalayar. The colon appended to the poem supplies us these explanations but the colon is always later than the poem itself. Therefore one must base any conclusions on the internal evidence of the poem rather than on the colon.

The poem, in the beginning, addresses the Cola; but the Pandya is also praised; and the poet, addressing them together from the middle of the poem, offers a wholesome advice of great political importance. The poet was not new to the Pandyas; there is a poem of his in praise of another Pandya Ilavantikai-ppaḷit-tunciya Nan Māraṇ, wherein the poet pleads for peace (Verse No. 57). This poet is a merchant, according to the commentator Perācīriyar. He must have been of some eminence to have won the ears of the rulers of his times and to have enjoyed their confidence. The Tamilians may be justly proud of their independent poets of ancient times, who had the courage to address the mighty monarchs in that independent strain. The poets of the Sangam age as is clearly revealed by their poems, were not a race of Sycophants saying "aye" to whatever their patrons expressed. Unlike the Tamil poets of the dark ages, waiting with their begging bowl, at the door of rich men devoid of all virtues and learning, their illustrious predecessors of the Sangam age, as is made clear by the tradition of the Sangam,

formed an important national institution of independent leaders of the people, something comparable with the Rishis of Yore and the Guardians of Plato's Republic.

"You are the lord of the Kaveri of the cool waters". So begins the poet, addressing the Cola. Then he turns to the Pandya. "Here is the lion of the Pandyas, who, like the great and hoary banyan tree, losing its main trunk, bears the full weight of the ever spreading branches, full of rich shade, with the help of its aerial root, undaunted and unperturbed by the passing away of the ancient stalwarts, gathered together removing its fears, his agelong family of unspotted name. Verily like the unbearable, grey thunder though itself of tiny proportions, yet dashing to death the race of serpents, he is valiant in war unable to bear even the sight of enemies. The poet next addresses the Cola "You are the warrior of the city of Urantai where live undisturbed justice and virtue." The addresses to the Cola are not longer than a line probably because of Cola's undoubted eminence; the descriptions of the Pandya are long drawn probably because of the new place the Pandya has reached, by dint of his industry and courage. The poet next proceeds to describe the Pandya as though by way of introducing him to the Cola. "Here is the lord of the cool sceptre of Madura, growing into prominence along with Tamil, the great king, who, discarding the reign of paddy and water as being within the reach of all, rules, with his triple drum (of munificence, justice and happiness), over the sandals of the high mountains and the pearls of the deep sea."

This is as it were the prologue of the poem. The poet has so far diplomatically praised both the Kings. As the poem is openly addressed to the Cola, he was probably a senior king, famous for his fertile lands and well established equity. But the Pandya, though young thus rising to prominence, had seen the darker side of life where from he had emerged victorious. If the Cola was famous for his agriculture and justice, the Pandya was great for his industrial developments and his patronage of culture. The Pandya state was a "Kultur Staat". Thus, one sees in this poem, some valuable ideas germinating in the course of the poetic development of the few opening lines of the verse.

The idea, that these special characteristics of the Cola and the Pandya are really complementary, slowly grows in the imagination of the auditors of this poem, by a magical process of poetic suggestion. Having thus prepared the ground, the poet hastens to give a combined picture, explaining the importance of their union. The picture is one of divine love and unison blessed with infinite power. "Like those inseparable Brother Gods, the milky white lord of the Palm ensign and the blue lord of the Wheel, standing together, you stand this way with a divine and austere mien, full of lustre, sending everyone trembling down. Can anything be happier than this sight? Hark unto me a little longer.

Long live your fame'. May you help each other and thrive in that strength of unity'. If this union is not disturbed, the wide world, ripe with fruits, and clothed with the sea of resonant waves, cannot escape coming within your hold."

The divine right theory of kings demands a divine parallel for this rule of two kings and the poet has supplied the necessary Puranic story. It is not clear whether there is any reference here, to the fair Cola and the dark Pandya. The ideal of a world hegemony (Cakravarti), in the absence of a world federation, has always appealed to the Indian imagination, and this is here beautifully given expression to.

"If the union is not disturbed". The poet has realised the danger. There is a dramatic irony in these few words. The poet warns the kings against this danger and the poem develops that ways and we get to the heart of the poem. "Therefore" continues the poet "May your union continue as now for ever, without listening to the mean words, appearing for all outward purposes to be good, virtuous and of the ancient right path, but emanating from others, who are ever anxious to create a cleavage in your united hearts beating, with love, in unison. May your spears rise aloft in the battle-field conquering and vanquishing others". The real enemies of this happy consummation are thus explained.

The immediate fruition of such an union as this, is a series of glorious victories. But the winning of the war is not as important as the winning of the peace. The poet concludes his poem with another prayer. It is as it were the epilogue of the poem. It looks to the future. "May the mountains of other lands, shine with the peaks stamped with your fish of the wide expanse of water, and the emblem of the sturdy tiger of curved stripes engraved so deep, as to be visible from a great distance."

It is the last few lines that are really important. The other lines may lead one into think of a grand alliance or a confederation of the two great kings of the times the Cola and the Pandya. But the concluding lines, which speak of the Joint Stamp engraved on the boundaries of their joint kingdom, make it clear, beyond a shadow of doubt, that what was achieved and established by this union was a common kingdom something like the union of the British Isles with France, which Churchill thought of, on the eve of the defeat of France. The details of this union of this Sangam Age remain unfortunately unknown to us. For once at least there was an attempt at unity in Tamil land but alas it was a short lived unity—a unity however not forged in the furnace of war but created in the philosophic vision as an artistic unity of divine love, by the two great poets, Irumpitar-t-talayar and Karikkaṇṇanar.

Periyāpuranam gives us, as a historical fact the coming together of the Cera, the Cola, and the Pandya at Madura during

the visit of Sundara (the Saurte Psalmodest) to that holy place, but no political significance appears to have been attached to this royal assembly. The last lines of the poem under consideration, distinguish this union of the Cola and the Pandya made ever memorable in this verse, from other meetings of kings. This coming together of the two kings to form a unitary state is not unknown to ancient India. The rules of the ascetics prohibit their begging in a kingdom ruled by two kings, because of the political turmoils always bubbling up in such areas. Probably such a fate overtook this Cola-Pandya union as well, so heartily welcomed by our poet. Kingdoms come and kingdoms go; but this lofty ideal of this political experiment has been immortalised, thanks to our poet.

MARAVARMAN VIKRAMA PANDYA alias RAJAKKALNAYAN

BY

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Rajakkal Nayan is the surname of a certain Pandya King of the Second Pandyan Empire—(13th century A. D.)

The title of *Rajakkal Tambiran* is the surname of the Chola King Kulothunga III accession 1178 A. D.

A mistake in the Report on SOUTH INDIAN EPIGRAPHY, 1913-1914, (p. 94) attributing both these surnames to Vikrama Pandya is corrected.

Historical errors die hard, and when a mistake gets into cold print, it attains the dignity of immortality. In order to avoid historical confusion, scholars cannot be too careful in presenting the results of their original investigations.

In the Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy for 1913-1914, we find that the titles of *Rajakkal Tambiran* and *Rajakkal Nayan* are attributed to one and the same king viz. MARAVARMAN VIKRAMA PANDYA DEVA.

Here is the relevant quotation:—"Nos. 270 and 295 which call Vikrama Pandya, a Maravarma and supply for him the surnames RAJAKKAL NAYAN and RAJAKKAL TAMBIRAN respectively refer to a later king of that name. No. 276 mentions his queen ULAGAMULUDUM UDAIYAL."

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"The name VIKRAMA PANDYA GANGEYA NAYAN of No. 269 and the term *Rajakkal Tambiran-Tirumaligai* which occurs

in No. 320 as the name of a portion of the Chidambaram temple suggest that VIRA PANDYA should have been a successor of MARAVARMAN VIKRAMA PANDYA whose title *Rajakkal Tambiran* has been noted already." (P. 94, Paras 20 and 21, Report 1914).

Following this lead, even a careful scholar Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri states in his PANDYAN KINGDOM (p. 180)—“VIKRAMA PANDYA had likewise the surname *Rajakkal Nayan* which occasionally takes the form *Rajakkal Tambiran*.”

Let us examine the evidence on which this inference is based—No. 270 of 1913 is a record of a certain MARAVARMAN VIKRAMA PANDYA. It refers to a grant of land for supplying garlands on the occasion of the service called ‘*Rajakkal Nayan Sandi*’ after the king and on the day of the festival called ‘*Rajakkal Nayan-Periya-Tirunal*.’ It is therefore evident from this record that this MARAVARMAN VIKRAMA PANDYA had the surname of *Rajakkal Nayan*.

The other record (295 of 1913) from which the inference is made that the same VIKRAMA PANDYA had also the surname of *Rajakkal Tambiran* may now be examined. It is also a record of the same VIKRAMA PANDYA. It refers to the establishment of a watershed and the maintenance of the persons employed therein and other allied services. The watershed was located in the “MANDAPA called ‘ANAIYERRUKUDAM’ south of the seven storeyed Gopura on the east side of the *Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai*.” This TIRUMALIGAI (wall of enclosure) is the western wall enclosing the seven storeyed towers in the Third Prakara of the Chidambaram temple. This wall of enclosure was constructed in the period between the days of Kulottunga II (1133—50 A. D.), Kulottunga III (acc. 1178) and it was named *Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai* after the surname of the Chola King Kulottunga III, who perhaps saw to its completion. This can be postulated from the evidence furnished by inscription No. 80 of 1928 from Tiruppugalur. This record begins with the word ‘PUYAL-VAYTHU’ historical introduction of Kulottunga III and in the 10th year & 52nd day of his reign ‘a new street’ called ‘*Rajakkal Tambiran Tiruvidi*’ was formed.’ When a new street is formed it is likely to be named after the name or one of the surnames of the king. Thus it is beyond doubt that Kulottunga III had the surname of *Rajakkal Tambiran* and the third wall of enclosure of the Nataraja Temple is named after him. This Chola King claims in his TRIBHUVANAM inscription (190 of 1907) to have built at Chidambaram the MUKHAMANDAPA of SABHAPATHY, the Gopura and the Golden HARMYA in the prakara-roofed-verandahs of the goddess. So it can safely be inferred that the *Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai* is named after Kulottunga III.

Further our record 295 of 1913—of Vikrama Pandya mentions only the establishment of a watershed in the mandapa of this wall of enclosure. It is, therefore, a wrong and unwarranted inference that on the evidence furnished by this record. VIKRAMA PANDYA has to be credited with the surname of RAJAKKAL TAMBIRAN.

It may be added that this very wall of enclosure—*Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai* is mentioned in two records of MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA DEVA—124 of 1888 and 366 of 1913. They mention the existence of a VINAYAKA shrine—called KULOTTUNGA SOLA VINAYAKAR—'MODERN KARPAGA—VINAYAGAR SHRINE,' and it is said to be on the outer southern side of the entrance of the seven storeyed tower on the western part of the wall of enclosure called RAJAKKAL TAMBIRAN TIRUMALIGAI.¹

Kulottunga—Sola—Vinayakap—Pillaiyar who is established with rights of worship on the southern side of the outer portion of the entrance of the Seven Storeyed tower on the western wall of the wall of enclosure called *Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai*.

On the basis of the occurrence of this name it has not been inferred and rightly too, that this title is also a surname of MARAVARMA KULASEKHARA. Therefore, I conclude that the title of RAJAKKAL TAMBIRAN is only a surname of the Chola King Kulottunga III and not that of MARAVARMAN VIKRAMA PANDYA. Hence the statement contained in the report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1914 quoted above is wrong and it needs to be modified.

THE DATE OF MANAVIKRAMA

BY

K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, M.A.

Manavikrama, Saktan Tampuran, the brightest luminary in the firmament of the history of Calicut prior to the advent of the Portugese, is also one of the greatest patrons of literature that Kerala has ever produced. The history of the period in

1. 124 of 1888 "RAJAKKAL—TAMBIRAN—TIRUMALIGAI—MELAIT—TIRUMALIGAIYIL—NILAI—YELU—GOPURAT—TIRUVASAL—PURA—VASAL—TEN—PAKKATTU—ELUNDARULI—IRUNDU—POOSAI—KONDARULIKIRA—KULOTTUNGA—SOLA VINAYAKAP—PILLAIYAR."

which he flourished is completely shrouded in obscurity, and the few glimpses that we get about that golden age are through popular traditions, the notices of foreign travellers and the extant literary works of that time. Even the exact date of Mānavikrama has to be reconstructed from such indirect sources.

According to popular traditions there were nineteen poets, famous as the *Tatinettarakkavikal* or the eighteen and a half poets, in the court of Mānavikrama, the Great.¹ Of these Punam Nambūtiri was called a half poet, because he was only a well-known Malayālam poet, and not a recognised Sanskrit scholar. Among the others, nine were members of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭa family including Rṣi and his son Parameśvara; there were five Nambūtiris from the village of Tiruvegappura; and the rest were Cennās Narāyaṇan Nambūtiri, Uddāṇḍa Sāstri, and Kākkaṣṣeri Dāmodara Bhaṭṭatiri. It is on the basis of this tradition that scholars have tried to determine the date of Mānavikrama. But we do not know how far this tradition is dependable.

Uddāṇḍa, the author of the *Kokilasandesā*² and the *Mallikamaruta*,³ and Kākkaṣṣeri Dāmodara Bhaṭṭatiri, the author of the *Vasumatimanavikrama*⁴ have praised Mānavikrama, the Zamorin of Calicut, in their works.⁵ And both of them have referred to the Bhaṭṭas of the Payyūr family with great respect.⁶

1. This is a very popular tradition. See '*Patinettarakkavikal*' by Appan Tampuran, Mangalamala Part I; The Zamorins of Calicut by K. V. Krishna Ayyar, p. 298f; etc.

2. Published from the Mangalodayam Press, Trichur.

3. Published with the commentary of Ranganatha by Jivananda Vidyasagara, 1878.

4. Manuscript not known in any well-known library; quotations from this work are given by V. Rajarajavarma Raja in his *Keraliya-samskratasahityacaritram*, part I, and by P. V. Krishna Variyar in the 'Mathrubhumi' Annual, 1935.

5. Vide "आस्थानमध्यगतमुद्धतसौविदल्ल भूत्वेपचोदितनमच्चतुरन्तवीरम् ।
श्रीविक्रमं चतुरवारवधूकराब्जव्याधूतचामरमलोकित लोकनाथम् ॥"

Mallikamaruta p. 13.

"अथ खल्वहमादिष्टोस्मि.....श्रीमान्विक्रमन्मानायकस्य आस्थानीकृतपरिहिण्डनेन पण्डितमण्डलेन ।.....अस्मदस्वामिनः श्रीमान्विक्रमस्य चरितानुबन्धि दामोदरकविनिबद्धं किमपि रूपकोत्तमम् ।" Prologue to *Vasumatimanavikrama*, quoted by P. V. Krishna Variyar, *op. cit.*

6. Vide "कृतमेवतन्मीमां सकचक्रवर्तिना महर्षिषुत्रेण परमेश्वरेण,
वेदे सादरबुद्धिरुद्धतरे तर्के परं कर्कशः
शास्त्रे शातमतिः कलासु कुशलः काव्येषु भव्योदयः ।

The tradition is that Uddanḍa Sastri of Canjeevaram who came to Calicut seeking patronage took part in the annual Sastraic discussions, won all the laurels and lived for some time triumphantly at the court of the Zamorin. He was a little haughty and overbearing; and the Nambūtiri Brahmins of Kerala, who appreciated his scholarship and eloquence, but who were at the same time hurt by his supercilious attitude towards them, felt ashamed that a foreign scholar should have defeated them in the annual discussions. They prayed to the Goddess of temple at Ilavalli, near Guruvāyūr, for the birth of a scholar among them who would defeat Uddanḍa in his own field of dialectics, and, hearing that a Nambūtiri lady of the Kakkasēri family was pregnant, they began to give her food consecrated by *mantras*. Thus was born Kakkasēri Dāmodara Bhaṭṭatiri. Even as a child he was endowed with a prodigious memory and a productive intellect; and the special education that he received made him a great scholar in a very few years. Manavikrama himself took a personal interest in the education of the boy.⁷ Even while yet a boy of twelve Kakkasēri defeated Uddanḍa in the discussions and thus justified the expectations of the Nambūtiris.

Tradition connects Punam with Uddanḍa and Manavikrama also. When Uddanḍa came to Kerala seeking fortune he had a contempt for the Malayālam poets in general, and he expressed his views about them in the following verse :

श्लाघ्यः सत्कवितासु षट्स्वपि पटुर्भाषासु स त्वं क्षितौ
सर्वोद्दण्डकविप्रकाण्ड ददसे कस्यै न विस्मरताम् ॥”

Prologue to *Mallikamaruta*, colophon at the end of each act of *Malikamaruta*.

“त्रैविद्येशो महर्षि निस्वधि महिमा यद्विते जागरूकः ।”

“किञ्चित्पूर्वा रणखलभुवि श्रीमदध्यक्षेया-

स्तन्मीमांसा द्वयकुलगुरोः सद्य पुण्यं महर्षेः ।” etc.

Kokila Sandesa, Part I, verses 78-80,
and

“यस्मिन् प्रीणाति वाणीकरतलविलसद्वल्लकीतौव्यभाजां

सोता वाताशनाधीश्वर विशदशिरः कम्प सम्भावितानाम् ।

वाचां मोचामधूली परिमलसुहृदां सर्वदा नैगमाध्व-

श्रद्धालुः केरलक्ष्माकुलतिलकमृषिः सादितीवारदश्वा ॥”

Vasumatimanavikrama, quoted in *Karaliya Samskṛta Sahitya Caritram*, Part I, p. 473.

7. Kakkasēri himself refers to this fact in the prologue to his drama : “साक्षादद्रिसमुद्रनायकेनैव बाल्यादेवारभ्य वैपश्चितीं वृत्तिमधिकृत्य परां काञ्चामारोपितः ।”
quoted by V. Rajaraja Varma, *op. cit.*

“भाषाकविनिवदोयं दोषाकरवद्विभाति भुवनतले ।

प्रायेण वृत्तहीनः सूर्यालोके निरस्तोगोप्रसरः ॥”

Punam, who was considered as a half poet of the court, was naturally looked down with contempt by Uddaṇḍa, until he heard the following verse which Punam composed about Maṇavikrama :

“Tarilttanvikaṭakṣāñcalamadhupakulārāma rāmajanānam
nirilttarbāṇa vairākarānikaratamomaṇḍalicaṇḍabhāno
nerettātoru niyām toṭukuri kalayāykennum eṣā kuḷikkum
nerattinnippuṣam Vikramaṇṣvara dhara hanta kalpāntatoye.”

Uddaṇḍa appreciated the verse very much and presented a silk garment to him with the remark, “Anta hantaikkinta paṭṭu” (This silk garment for that word ‘Hanta’). The following verse in praise of Punam is also generally attributed to Uddaṇḍa :

“अधिकेरलमग्रगिरः कवयः

कवयन्तु वयं तु न तान् विनुः ।

पुलकोद्गमकारिवचःप्रसरं

पुनमेव पुनः पुनरास्तुमहे ॥”

It is difficult to say how far this tradition is true. Punam was certainly a contemporary of Uddaṇḍa Sāstri; for in his *Kokilasandesa* Uddaṇḍa refers to the poet Saṅkara of Kolattunāḍ, who is the author of the *Kṛṣṇavijaya*,⁸ in the following lines :⁹

“कोलानेलावनसुरमिलान् याहि यत्र प्रयन्ते

वेलातीतप्रथितयशसः शङ्कराद्याः कवीन्द्राः ॥”

And Saṅkara and Punam are mentioned as contemporaries in the Malayalam poem *Candrotsavam*.¹⁰ Moreover, in the *Mayurasandesa*,¹¹ which has *Māracemantika* one of the characters of the *Candrotsava* itself as its heroine, Uddaṇḍa is mentioned as a great

8. Published from the Mangalodayam Press, Trichur.

9. Part I, verse 60.

10. “श्रीशङ्करेण त्रिदुषा कविसार्वभौमेनानन्दमन्दगतिना पुरतो गतेन ।

श्रीमन्मुकुन्दसुरलीमधुरस्वरेण पद्यैस्वद्यरहितैरनुवर्ण्यमाना ॥”

‘Madhumadamanamolūm padyabandhair anekairmmadayaṭi
Punam i nnum bhuṛibhucakravalam”. etc.
Candrotsavam, edited by K. K. Raja, and published from
Sundara Iyer & Sons, Trichur.

11. Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, with his own commentary,
and published in the Poona Oriental Series, 1945.

poet.¹² There is also a tradition which makes Punam a very close friend of Saṅkara. Punam had, it is said, a sweetheart whose *nom-de-plume* was Mārālekha and Saṅkara's sweetheart was Mānavimenaka.¹³ And there is a verse which is said to be a letter written by Punam to Saṅkara complaining about Mārālekha's indifference towards himself; and there is another where Saṅkara admonishes Mārālekha for her indifference towards Punam, according to the tradition.

Regarding the contemporaneity of Cennās Narāyaṇan Nambūtiri with these scholars we have to depend entirely on tradition. The story is that when Uddanda came to Calicut in search of patronage it was Cennās Nambūtiri that introduced him to Mānavikrama;¹⁴ it is also said that Uddanda is the author of a verse in the *Tantrasamuccaya* of Cennās Nambūtiri.¹⁵ There is also a story that Mullappilli Nambūtiri and Cennās Nambūtiri were once punished by the Zamorin for composing some uncomplimentary verses about himself; the former was humiliated by awarding a purse before the beginning of the debate itself, while the latter was asked to produce an original work on *Tantra*. If these stories are true it is quite surprising that Uddanda Sāstri does not mention Cennās in his *Kokilasandesa*, especially as the house of Cennās was situated on the way of the messenger.¹⁶ Even in his prologue to the *Mallikamaruta*, where he gives a detailed

12. "उद्दण्डाख्यः सुरभिकवितासागरेन्दुः कवीन्द्र-
स्तुण्डीरक्ष्मावलयतिलकस्तत्र चेत्सन्निवृत्ते ।
श्राव्यामुष्य त्रिदशतटिनी वेगवैलक्ष्यदोग्धी
वाग्धाटी सा विजितदरसंकुल्लमल्लीमधूली ॥"

13. "Bhasacampukkal, by Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer, pp. 61 f.

14. The introducing verse is said to be this :
प्रक्रीडत्कार्तवीर्यार्जुनमुजविधृतोन्मुक्तसोमोद्भवाम्भः-
संभाराभोगडम्भप्रशमनपटु वाग्गुम्भगम्भीरिमश्रीः ।
तुण्डीरक्षोणि भागात् तव खलु विषयं दिण्डितोद्दण्डसूरिः
सोऽयं ते विक्रमक्ष्मावर किमु न गतः श्रोत्रियः श्रोत्रदेशम् ॥

15. "शङ्खप्रे ङ्खचटुलपटहोत्तालतालोर मेरी-
रङ्गच्छुङ्कोदुमर डमरुदीप वीणाप्रवीणाः ।
दकाङ्कुका विरलमुरलीकर्मठाश्चाभियायुः
स्फायदीपास्तमिह महितोद्दामहेला महेलाः ॥"

Patala 9, verse 230, *Tantrasamuccaya*, published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

16. He has devoted three Stanzas to describe the Payyur Bhattas; hence his silence about Cennās is really surprising, if the tradition is true.

description of his wanderings before he came to Calicut and of his first meeting of the Zamorin, Manavikrama, there is no reference to Cennās Nambūtiri. In the *Tantrasamuccaya* of Cennās also we do not find any reference to Manavikrama or any of his other court poets. *Vimarsini*, the commentary on the *Tantrasamuccaya* by Saṅkara, the son of Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri,¹⁷ also does not contain any reference to Manavikrama.

We can say definitely that Uddanda Sāstri, Kakkāṣṣeri Bhaṭṭatiri Punam and some scholars of the Payyūr family including Rṣi and his son Paramēśvara were contemporaries of Manavikrama. Saṅkara, though not a court-poet of Manavikrama, was also his contemporary. About the contemporaneity of the others including Cennās with these scholars we have to depend entirely upon tradition.

The date of Manavikrama is generally reconstructed from the date of Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri. In his *Tantrasamuccaya* he gives a date in the following verse:¹⁸

“कल्यब्देव्वतियत्सु नन्दनयनेव्वम्भोधिसंख्येषुयः
संभूतो भृगुवीतहव्यमुनियुङ्मूले सवेदोन्वये ।
प्रादुर्यस्य जयन्तमङ्गलपदेद्दं धाम नारायणः
सोऽयं तन्त्रमिदं व्याधाद्बहुविधादुद्धृत्य तन्त्रार्णवात् ॥”

This Kali year 5429 (*nanda*=9, *nayana*=2, *isu*=5 and *ambhodhi*=4) is equivalent to 1427 A. D. There is some difference of opinion among scholars as to the question whether this date refers to the date of composition of the work, or whether it gives the date of birth of the author.¹⁹ It is grammatically possible to explain the verse in both ways. The portion '*Kallyabdesvatiyatsu*' can go along with '*Vyadhat*' or with '*Sambhutah*'. But since the construction is quite complete with '*Yah savedonvaye sambhutah*' it is probable that '*Kallyabdesvatiyatsu*' is intended to be taken along with '*Vyadhat*'. The position of the word '*Yah*' after the

17. Published along with the Text in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

18. *Tantrasamuccaya*, Part II p. 317 f.

19. Vide: Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Mangalodayam, Vol. 19, p. 314; V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, Introduction to the *Tatrabindu*, Annamalai University Series, p. 92; T. K. Krishna Menon, I.H.Q. Vol. 3, R. Narayana Panikkar, *Bhasa Sahityacaritram*, part I, p. 308; P. S. Ananthanarayana Sastri, Introduction to the *Kokila Sandesa*, p. IV; K. V. Krishna Ayyar, 'The Zamorins of Calicut', p. 301; S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, Introduction to the *Sphota Siddhi* (M. U. S. S.) p. XVII; Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer, *Vijnanadipika*, part 2, p. 222; *Bhasa Campukkal*, p. 65; Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti, I. H. Q. Vol. IV, p. 710; Bulletin of Ramavarma Research Institute, Vol. 9, p. 20 n; K. Kunjunni Raja, Mangalodayam, Vol. 19; pp. 590 ff.

phrase giving the date also supports this interpretation. And moreover this is the traditional interpretation also. Again, at the end of a work it is more natural to expect the date of composition of the work, than the date of birth of the author. The author's son Saṅkara does not explain this problem at all in his commentary, *Vimarsini*, on the work. The old Malayalam commentary by Kulikkattu Nambūtiri²⁰ is also silent on the question. They take the words in the same order as is given in the text and explain them without giving the prose order. So we have to take the traditional interpretation that the date given denotes the date of composition of the work.

Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti says²¹ that "the date of the great Vikrama is unknown and it has to be reconstructed from the solitary date given by his courtier" (Cennās). But there are other sources also from which we can reconstruct the date of Manavikrama and check the result obtained by depending on the date given by Cennās.

At the time of the Chinese Emperor Yeng-lo (1403-1425 A. D.) Cheng-Ho was sent to various foreign countries from China.²² His subordinate Ma-Huan has written detailed accounts of these voyages. From a close study of these Duyvendak has stated that Ma-na-pi-chia-la-man (Maṇavikraman) became the king of Calicut by about 1407 A. D. He says:²³

"The Ming-Shih (ch 326, la) in speaking of the first expedition calls the king who reigned at Calicut Sha-mi-ti-hsi, but the Wu-hsieh-pien (l. c.) calls him Ma-na-pi-chia-la-man. The latter work in fact speaks of the second expedition of 1407-1409. A new king had evidently succeeded in Calicut between the first and the second expedition; this also explains the remark in Ma-Huan's text that the Imperial Will had to be made known to him and

20. The first part has been published from Trivandrum; the portion of the commentary on the stanza in question was procured for me by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja.

21. 'Vikrama, the great', Bulletin of Ramavarma Research Institute, Vol IX, p. 21.

22. Vide: 'Les Grands Voyages Maritimes Chinois' by Pelliot, T'oung Pao Leyden, Vol. 30 (1934); 'The true dates of the Chinese Maritime Expeditions in the early fifteenth century' by Duyvendak, T'oung Pao, Vol. 35 (1939); 'Foreign Notices of South India' by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, pp. 37-39.

23. *op. cit.* pp. 359f Cf. Pelliot's statement, *op. cit.* p. 276n;

"D' apres le Mingche (326, la) le chef qui regnait a Calicut en 1403 et recut l'ambassadeur qui lui notifia l'avenement de Yong-lo S'appelait Cha-mi-ti-hsi; le Wou-hio pien (c8, la) dit au contraire que le "rai" de Calicut en 1403 etait Ma-na-pi-kia-la-man, et il donne le nom l'envoye que le roi depecha alors a la cour de China, Ma-chou. "He has taken it as referring to the first expedition but Duyvendak has shown that it refers in fact to the second expedition.

a silver seal presented. Such a solemn ceremony would not have been necessary if it had been the same king who had already received the Imperial Orders on the first expedition."

It is clear that Sha-mi-ti-hsi stands for Sāmūtiri, i. e., the Zamorin, and that Ma-na-pi chia-la-man is the same as Mānavikrama. Duyvendak takes Sha-mi-ti-hsi as the name of the king, whereas it is only the title of the king of Calicut. Still it is quite possible that Mānavikrama became the Zamorin by about 1407 A. D., as Duyvendak's further argument points out. And we may identify this Mānavikrama with Mānavikrama, the great.²⁴

We have already seen that Uddāṇḍa Sāstri was a contemporary of Saṅkara, the author of the *Kṛṣṇavijaya*. This Saṅkara was a court poet of king Keralavarma of Kolattunād, at whose instance he composed the poem. And from the records available at the Chirakkal Palace it is known definitely that Keralavarma ruled over the country from 1422 to 1445 A. D.²⁵ Hence Mānavikrama must certainly have flourished in the first half of the fifteenth century A. D.

Some scholars have tried to shift the date of Mānavikrama by half a century forward. Their argument is mainly based on the interpretation of the verse giving the date in the *Tantrasamuccaya*. We have already seen that the traditional as well as the rational interpretation is to take it as referring to the date of composition of the work. We have also seen that there is no conclusive proof to show that Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri was a contemporary of Mānavikrama. We are accepting the tradition making him a court-poet of Mānavikrama only because the date given by him, if interpreted as referring to the date of composition of the work, tallies with the date of Mānavikrama that we get from other sources. If it were possible to prove that the date given by him refers only to the date of his birth, then the conclusion would be that Cennās was not a court-poet of Mānavikrama.

Another argument adduced to prove that Mānavikrama lived in the second half of the fifteenth century is the tradition recorded by the editor of the *Ratnaketuḍaya*, that its author Bālakavi was a contemporary and a rival of Uddāṇḍa Sāstri, the author of the

24. The argument that 'Mānavikrama' is only the title of the king of Calicut, just like 'Zamorin' (Sāmūtiri), is not sound. For there are records showing that there have been Zamorins with names Mānavikrama, Mānaveda, and Viraraya. (SEE *Bhasacampukkal*, by Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, Appendix).

25. *Bhasacampukkal*, by Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, p. 52; *Keraliyasamskrta Sahityacaritram*, by V. Rajarajavarma Raja, part I, p. 418. That the *Kṛṣṇavijaya* was written at the instance of Keralavarma is clear from the introductory part of the poem itself. The poem is published from the Mangalodayam Press, Trichur.

Mallikamaruta.²⁶ And Balakavi was an elder contemporary of Appaya Dikṣita (1520-1593) whose brother's grandson Nilakantha Dikṣita, in the Prologue to his drama *Nalacrita*, say that while Appaya Dikṣita was commenting on the *Vedantakalpataru*, Balakavi praised him thus :²⁷

अप्यदीक्षित किमित्यतिस्तुतिं वर्णयामि भवतो वदान्वताम् ।
सोऽपि कल्पतरुर्ध्वं लिप्सया त्वदिगरामवसरं प्रतीक्षते ॥”

The tradition recorded by the editor is that Balakavi was in the court of Mānavikrama, the Great; but from Balakavi's works we know that he was in the court of king Rāmaparma of Cochin.²⁸ Moreover this tradition is completely unknown in Kerala; hence much value cannot be given to this tradition. Even popular traditions will have to be brushed aside when they stand against positive evidence.

It has been argued that the reference to the Portugese hat found in the Malayalam work *Ramayana campu*, generally attributed to Punam,²⁹ shows that the date of Punam and consequently that of Mānavikrama will have to be brought down towards the close of the fifteenth century, as the Portugese came to Calicut only in 1498 A. D. But we have to remember that there is absolutely no evidence to assign the authorship of the *Ramayana campu* to Punam. There was not even a tradition making that campu a work of Punam. Punam was known as a poet of repute, but with no work to his credit; so some scholars tentatively attributed the authorship of the *Ramayana campu*, whose author was not known to him. Hence the reference found in the work, to the Portugese hat found in the work, if genuine, only shows that the author of the *Ramayana campu* cannot be Punam, the court-poet of Mānavikrama who flourished in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Mr. T. Balakrishnan Nair says that in the Chirakkal Palace there is a record that in 1454 A. D. Udayavarma, the king of Kolattunād sent one Ponattil Kuññi Nampidi to the Zamorin's palace, Mr. Nair identifies this Ponattil Nampidi with Punam Nambutiri, the half poet of the court of Mānavikrama. If we

26. Introduction to the *Sphotasiddhi* (M. U. S.) by S. K. Ramanatha Sastri. Prof. Rama Pisharoti also accepts this tradition, see Kairali, Vol. 24, p. 213.

27. Quoted by S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, *op. cit.* On Balakavi see also History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, by M. Krishnamachariar, p. 656.

28. His drama, *Ramavarmavilasa* (R. 3873a, of the Madras Oriental MSS. Library) has Ramavarma the King of Cochin as its hero. Even in his *Ratnaketudaya* Ramavarma of Cochin is mentioned. See JOR. Madras, Vol. V., p. 141.

29. *Bhasasahityacaritram*, part I, p. 358.

accept this identification, we will have to consider that Mānavikrama was the Zamorin even a few years after 1454 A. D. Though this is not impossible as according to the popular traditions Mānavikrama ruled over the country for a long time, still there is no definite proof for this identification. Moreover, since we know that Punam was a contemporary of Saṅkara, the court-poet of Keralavarma of Kolattunād (1422-1445) it seems better to consider that the half poet Punam is different from Ponattil Kuññi Nampidi.

Thus we have seen that the arguments brought forward to show that Mānavikrama lived in the latter half of the fifteenth century are vague and faulty. Sten Konow and Keith, following Pischel have assigned Mānavikrama to the middle of the seventeenth century; this must be based on incorrect information.

Saṅkara, the contemporary of Mānavikrama's protege Uddanda, was in the court of Keralavarma (1422-1445); Cennās is said to have written his *Tantrasamuccaya* at the instance of Mānavikrama, in 1427; and according to Ma-Huan, Mānavikrama became the Zamorin by about 1407. From these we may safely conclude that Mānavikrama, the Great, flourished in the early half of the fifteenth century A. D.

SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE ANCIENT TAMILIAN CIVILISATION

BY

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Synopsis

This paper treats of Public Finance, Foreign Commerce and the Organization of Industry and Agriculture as portrayed in the *Tolkappiyam*, *Pattinappalai* and other old Tamil works. The period is a few centuries before and after the Christian era.

30. *Samastakerala sahityaparisat traimasikam*, Vol. III, p. 166.

31. Mr. K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op. cit.*, p. 336, assigns Mānavikrama to the period 1466-1474. This is based on the assumption that his court poet, Cennas Nambutiri was born in 1427, and that the average length of a Zamorin's reign, calculated on the basis of the 25 reigns covering 200 years from 1560 to 1760, is 8 years. Evidently this cannot be accepted.

32. *Das indische Drama*, p. 110.

33. *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 257.

34. *Rudrata*, Introduction, p. 10. Referred to by Sten Konow,

op. cit.

EARLIEST TRACES OF WESTERN INFLUENCE IN TAMIL LITERATURE

BY

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Synopsis

It is generally believed that De Nobili, who came out to India in 1605, is the first European to have introduced Western thought into Tamil Literature. This paper is a attempt to trace earlier possible literary contacts between Tamil Nad the West, and draw the development of a Christian Literature in Tamil before the coming of De Nobili.

SOME PROBLEMS OF CERA (KERALA ?) HISTORY (DOWN TO A. D. 826)

BY

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Historical research in Malabar is still in its infancy. In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to more than suggest problems for investigation and solution. Some of them are :—

(1) Is the Sanskrit *Kerala* a variant of the Dravidian *Cerala* or are they two different words ?

(2) What were the limits or *Keraḷa* ?

(3) Was *Ceramān Perumāḷ*'s accession according to the *Custom of Malanad* an exception to the rule of patrilineal succession or had matrilineal succession become to rule by the time of *Ceramān* ? If the latter is the case, when did it become so ?

(4) Why are not the *Nāyars* mentioned before *Cekkilar* ?

(5) Whence, when, and how did the *Nampūtiri Brahmins* come to *Keraḷa* ?

(6) Is there any truth in the story of *Ceramān Perumāḷ*'s conversion to Islam or Christianity ?

(7) Is there any historical foundation for the story of his *Bhuvibhaga* or Partition of his Empire ?

(8) If his *Bhuvibhaga* had been a historical fact, what is the chronological position of Sthanu Ravi, Bhaskara Ravi, and Viraraghava Cakravarti?

(9) Why is no reference found in Bhaskara Ravi's inscriptions to the invasions of Kerala by Rajaraja I and Rajendra I? Was there more than one Bhaskara Ravi? What is the meaning of ".....year opposed to second year" found in his inscriptions?

(10) What was the relation between the Kongu Ceras and the Ceras of Vanci?

(11) What was the origin of the Kollam Era?

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF SAIVA SIDDHANTHA IN SOUTH INDIA

BY

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The paper traces the origin of Saiva Siddhantha from the earliest literature of the Tamils namely, Tholkappiam and the Sangam Works. It shows the various stages of its growth, the elements that it incorporated into itself, the men who were its most important exponents and the adverse systems which retarded its progress upto the present age.

WATER SUPPLY AND IRRIGATION SYSTEM IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

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Synopsis

The maintenance of a very efficient water supply system for agriculture as well as domestic purposes formed the most important duty of the village assemblies and urban corporations of our ancient Indian villages and cities. Proper arrangements for the purpose were provided for by the construction of wells and tanks, channels and canals, sluices and embankments by the village community as a whole and also partly by individual charity.

In ancient cities too water supply was done through only tanks or wells. Several tanks built according to the strict rules of Silpasastra were really places which provided drinking water. The urban corporations of South India looked to the proper maintenance and prompt distribution of water according to the needs of the people at any particular place. The bunds of the tank were occupied by good gardens and on the water were lotus and other plants which added to the purity and taste of the water. A big tank for drinking purposes was usually constructed in the centre of a village or town. It is quite likely that there were many such tanks at various other places to enable the people to have a quick access to drinking water tanks. It is also certain that innumerable wells too were constructed at all places for the same purpose. There were also varied watersheds (prapa) for the distribution of pure drinking water.

As regards water supply for agricultural purposes it is clearly evident from the inscriptions that a matter like irrigation was the work of the village assembly which functioned through its committees. Irrigation system in Ancient India was due partly to individual benefactions and partly due to communal enterprise; and South Indian inscriptions are full of instances of both. In an enterprising work as building tanks, channels and canals the people cooperated by making munificent endowments and sometimes the temple and even the community as a whole carried on such constructions. Even in cases of individual charity the maintenance of tanks which meant the constant removal of silt fell on the part of the local bodies 'the tank committee of the village assembly'.

The kings and people vied with each other in constructing tanks as it was considered meritorious in those days to build one. As for example the wonderful irrigational works of the Chola period are really the outcome of a highly skilled labour of the times. The local bodies in Ancient India had also their 'Public Works Department'. In short it is clearly evident that the municipal bodies of Ancient India embraced a wide field of activity which seem to comprise of the preservation and maintenance of public halls, temples, tanks, resthouses, wells for supply of drinking water to travellers, construction of water courses and places of worship, protection against incursion of wicked people and relief of the distressed.

HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO JAINISM IN LANKA DWIP, THE ANCIENT CEYLON IN BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

BY

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1. At present there are no native Jains in the country and as such no Jain temple or monasteries exist in the island of Ceylon. There are at present no known relics or monuments which can be admittedly attributed to Jainism, but from the references in the Buddhist scriptures-Dipavansa and Mahavansa, the ancient works composed in Ceylon, we can identify the ruins and relics as belonging to Jainism. These works belong to Buddhism and have been written in old Sinhali and Pali languages. Of these two works Dipavansa is the oldest one which was composed approximately in the 5th century A. D. This work appears to have been based on Attakathas which contain the references to the ancient history of the island of Ceylon.

2. Indeed the whole section of the Dipavansa consists entirely of synchronistic connections of the ecclesiastical traditions with secular history of India and Ceylon. Though this is the fact, yet all these books treat mainly of two periods—one that of Buddha and half a century about his times and the other about two centuries *i.e.* from the commencement of Maurya rule upto the end of Ashok's life. Dipvansa was probably composed two centuries after Ashoka. Moreover these events were put into script some six or seven centuries after they had actually taken place. The Mahavansa which is later than Dipavansa clearly indicates that the Jain civilization was existing in Ceylon before the advent of Buddhism in that country.

3. It is stated that "Vijaya" son of King Sinhabahu had gone to Lanka from the country Lala (Lata) together with seven hundred followers. "Thus it will be clear that King Vijaya (543 or 483 B. C.) had gone over from Lata Desha, the Gujarat in India on an expedition to Ceylon. Further it is stated that when those who were commanded by Vijaya, landed from their ship, they sat down wearied, resting their hands upon the ground and since their hands were reddened by touching the red soil, that region and also the island were named Tambapanna. But since the king Sinhabahu, who had slain the lion, was called Sinhlies and by reason of the ties between him and them, all those followers of Vijaya were called Sinhal. Here and there did Vijaya's ministers found villages. ANURADHAPUR was built by a man of that name near the Kadamba river; the Chaplain Upatissa built Upatissagama on the bank of the Gambhira river

to the north of ANURADHAPUR, other ministers built each for himself UJJINT, URUVETA and city of VIJIT". It is undoubtedly proved from the above references that Vijaya was not a local king of Lanka-Ceylon; who is supposed to have founded the city of Anuradhapur. From ancient Indian history we learn that king UDAYAN ruled from 496 B. C. and it is further stated therein that he set for the conquest of Southern India and possibly conquered all kingdoms upto Lanka, where in commemoration of his victory he founded a new city named Anuradhapur, after the name of his son ANURUDHDHA. It is also possible that the conquest of Ceylon and the founding of the new city, might have taken place during life of his son ANURUDHDHA, or during his life time, Prince Anurudhdha might have led the army to Lanka and conquered it and then founded the city, after his name. If king Vijaya might have founded the city, he might have given it a name after his own name, say Vijayapur or Vijayanagar or so. Though no religious books of India proper, contain the information that Udayan had a son named Anurudhdha, yet the above Buddhist books of Ceylon inform us that Ajatshatru had two grandsons named Anurudhdha and Mund, who had ascended the throne after Udayan and had ruled after him. This is accepted as truth by all historians of ancient India. If one more point is proved that the founder of the city of Anuradhapur was a Jain our problem will be solved. Udayan was the king of Sisunag dynasty and was a Jain. Anurudhdha who was also a Jain being a king of Sisunag dynasty, built in Anuradhapur several Jain temples, monasteries, chaityas, (which some scholars wrongly call viharas and mathas) and erected there a "STUPA" just as Ajatsatru had erected a similar Stupa at Bharhut, Priyadarsin at Sanchi and King Kharwel at Amraoti. These were turned into Buddha places when Buddhism prevailed in this country during the reign of king Asoka.

4. In the above statement of Mahavansa it is already seen that "*ANURADHAPUR WAS BUILT BY A MAN OF THAT NAME*" near the Kadamba river, and not by the king Vijaya himself. Again here and there Vijaya's ministers found villages and so also the ANURADHAPUR and to the north of Anuradhapur other ministers built each for himself UJJINT, URUVETTE, VIJIT cities. Even these names of the cities suggest that these must have been built by the followers of Jainism, as these are the names used by them particularly in their writings with the special meaning behind them or so. Also it is not known that king Vijaya had another name as Aurudhdha or so.

5. Further it is very clearly stated that "towards north each of the candali-village he made the cemetery, called the Lower cemetery for Candala folk. North of this cemetery, between it and the Pasana-mountain, the line of huts for the huntsmen were built. Residence was made for many ascetics towards the north; eastward of that cemetery the ruler built a

house for *NIGANTHA* (*Nigrantha*) *JOTIYA*. In that same region dwelt the *NIGANTHA* named *GIRI* and many ascetics of the various heretical sects. And there the lord of the lords built also a *Chapel for the NIGANTHA KUMBANDHA*; it was named after him. Towards the west from thence and eastward of the street of hutsmen lived hundred families of heretical beliefs. On the further side of *JOTIYA'S* house and on this side of the Gamani-Tank he likewise built a monastery for wandering mendicant monks and a dwelling for *AJIVAKAS* (a sect of Jainism) and a residence for Brahmins and in this place he built a lying-in shelter and a hall for those recovering from sickness. Ten years after this construction Pandukabhaya the ruler of Lanka established the village boundaries over the whole of the island of Lanka.

6. The above quotations will show that King Pandukabhaya rendered great services for the cause of *NIGANTHAS* i. e., *JAIN MUNIS AND YATIS* e. i., ascetics dwelling in a very large number in the country. There is no doubt that king Pandukabhaya must have been the follower of Jainism. It is also said that he founded the city of Anuradhapur and made it his capital in 437 B. C. and called it after the constellation Anuradhapur. But there is no clear evidence to prove this fact. Anuradhapur attained its highest magnificence about the commencement of the Christian era. The same scripture gives us further information that "there upon the Damalias (Tamilians made war upon the king) in a battle near Koamalaka the king was vanquished near the gate of the Tirtharam he mounted into his car and fled. But the Tirtharam was built by the king Pandukabhaya and it has been constantly inhabited under the twenty one kings. As a *NIGANTHA* named *GIRI* saw him take flight, he cried out loudly "the great black lion is fleeing" when the great king heard he thought thus: 'if my wish be fulfilled I will build a Vihar here.' This is also referred to in Tika (commentary by Buddhaghosha) and the name Tirtharam itself indicates that the monastery was inhabited by the non-Buddhist monks the Niganthas, the Jains.

7. Lastly our attention is forcibly drawn to the reference that when the renowned king had been to Anuradhapur and had slain the Damila Dathika he himself assumed the Government and forthwith the king destroyed a Vihar with twenty cells. When two hundred and seventeen years ten months and ten days had passed since the founding of the *MAHAVIHAR* the king filled with pious zeal, built the *ABHAYAGIRI VIHAR*. He sent for the (two) theras and to the Mahatissa who had first assisted him of the two, he gave the Vihar to do him honour. Since the king Abhaya built it on the place of the Arama of Nigantha Giri, the Vihar received to name *ABHAYAGIRI*. In original Pali the information is as follows:—

“तं दि स्वान पलायतं निगंठो गिरी नामको ।
 पलायति महाकाल सीहलेति भुसंरवि ॥
 तं सुता न महाराजा सिद्धे मम मनोरथे ।
 विहारं एत्यकारेस्यं ईच्छेव चितईसदा ॥
 दाठिकं दमिलं हत्वा सयं रज्ज अकारई ।
 ततो निगंठारामं तं विद्धं सेत्वा महिपतिः ॥
 विहारं कारतित्थं द्वादस्व परिवेणिकं ।
 महावीहार पद्माना होसु वस्स सतेतुच ॥”

8. Thus, here and there throughout the Mahavansa and Dipavansa we find some conflicts about the names of persons etc. But this is quite natural in compositions in the form of recitals coming down from generation to generation. But if one analyses them and sifts out the actual facts which are described in the work, one comes to an unmistakable conclusion that Jains once ruled in Lanka-Ceylon, they had their civilization, monasteries, ascetics etc. in the land and finally the Jains-Niganthas were conquered by the Buddhists. I consider that this would have always and in all circumstances been natural to variations in the accounts and hence such differences arise especially when the conversions in Lanka is concerned from time to time. The fact in all essential respects holds good and it is a question of putting it in right light, which the Buddhist writers could not do successfully, or might have played this role deliberately with some motive which was best known to them only.

9. The ruins and relics of the ancient city Anuradhapur are spread over an area of nearly 20 miles even at present. Anuradhapur is at present a big town and the headquarter of the district of the same name. It was a capital of Lanka-Ceylon for more than one thousand years (267 B. C. to 729 A. D.) according to other statements from 500 B. C. to 9th century A. D. The capital of Lanka-Ceylon has changed from time to time and various dates are assigned to the different shiftings. The Portugese and other Europeans appeared on the scene from the 16th century and from 1592 the native kings ruled from Kandy. The Dutch dispossessed the Portugese in 1656, but gave way in turn to the British, who held some provinces since 1796 and the whole Island of Ceylon since 1815. Anuradhapur is called the buried city of Lanka, famous for its ancient and extremely interesting ruins and relics and monuments of a great civilization-JAIN-NIGANTHAS that existed more than 2000 years ago, when the city was the capital of a succession of ancient Kings.

10. ABHAYAGIRI DAGOBA-STUPA stands first in the ancient ruins at Anuradhapur. It is one of the largest Dagobas in Lanka. Abhayagiri means a Mount of Safet. This stupa is 260 ft. high. It is a construction of brick in mud which was

originally 270 ft. in height. It has lost a great part of its pinnacles. The present condition is very deplorable. It is covered with trees and plants grown very wildly and it is in ruins. The round below it and round about it is paved with big stones, approximately from 10 ft. to 15 ft. \times 2 ft. to 3 ft. This paved platform is nearly eight acres in extent at present, raised some feet above the surrounding enclosure and the usual ground level. It is clear from the above account of destruction of NIGANTHARAM OF GIRI—A JAIN MUNI, by the then ruling king Mahakal Sinha-Vittagamani Abhaya, as mentioned in Mahavamsa that it was erected in the 1st century B. C. having a joint name *i.e.* Abhaya (king's name) and GIRI (name of a NIGANTHA JAIN) it means ABHAYA GIRI. One has to climb the paved platform nearly at the distance of not less than 500 ft. where one finds old remains of the Steps at the entrance, having a Moonstone—the semicircular granite stone, placed at the foot of a flight of steps and wonderfully carved in concentric rings, containing procession of animals, birds, bulls, elephants, *LIONS*, horses in one outer semicircle and birds, swans etc. in inner semicircles and floral scrolls of artistic designs. These are fine specimen seen at Anuradhapur, Polonnuruva, in Lanka-Ceylon. There are also remnants of pillars of Sabhamandap all over the stone paved flooring upto the Stupa dagoba itself almost on all sides in general and on east of the dagoba in particular, being the side of entrance to it. The debris lying all round the stone-paved flooring shows that there was a structure of temple with its Garbhagrah and Sabhamandap, Veditmandap, etc. on the paved platform which has been destroyed by king Abhaya as stated above. The stones in the debris bear the carvings of ELEPHANTS, LIONS, etc. in abundance which indicates that the structure belonged to NIGANTHAS—JAINS and to their culture, which was at the zenith of its power in the country, in the ancient time. There is no inscription at present on the spot or in the Abhayagiri Stupa but some of the inscriptions are removed to the Colombo museum which could not be seen as the whole material was removed to a place of safety due to the present war conditions.

11. To the west of Abhayagiri Stupa at a distance of two or three furlongs behind the stupa, *i.e.*, just behind the last fencing of the stupa, there are two stone idols in Padmasana pose of a size of nearly 5 ft. and 4 ft. respectively in height. Out of the two, the first and the bigger idol is *nude* without any cloth covering and any sacred thread has not been shown over the body. There is no inscription or any Symbol-Lanchhan on the pedestal of the idols. Both these idols are well placed on the 4 ft. platform of bricks specially made for the purpose and there is a fencing with iron bars to save them from animals etc. To my mind this is undoubtedly a JAIN IDOL OF THE NIGANTHARAM OF GIRI AND OTHER WHERE THERE WAS A JAIN CHAITYALAYA-TEMPLE AND MONASTARY OF THE JAIN-NIGANTHAS.

MUNIS, YATIS etc., described as above in Mahavansa ; before the destruction of the same. The other idol of 4 ft. height and smaller than the first is with one or two slight lines on the chest, which might have been carved afterwards to resemble the cloth or the sacred thread on the idol, with a view to change the original JAIN IDOL into one of Buddhism. But the attempt was not quite successful. There is no symbol or any Lanchhan or any inscription on the pedestal of the idol as said before. Mainly due to the conversion of the idol it appears that these two idols (first Jain and second so-called Buddha) belong to different religions and times and one can be attributed to JAIN RELIGION and the other to Buddha, while in my opinion both the idols belong to JAIN RELIGION ONLY. It is for the specialists to decide to which religion the so-called Buddha idol belonged. In the vicinity of this spot—stupa within the area of not less than 20 miles, there are no idols at all, either Buddhist or non-Buddhist, except the above mentioned idols. It is worth considering that had those idols really belonged originally to the Buddhist civilization, they would have never been left uncared for till now, when the antiquity of those idols is taken into consideration with all their religious sanctity behind them. The first idol iconographically resembles particularly in facial expressions, i.e., that nose and other expressions, with that of the great world famed JAIN IDOL OF SRI GOMATESWAR BAHU BALI, at Srawanabelgoma, in Mysore State in India. There is one building called "Silent Monks Spot" the monastery of monks who used to keep 'MAUN' i.e., silence, which is the most special characteristic of the Jain MUNIS. From what I have seen, I firmly believe that the *JAIN RELIGION ONCE PROSPERED IN LANKA THE ANCIENT CEYLON AND THERE IS A VAST FIELD FOR SCHOLARS TO CARRY RESEARCH WORK IN THE INTEREST OF JAINISM IN particular and indology in general.*

12. Amongst various tribes which were in existence were the VIDYADHARAS. These are known today as the Veddas, the aboriginis of LANKA-Ceylon. The word Vedda is the corrupted form of VIDHYADHARA. Vidhyadharas being human beings, had the spiritual power to fly in the air from one place to another. According to the great Jain epic Rawan is known to have been a Vidhyadhar, king of Lanka-Dwip, or Patal Lanka ; who used to fly to Kailas mountain in Aryawart to worship the place where Lord Rishabhadeo, the first Tirthankar of the Jain religion attended Nirwan-absolute salvation. This Vidhyadhar Yoni-clan is the speciality of Jainism and no other religions of India say in the least about Vidhyadharas as Jain books describe them. On the other hand Valmiki describes Rawan as a great, ten headed demon, quite against the description in the Jain works. The Vidhyadharas were the followers of Jainism and naturally they were purely vegetarians and practising Ahimsa. So also the present Veddas were vegetarians originally but now they are not so due to changed times. No doubt they are

not strictly the followers of Jainism today, but indirectly they fellow the principles of Jainism. They have their temple of Vedda Dewas in Ceylon at present, having a serpent hood on the head of the idol of God, just resembling the idol of Lord Parswanath, the 23rd Tirthankar of the Jains (900 B. C.) who had a serpent hood over the head. Previous references of Mahavansa prove that Jainism was in predominance in Lanka-Ceylon, upto the reign of King Dewanampriya Tissa. (307-267 B. C.) during whose reign Mihind son of Asok king (272-231 B. C.) of Magadha in India was sent over to introduce Buddhism into Lanka. Before its introduction into the country there must have been in existence the religions JAINISM or Vedism or both. But Mahavansa is not describing about the existence of Vedism as much as it describes JAINISM i. e. NIGANTHAS, their Sanghas, with their monasteries, etc. in abundance and their existence for centuries even after the introduction of Buddhism in Lanka-Ceylon. The conclusion is therefore, justified that the Veddas-Vidhyadharas were the followers of the Jain faith. One more vital and important point is the absolute nonexistence of any ancient ruins and relics or monuments described in Mahavansa to the credit of Vedic religion in Ceylon, as it has mentioned in the case of NIGANTHAS; and nothing is found at present in contrast with the Jain Idols at Anuradhapur and Polannaruva etc. It is the most distinctive contribution of Jainism to art in India that their idols of Tirthankaras-Gods are shown on the Sinhasan on which the image of Jain Tirthankaras is seated or standing (and round the Prabhawal should be shown the figures of Vidhyadharas, Yakhyas, and Yakkhunis, Gandharwas, Indras and Indrayanis and others, as either seated or standing) in the Air and offering worship to the Lord JINA.

KERALA AND ASOKA

BY

P. C. ALEXANDER, M.A., M.LITT., Head of the Department
of History, Venkatagiri Rajah's College, Nellore.

Asoka's contribution to the spread of Buddhism in Kerala and the Tamil Kingdoms of the south has not been fully estimated or acknowledged by historians. The general view seems to be that Asoka had little to do with the spread of Buddhism in these regions. An attempt is made in this paper to prove that Kerala was an important field of his missionary activities.

**Minutes of the Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History
Congress Association held on 31st December, 1945
at Annamalai-nagar.**

The Annual Business meeting of the Indian History Congress Association was held on December 31st, 1945 at 3 P. M. in the room of Faculty of Arts of the Annamalai University, Annamalai-nagar. Dr. Tara Chand, President, was in the chair. The following business was transacted.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

2. A condolence resolution placing on record the deep sense of grief of the Association on the sad and premature death of Dr. Beni Prasad, Professor of Politics, Allahabad University, whose contributions to history and politics were of a very high order and whose devotion and learning was exemplary, and on the death of Prof. J. Dubreuil was moved from the chair and accepted, all standing.

3. The Joint Secretary presented the Annual Report for the year 1945 as sent up by the Executive Committee, which was adopted by the house.

4. The Treasurer presented the audited statement of accounts of income and expenditure from 1st January to 31st December 1944 and from 1st January to 30th November, 1945. It was resolved to record it.

In this connection it was resolved, as recommended by the Executive Committee, that in future accounts should be presented from 1st April to 31st March of the subsequent year.

5. The budget estimates of income and expenditure for the period 1st January, 1946 to 31st March, 1947, as recommended by the Executive Committee, were presented by the Treasurer and were approved.

6. The Secretary reported the progress made in the preparation of the Comprehensive History of India, and also reported the receipt of further donations (see Annual Report). It was resolved to accept the donations and to thank the donors. The Association also expressed its sense of gratefulness to the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Chairman of the Executive Board, for his kind interest and untiring efforts to secure adequate financial support for the scheme.

7. The Association considered the invitation extended by the University of Patna to the Indian History Congress to hold its ninth session at Patna in 1946. It was resolved, as recommended by the Executive Committee, to accept the invitation with thanks.

8. The President reported the names of the office-bearers for 1946, President and Sectional Presidents for the ninth session, as elected by the Executive Committee.

Office-bearers for 1946

President : Dr. Tara Chand
Vice-President : Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari
 Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
General Secretary : Dr. S. N. Sen (Subject to permission by
 the Government of India)
Joint Secretary : Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
Treasurer : Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena

President and Sectional Presidents for ninth Session

President : Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

Sectional Presidents

Section	I	Dr. J. N. Bannerji, Calcutta University
"	II	Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Madras University
"	III	Mr. Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Aligarh Muslim University
"	IV	Dr. Ishwari Prasad, Allahabad University
"	V	Dr. H. N. Sinha, Nagpur University

9. The following were elected members of the Executive Committee for the year 1946 :

1. Prof. D. V. Potdar.
2. Prof. Sri Ram Sharma.
3. Dr. J. N. Bannerji.
4. Dr. K. N. V. Sastri.
5. Dr. S. K. Bannerji.
6. Prof. Gurty Venkat Rao.
7. Dr. P. M. Joshi.
8. Dr. H. N. Sinha.
9. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar.
10. Prof. Mohammad Habib.
11. Dr. I. H. Qureshi.
12. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.
13. Prof. V. Narayan Pillai.
14. Prof. H. K. Sherwani.

10. The Secretary reported that the Executive Committee had not sent up any resolutions for discussion by the house.

11. Dr. S. N. Sen proposed a vote of thanks to Lt.-Col. M. Ruthnaswami, Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University and Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rao Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, Local Secretary and other office-bearers and members of the Reception Committee for the splendid arrangements in connection with the meetings of the Indian History Congress. He also expressed his admiration for the untiring efforts of the volunteers who largely contributed to the success of the session by their zeal and devotion to duty, and thanked them on behalf of the Association. Prof. D. V. Potdar, Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, Dr. H. N. Sinha and Dr. I. H. Qureshi associated themselves with the proposal which was adopted with acclamation. After a reply by Rao Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari on behalf of the Reception Committee and the concluding remarks of the President the session concluded.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Joint Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

30 December, 1945.

The annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held on December 30, 1945, at 6-30 p.m. in the Vice-Chancellor's Room at Annamalai University in Annamalainagar. The following members were present :—

1. Dr. Tara Chand (*in the Chair*)
2. Dr. S. N. Sen.
3. Dr. B. P. Saksena.
4. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.
5. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar.
6. Rao Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.
7. Dr. P. M. Joshi.
8. Dr. I. H. Qureshi.
9. Prof. D. V. Potdar.
10. Prof. Sri Ram Sharma.
11. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.

Dr. K. K. Datta of the Patna University was also present by invitation.

The following business was transacted :—

1. The minutes of the last meeting held in December 1944 were read and confirmed.
2. The Committee considered the Report for the year 1945 presented by the General Secretary and recommended it to the Association for adoption.

3. The Committee considered the audited statement of accounts of income and expenditure from 1st January to 31st December 1944 and the audited statement of accounts from 1st January to 30th November 1945 presented by the Treasurer and recommended by them to the Association for adoption.

It was further *resolved* that in future the accounts should be presented from 1st April to 31st March of the subsequent year.

4. The Committee adopted the budget estimates of income and expenditure for the period from 1st January 1946 to 31st March 1947 and recommended it to the Association for adoption.

5. The Secretary reported the progress made in the preparation of the Comprehensive History of India.

6. The following Office-bearers were elected for 1946 —

President : Dr. Tara Chand.

Vice-Presidents : Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

General Secretary : Dr. S. N. Sen, (Subject to permission by the Government of India).

Joint Secretary : Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.

Treasurer : Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena.

7. The following were elected as President and Sectional Presidents for the 9th Session (1946):

President : Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

Sectional Presidents :

Section I Dr. J. N. Banerji, Calcutta University.

Section II Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Madras University ;

Section III Mr. Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Aligarh University.

Section IV Dr. Ishwari Prasad, Allahabad University.

Section V Dr. H. N. Sinha, Nagpur University.

8. The Committee considered the question of venue for the next session and in this connection considered the invitation extended by the Universities of Patna and Delhi, and the Bombay Historical Society.

It was resolved to recommend to the Association to accept with thanks the invitation of the Patna University.

It was also resolved to thank Dr. P. M. Joshi for the invitation which he extended on behalf of the Bombay Historical Society and to request him to persuade the University of Bombay to invite the Indian History Congress to hold its session in Bombay in 1947.

Dr. I. H. Qureshi invited the Indian History Congress on behalf of Delhi University for the year 1948 which invitation was recommended to the Association for acceptance.

9. The Committee appointed Messrs. G. P. Jaiswal & Co. Allahabad to audit the accounts for the year 1945-46 and authorised the payment of a remuneration not exceeding Rs. 50.

The Committee considered the proposal sent up by the president of Section II (1944) to amend the constitution.

It was resolved not to accept the proposal.

11. The Committee deferred the consideration of the proposal for the publication of a Bibliography of Indian historical subjects.

12. The Committee postponed the consideration of the proposal of Principal H. K. Sherwani relating to the publication of a journal.

13. The Committee postponed the consideration of the proposal that the Indian History Congress should undertake the publication of original source material for the history of India.

14. The Committee considered the proposal of Mr. K. Ranga-
rajam and resolved that it be recorded.

BISHESWAR PRASAD
Joint Secretary.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
Estimates for the year 1946

	Income				Expenditure			
	1943 Rs. a. p.	1944 Rs. a. p.	1945 Rs. a. p.	1946 Rs. a. p.	1943 Rs. a. p.	1944 Rs. a. p.	1945 Rs. a. p.	1946 Rs. a. p.
Central Fund ...	457 6 6	1,586 4 6	2,535 3 9	3,896 0 0	305 0 0	260 0 0	257 9 0	625 0 0
Membership fee	2,015 0 0	2,200 4 0	1,934 8 0	2,500 0 0	168 8 0	1 4 0	...	187 8 0
Sale of Proceedings	20 0 0	48 10 0	141 7 0	200 0 0	102 12 0	131 2 0	101 6 0	500 0 0
Sale of Bibliography and Research Bulletin	...	...	...	...	30 12 0	46 8 0	31 15 0	87 0 0
Miscellaneous ...	...	...	...	...	198 14 0	265 0 6	173 11 0	362 8 0
Establishment ...	...	...	...	...	0 8 0	...	...	62 8 0
T. A. Bill	...	...	...	...	92 0 0	65 14 0	...	125 0 0
Printing	...	...	...	...	7 12 0	18 8 0	6 12 0	25 0 0
Stationery	...	...	...	...	...	500 0 0	300 0 0	1,500 0 0
Postage	...	...	...	...	...	21 10 3	3 6 0	...
Furniture	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	62 8 0
Miscellaneous ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,487 8 0
Bank Commission	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Printing of Proceedings	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
History Scheme	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Audit expenses	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	2,492 6 6	3,845 2 6	4,775 14 9	6,696 0 0	906 2 0	1,302 14 9	878 11 0	3,487 8 0

TARA CHAND
General Secretary

BISHESHWAR PRASAD
Joint Secretary

B. P. SAKSENA
Treasurer

ANNUAL REPORT—1945

The Indian History Congress has now completed the first decade of its existence in the service of the cause of historical scholarship. During this period it has virtually achieved the position of the National Council of historians of India. It has helped to promote research on scientific lines, and by its active pursuit of the scheme of a comprehensive history of India written by the Indian scholars, it has fulfilled a great national need. The position of the Indian History Congress in the academic life of the nation may be judged by its growing membership and the increasing response to its invitation from the universities, and learned institutions of the country.

This year also most of the Indian universities, the Government of India and the Provincial governments of Northern Frontier Province Assam and Bihar and the Indian states of Gwalior, Rewa, Tripura, Baroda, Mayurbhanj, Mewar, Jodhpur, Puddukkottai, and Kolhapur have nominated their representatives to attend the eighth session of the Indian History Congress. The following learned institutions have also sent up their representatives :—

C. P. & Berar Jain Research Institute, Yeotmal; Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona; Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal; The Adyar Library and Theosophical Society, Madras; The P. E. N. Association, Bombay; Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag; Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay; The Mythic Society, Bangalore; Nagri Pracharni Sabha, Benares; and Rajwade Sanshodhak Mandal, Dhulia.

We have also received representations from some of the foreign governments. But it is regrettable that a number of provincial governments and Indian states have not found it convenient to appoint their representatives. I hope that with the return of normalcy in the country, they will associate themselves more with the working of the Indian History Congress and we will have among us the representatives of every government in India, without the active cooperation of the governments, universities and learned institutions the Indian History Congress cannot succeed in fulfilling its role of the national council of Indian historians.

Further progress has been made in the preparation of the History of India, I have to report that one chapter of volume I, one chapter of volume II, two chapters of volume III, nine chapters of volume V, four chapters of volume VII, three chapters of volume VIII, three chapters of volume IX, two chapters of volume X, and one chapter of volume XI, have so far been received by the office. It is obvious that the speed with which we wanted to finish the work has not been attained and the progress has been somewhat slow. The office has done what it could to expedite the work and has sent repeated reminders to all the contributors.

The editors have been good enough to maintain personal contact with the contributors and have tried to use their power of friendly persuasion to get the work expedited. But unfortunately we have not been able to keep to our programme. There are, however, serious limitations to intellectual labour. It cannot be made to produce to order. May I, while sympathising with the difficulties of contributors appeal to them that efforts should be made to expedite work so that at least three volumes may be published during the ensuing year.

The progress made in the collection of funds has been gratifying. Last year I was able to report the munificent donations made by His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, Dr. B. C. Law. The Government of India, the Government of Travancore and Mysore states, Sir Dorabji Tata Trust and a number of Universities. It was also reported that the total promises amounted to Rs. 1,25,000 by the end of the year 1944. I may be permitted to announce that during the year (1945) we have been able to secure most generous donations from the Governments of Gwalior and Indore which have each contributed Rs. 25,000. Sir Dorabji Tata Trust has increased its donation from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 20,000. The Government of India have also sanctioned a further grant of Rs. 10,000. The Government of Baroda and Jaipur have made a grant of Rs. 5,000 each. A number of other Indian states and institutions have made their contributions to this fund thus bringing the total amount to about two and a quarter lacs of which Rs. 1,13,100 has already been received.

Let me repeat once again that but for the lead of the worthy president of our Executive Board, the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Kt., this collection would not have been possible.

Last year the Congress considered two important resolutions:—*One* regarding the co-ordination of research work. And the second regarding the compilation of a periodical bulletin Bibliography of Indology on the lines of the Bibliographic Orientali Scheme of Leiden. I also suggested that the Congress should take up the publication of original works and translations, and that it should try to acquire manuscript and other historical material. The scheme for the Bibliography will be placed before the Association this year. Work on the first item has been however taken up. A number of members of the Indian History Congress and other scholars have kindly furnished information about their researches, but the response has not been quite satisfactory. I hope that the first list will be published early in 1946.

This year (1945) we have succeeded in enrolling in all 220 members of which are new. The comparative figures of membership for the last three years are as follows:—

1945	1944	1943
220	209	224

I may here mention that it is difficult to extend the activities of the Indian History Congress unless some means are found to improve its finances. Membership being our only source of income, it is necessary that it should rise to atleast 500 which is a very moderate figure judging from the number of teachers of history in the country. I hope every one of the existing members will try to enroll atleast two new members.

We are grateful to the Annamalai University and Lt. Col. M. Ruthnaswami, C. I. E., the Vice-Chancellor, for their kind invitation and for the elaborate arrangements they have made for our meetings.

I have to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. S. N. Sen, the President for his unfailing support and willing co-operation. I have also to thank Rao Bahadur Prof. G. S. Srinivasachari, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, for the zealous and untiring efforts which he as Local Secretary has made for the success of the session.

(Sd.) TARA CHAND.

APPENDIX II

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Statement of accounts for the period from January, 1944 to the 31st December, 1944.

	Dr.	Cr.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Opening Balance ... ..	...	1,586 4 6
Membership fee A/c ... ..	...	2,200 4 0
Imperial Bank of India A/c ...	2,275 12 0	
Suspense A/c ... ..	...	10 0 0
Sale of Proceedings A/c ... ..	...	48 10 0
Establishment A/c	260 0 0	
Stationery A/c	46 8 0	
Printing A/c	131 2 0	
Bank Commission A/c	18 8 0	
Postage and Telegrams A/c ...	265 0 6	
Travelling Allowance A/c ...	1 4 0	
Miscellaneous A/c	65 14 0	
Printing of proceedings A/c ...	500 0 0	
History of India Scheme A/c ...	21 10 3	
Cash with office	259 7 9	
Total	3,845 2 6	3,845 2 6

Audited and found correct.

G. P. JAISWAL,
Auditors.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

*Statement of Income and Expenditure for the year ending—
31st of December, 1944.*

<i>Total Income.</i>				Rs. a. p.		
Opening Balance	...	...	...	1,586	4	6
Membership fee	...	...	...	2,200	4	0
Sale of Proceedings	...	...	...	48	10	0
Suspense	...	...	...	10	0	0
Total	...	...	...	3,845	2	6
<i>Total Expenditure</i>						
Establishment	...	...	...	260	0	0
Travelling Allowance	...	...	...	1	4	0
Printing A/c	...	...	...	131	2	0
Printing of Proceedings	...	...	...	500	0	0
Stationery	...	...	...	46	8	0
Postage	...	...	...	265	0	6
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	65	14	0
Bank Commission	...	...	...	18	8	0
History Scheme...	...	...	...	21	10	3
Total	...	...	...	1,309	14	9
Total Income	...	...	...	3,845	2	6
Total Expenses	...	...	...	1,309	14	9
Balance of Income	...	...	...	2,535	3	9
<i>Details of Rs. 2,535/3/9</i>						
With Imperial Bank of India Ltd. Allahabad	...	...	...	2,275	12	0
Cash in hand	...	...	...	259	7	9
Total	...	...	...	2,535	3	9
Opening balance for the year 1945	...	...	...	2,535	3	9

Audited and found correct.

G. P. JAISWAL,
Registered Auditors

B. P. SAKSENA,
*Treasurer,
Indian History Congress.*

	Dr.	Cr.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Opening Balance	2,535 3 9
Membership fee A/c	1,934 8 0
Imperial Bank of India A/c ...	3,877 12 6	
Establishment's Pay A/c... ..	257 9 0	
Sale of Proceedings A/c	141 7 0
Stationery A/c	31 15 0	
Printing A/c	101 6 0	
Bank Commission A/c	6 12 0	
Postage and Telegram A/c ...	178 11 9	
Miscellaneous A/c	164 12 0
Printing of Proceedings A/c ...	300 0 0	
History of India Scheme A/c ...	3 6 6	
Balance of cash in hand ...	18 6 0	
Total	4,775 14 9	4,775 14 9

G. P. JAISWAL,
Auditors.

B. P. SAKSENA,
Treasurer.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

*Statement of Income and Expenditure for the period ending—
30th of November, 1945*

<i>Total Income</i>				Rs. as. ps.		
Opening Balance	...	...	...	2,535	3	9
Membership fee	...	...	...	1,934	8	0
Sales of Proceedings	...	...	...	141	7	0
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	164	12	0
				4,775	14	9
<i>Total Expenditure</i>						
Establishment's pay	...	...	...	257	9	0
Stationery	...	...	...	31	15	0
Printing A/c	...	...	...	101	6	0
Bank Commission	...	...	...	6	12	0
Postage and Telegram	...	...	...	178	11	9
Printing of Proceedings	...	...	...	300	0	0
Indian History Scheme	...	...	...	3	6	6
				879	12	3
Total Income	...	...	...	4,775	14	9
Total Expenditure	...	...	...	879	12	3
Closing Balance	...	...	...	3,896	2	6
<i>Details of Rs. 3,896/2/6.</i>						
With Imperial Bank of India	...	...	...	3,877	12	6
Cash with the office	...	...	...	18	6	0
				3,896	2	6

Audited and found correct.

G. P. JAISWAL,
Auditors.

B. P. SAKSENA,
Treasurer.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

List of representatives for 1945

Learned Societies and Associations

- I. C. P. & Berar Jain Research Institute, Yeotmal.
 1. Dadasahib D. G. Mahajan, Working President, C. P. & Berar Jain Research Institute, Yeotmal.
- II. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, P. O. Deccan Gymkhana, Poona 4.
 1. Prof. D. V. Potdar, B.A., 77, Shaniwar Peth, Poona 2.
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